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Czerny the Progressive

In January 1846 after a performance of Ludwig van Beethoven's Piano Trio Op. 97 in Leopold Jansa's chamber music series, a reviewer (signing himself Philokales) mused upon the problem of interpretation. He observed:

"[...] the performance of Beethoven's works gives rise to such completely opposing views, that at the present day every individual musician has a different opinion about the solution of this disagreement, which he tries, as best he can, to resolve. So, I believe, one can only ever speak about an approximately correct interpretation of a piece of music, (particularly one of Beethoven's, almost all of which rise so immeasurably far above everything of the same kind that previously existed). And it is precisely here, in my opinion, that the artists who come nearest to the ideal, are those whose way of performing any composition is based as closely as possible on the creator's tradition for this particular composition."¹

The occasion for his rumination was a last-minute change in personnel. Carl Czerny was to have played, but was indisposed, and Carl Maria von Bocklet substituted for him.² The disappointed reviewer regretted the substitution, because, as he noted in a subsequent article, "it is really a very long time since Czerny last appeared publicly as a pianist";³ and he explained that "it would have been of the greatest interest to any real musician to hear the aforementioned B♭ major trio by Czerny, the only living pupil of the great Beethoven."⁴ He was convinced that Czerny was one of those artists for whom the "inherited

- 1 "[...] namentlich ist es der Vortrag Beethoven'scher Tonwerke, über welchen so ganz entgegengesetzte Ansichten obwalten, daß bis zur Stunde jeder einzelne Musiker eine von den Übrigen seines Gleichen wesentlich verschiedene Meinung bezüglich der Lösung dieser Streitfrage aufstellt und so gut als es in seinen Kräften steht, vertritt. Es kann also, wie ich glaube, immer nur von einer approximativ-richtigen Auffassung eines Tonwerkes (und namentlich eines Beethoven'schen von denen fast jedes Einzelne sich so unendlich weit über Alles in derselben Art früher Dagewesene erhebt) die Rede sein. Und eben da kommen, meines Dafürhaltens, diejenigen Künstler dem Ideale noch am nächsten, deren Vortragsweise irgend einer Composition sich auf die möglichst genaue Tradition des Schöpfers eben dieser Composition stützt." Philokales: Sechste und letzte Quartettsoirée des Hrn. Jansa, am 18. Jänner 1846, in: *Wiener allgemeine Musik-Zeitung* 6 (1846), p. 34. All translations by the present author, if not otherwise stated.
- 2 The reviewer later learned, as he explained in a subsequent article, that Bocklet had played the work for Beethoven in the 1820s, apparently to the latter's satisfaction (though of course Beethoven's deafness was by then almost total), but he remained disappointed not to have heard Czerny. See Philokales: Erklärung, in: *Wiener allgemeine Musik-Zeitung* 6 (1846), p. 56.
- 3 "[...] es ist wirklich sehr lange her, seit Czerny zum letzten Male öffentlich als Clavierspieler auftrat". Ibid.
- 4 "[...] wäre es auch für jeden echten Musiker von dem höchsten Interesse gewesen, das genannte B-dur-Trio von Czerny, dem einzigen noch lebenden Schüler des großen Beethoven vortragen zu hören". Philokales: Sechste und letzte Quartettsoirée, p. 34.

‘spiritual legacy’ is holy, thus they hold true to it and pass it on entirely unchanged to the worthier chosen few.”⁵

Although Beethoven’s own performances, or those given under his aegis, must still have been part of the experience of many older Viennese musicians, it is not surprising that ways of performing his works had changed significantly within such a short time of his death. Richard Barth had similarly lamented how, some twenty years after Johannes Brahms’s death, people had already lost respect for the “incontrovertible tradition” of performing his music, which Barth, like the reviewer of Jansa’s concert, considered essential “if a performance that is faithful to its content is to be achieved.”⁶

But was the reviewer correct in believing that Czerny would have played the Trio just as Beethoven wanted it? Superficially, it seems clear that Czerny was the last surviving member of Beethoven’s intimate circle who could claim to know authoritatively how Beethoven expected his piano compositions to be played;⁷ he had remained in close contact with his former master until his death in 1827, and he was one of the three musicians who oversaw the production of the collected edition of Beethoven’s works that was announced by Tobias Haslinger in December 1828. The announcement stated that:

“The editing for tempo terms, corrections, performance nuances and, in general, all necessary revisions etc. was done by the artistic colleagues and friends of the deceased, who were so deeply initiated into Beethoven’s works, Messers Carl Czerny, Ignaz Schuppanzigh, and Carl Holz, out of love and admiration for the deceased master, and as a special courtesy to the publisher, with friendly willingness.”⁸

Schuppanzigh died in 1830 and it is unclear how much input he may have had; Holz had been involved only as second violin in performances of the late string quartets and his role in the project remains obscure. Czerny, however, contributed extensively, particularly

- 5 “Dieses von einem vielleicht schon lange Verklärten überkommene ‘geistige Vermächtniß’ ist ihnen heilig, eben darum bewahren sie es treu, und theilen es dem Würdigeren, Auserwählten auch völlig unversehrt mit.” *Ibid.*, p. 34.
- 6 “[...] es müßte eine unanfechtbare Tradition kräftiger fortwirken können, [...] wenn es zu einer inhaltsgetreuen Wiedergabe gelangen soll.” Kurt Hoffmann: *Johannes Brahms in den Erinnerungen von Richard Barth*, Hamburg 1979, p. 31.
- 7 Anton Schindler was primarily a violinist, and his claims to have learned some of Beethoven’s piano sonatas under Beethoven’s tuition are not entirely trustworthy.
- 8 “Die Redaction für Tempo-Bezeichnungen, Correcturen, Vortrags-Nuancen und überhaupt alle erforderlichen Revisionen etc. haben die so sehr in Beethoven’s Werke eingeweihten Kunstgenossen, und des Verstorbenen Freunde, die Herrn Carl Czerny, Ignaz Schuppanzigh und Carl Holz, aus Liebe und Verehrung für den verblichenen Tonmeister, und aus besonderer Gefälligkeit für die Verlags-handlung mit freundlicher Bereitwilligkeit übernommen.” Tobias Haslinger: *Pränumerations-Ankündigung. Sämtliche Werke von Ludw. van Beethoven*, in: Johann Nepomuk Hummel: *Ausführliche theoretisch-praktische Anweisung zum Piano-Forte-Spiel*, Vienna 1828, p. [445].

through the addition of metronome marks for the many piano works for which Beethoven had not provided them; though to what extent his own preference, rather than his memory of Beethoven's practice, was involved in the process remains uncertain.⁹

Czerny's closeness to Beethoven, and his extraordinary musical abilities, have tended to encourage confidence in him as a reliable source of information about Beethoven's expectations for the performance of his music. But despite his obvious reverence for Beethoven's works, closer scrutiny suggests that he adopted a progressive rather than curatorial position towards them: perhaps his concern was not with preserving the relationship between Beethoven's notation and the performing practices the composer expected it to convey to the musicians with whom he had worked; perhaps Czerny preferred to ensure that the music should speak to his contemporaries in a language that conformed to their notions of good taste. There has been stimulating discussion of these issues by a number of scholars of performing practice in recent decades.¹⁰ The present article revisits them in the light of three sources that have not, to my knowledge, been drawn upon previously: Czerny's edition of an earlier treatise, the *Grosse Fortepiano-Schule von Aug. Eberh.^d Müller [...] Achte Auflage mit vielen neuen Beyspielen und einem vollständignern Anhang vom Generalbass versehen von Carl Czerny*, published around 1830, and two transcriptions by Czerny of Beethoven's Violin Sonata Op. 47. The first of the transcriptions, for solo piano, is the *Andante con variazioni*, published as *Variations brillantes tirées de l'Oeuvre 47 de Louis van Beethoven arrangées pour le Piano-Forte seul par Charles Czerny*. The second is a transcription of the whole sonata for piano duet. *Grand duo brillant pour le Piano Forte à quatre mains, arrangé d'après la Sonate de L. van Beethoven, Oeuv. 47, par Charles Czerny*. Both title pages give the publisher as A. Diabelli. The first, however, has the plate number C. et D. No. 1168 and was presumably engraved before Cappi retired in 1824, when the firm was still Cappi & Diabelli; the second has the plate number D. et C. No. 1212, and was presumably engraved quite soon after the first. Both were certainly published in Beethoven's lifetime.

Czerny's changing attitude towards the performance of Beethoven's compositions is clearly indicated in the introduction to his survey of all Beethoven's works with piano in *Die Kunst des Vortrags der ältern und neuen Claviercompositionen* (*The Art of Performing the Old and New Piano Compositions*), which was published in 1846, shortly after the review of

- 9 For a summary of the principles behind Beethoven's choice of metronome marks, see Clive Brown: *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750–1900*, Oxford 1999, pp. 299–302.
- 10 Especially in *Beyond the Art of Finger Dexterity. Reassessing Carl Czerny*, ed. by David Gramit, Rochester 2008, see e.g. the articles by George Barth: *Carl Czerny and Musical Authority. Locating the "Primary Vessel" of the Musical Tradition*, pp. 125–138, and James Parakilas: *Playing Beethoven His Way. Czerny and the Canonization of Performance Practice*, pp. 108–124.

Jansa's concert (and perhaps partly in response to it), as the fourth volume of his 1839 *Pianoforte-Schule*. In *Die Kunst des Vortrags*, he discussed the music of his younger contemporaries, including Sigismond Thalberg, Frédéric Chopin, and Franz Liszt, in a way that shows his active engagement with the newest developments in piano playing and piano construction; and it is in that context that his discussion of Beethoven's piano music is situated. He made it clear not only that the latest technical accomplishments were necessary in Beethoven performance, but also that unspecified practices, which had been current in the first three decades of the century, were no longer appropriate, commenting:

“[...] even if it were possible to reproduce his [Beethoven's] way of playing exactly, it could not (in relation to current levels of skill with respect to clarity and precision in difficult passages) always act as a model; and even the spiritual conception has acquired a different validity through the changed taste of the times, and must sometimes be expressed by other means than were necessary then.”¹¹

In fact, Czerny's career reveals a complex individual, perhaps even a split personality. On the one hand, he kept abreast of changing taste and fashion in the bulk of his own published works, which reached Op. 861, tailoring his choice of genres and styles to the popular market, both in his compositions and in his numerous didactic publications; on the other hand, he continued to compose works in entirely different genres and a much more serious, conservative idiom, including symphonies, string quartets, and masses, most of which he did not publish, and many of which were probably never publicly performed. Among his published compositions, only a very small proportion had pretensions to be serious music. It is undoubtedly significant that the first nine of his eleven published piano sonatas, three of four piano trios, and a piano quartet were all composed and published before 1830, while he was still to some extent under Beethoven's direct influence.

Czerny's immense productivity owed its origin to several factors. It was made possible by his extraordinary musical abilities, which evidently allowed him to compose with exceptional fluency and ease. It was necessitated by his relatively impoverished background and his relationship, as an only child, with his mother and father, with whom he lived until their deaths. Czerny never held an official post that would have provided a regular income, but his success as a teacher and composer enabled the family to live in

11 “[...] wenn es auch möglich wäre, seine Spielweise ganz genau wiederzugeben, so könnte sie, (in Bezug auf die jetzt ganz anders ausgebildete Reinheit und Deutlichkeit bei Schwierigkeiten) uns nicht immer als Muster dienen; und selbst die geistige Auffassung erhält durch den veränderten Zeitgeschmack eine and're Geltung, und muss bisweilen durch and're Mittel ausgedrückt werden, als damals erforderlich waren.” Carl Czerny: *Die Kunst des Vortrags der ältern und neuen Claviercompositionen. Supplement (oder 4ter Theil) zur großen Pianoforte-Schule* Op. 500, Vienna [1846], p. 34, §7.

increasingly affluent circumstances. He already told Mendelssohn in 1830 that he was “composing a lot now, for it brings in more than giving lessons”,¹² and the commercial success of his publications allowed him to give up piano teaching entirely a few years later. As Philokales’s 1846 article indicates, he also retired from public performance.

To understand Czerny’s role as a transmitter of knowledge about Beethoven’s expectations for the performance of his music, it is important also to understand Czerny’s own approach to writing music. It seems clear that, rightly or wrongly, he increasingly doubted his own capacity to be a successful composer of music in the established classical forms, and came to the conclusion that works of this kind – which he nevertheless felt impelled to write, but made no effort to publish – did not, for all their refinement, charm, and integrity, contain sufficient power and originality to compete with the best works of his contemporaries, and perhaps also to reach the standards of his greatest predecessors. This can only have been strengthened by negative reviews, such as one of a new overture, in which the reviewer remarked:

“The author is currently *en vogue* as a piano composer, and not wrongly. Here, however, he has denied his independence and endeavoured to compose in Beethoven’s style; to what extent this succeeded, or could succeed, its reception must have taught him. Writing in four parts presupposes a deeper, experience-based knowledge of the instrumental effect.”¹³

At the time of Beethoven’s death, Czerny had still not chosen the path that would dominate the rest of his life, but it was already clear that in the traditional genres of composition, he would be measured against Beethoven’s achievements and that his productivity was in danger of damaging his reputation as a serious composer. The latter was made explicit in a review of the premiere of his Piano Trio Op. 105,¹⁴ at one of Schuppanzigh’s chamber concerts in March 1827. The reviewer observed:

“It is extremely brilliant because it is very clear, understandable, and unusually grateful for the players; it scarcely needs stating that neither the master nor his two assistants left any desire unsatisfied by

- 12 “Czerny [...] sagt er componire jetzt viel, denn es bringe mehr ein, als Stundengeben”. Letter of 22 August 1830 to Mendelssohn’s sister Rebecka, in: Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Briefe, ed. by Rudolf Elvers, Frankfurt am Main 1984, p. 119. English translation in *A Life in Letters*, trans. by Craig Tomlinson, New York 1986, p. 132.
- 13 “Der Verfasser ist gegenwärtig *en vogue* als Clavier-Componist, und wahrlich nicht mit Unrecht. Hier hat er jedoch seine Selbstständigkeit verleugnet, und in Beethovens Styl zu dichten sich bemüht; in wie fern solches gelang, oder auch nur gelingen konnte, wird ihn wohl der Erfolg gelehrt haben. Der vierstimmige Satz setzt eine tiefere, auf Erfahrung gegründete Kenntniss des Instrumental-Effectes voraus.” [Anon]: Wien. Musikalisches Tagebuch vom Monat December, in: *AmZ* 29 (1827), cols. 96–99, here col. 99.
- 14 The Trio, which was published for piano, violin and horn or cello, was given on this occasion with cello.

their performance. Mr. Carl Czerny is rightly popular and valued, so to speak 'fashionable'. The reviewer himself is one of his warmest admirers; but that is why he is prompted to express a well-intentioned concern. It may well be flattering to be venerated as a fruitful author, just as no sensible person despises the increasing yield of his industry. But whoever shakes the novelties like nuts from the tree, sending some out into the world every month, is playing a game that threatens his reputation; for everything cannot be equally substantial, and even assuming inexhaustible productivity, the public nevertheless becomes lukewarm due to oversaturation, and commodities that are too abundant fall in price."¹⁵

Czerny's huge, steady stream of pieces produced for the market of his day has often been criticised, not entirely without justification, for being facile; but it was also undoubtedly progressive. His material success depended upon responding to the rapid technological development of the piano, the changes in performing style that this made possible, and the evolution of new genres of composition. He responded inventively and often innovatively to these developments in his own piano works. Not only did he publish many pedagogical works and exercises that were at the cutting edge of developments in piano technique and fashionable taste, he was also among the earliest composers to explore such genres as Impromptu, Nocturne, and various kinds of operatic paraphrase,¹⁶ in which he prefigured and probably influenced Chopin, Thalberg, Liszt, Franz Schubert, and many other pianist composers; furthermore, he was one of the first composers to attempt to specify performance nuances with a vastly increased repertoire of signs and instructions. It may legitimately be doubted whether these were capable of effectively conveying the subtleties of performance he imagined, but his very extensive use of them was certainly innovative. Already in a review of his First Piano Sonata Op. 7, attention had been drawn sceptically to this tendency:

"If Mr. Cz. likes to put the lowest and highest notes together, and, not satisfied with *ff* and *pp*, requires a fortississimo *fff* and pianississimo *ppp*, and uses a really unprecedented number of words

- 15 "Es ist höchst brillant, dabey sehr klar, verständlich, und für die Spieler ungemein dankbar gehalten; dass sowohl der Meister als seine beyden Assistenten bey dem Vortrage keinen Wunsch unbefriedigt liessen, bedarf wohl keiner Bekräftigung. Hr. Carl Czerny ist mit Recht allgemein beliebt und geschätzt, so zu sagen: in der Mode. Ref. selbst gehört zu seinen wärmsten Verehrern; darum drängt es ihn aber, eine wohlgemeinte Besorgniss auszusprechen. Wohl mag es schmeichelhaft seyn, als fruchtbringender Autor verehrt zu werden, so wie kein vernünftiger Mensch den sich mehrenden Ertrag seines Fleisses verachtet. Wer aber die Novitäten wie Nüsse vom Baume schüttelt, jeden Monat einige in die Welt schickt, spielt ein seinem Rufe Gefahr drohendes Spiel; denn alles kann ja nicht gleich gehaltvoll seyn, und, selbst ein unversiegbares Productions-Vermögen angenommen, so wird doch das Publikum durch Uebersättigung lau, und allzuhäufige Waaren fallen im Preise." [Anon.] Wien. (Beschluss der vorigen Nummer), in: *AmZ* 29 (1827), cols. 231–235, here col. 234.
- 16 See Michael Saffle: Czerny and the Keyboard Fantasy: Traditions, Innovations, Legacy, in: *Beyond the Art of Finger Dexterity: Reassessing Carl Czerny*, ed. by David Gramit, Rochester NY 2008, pp. 202–228.

and signs to denote the expression, these are peculiarities which perhaps in part belong to fashion, but about which neither much good nor much bad can be said.¹⁷

Beethoven's careful indication of slurring, articulation and dynamics, which was quite untypical of most of his Viennese contemporaries, may have exerted some influence on Czerny's practice, as may Johann Ladislaus Dussek's more extensive employment of expressive instructions, but Czerny went much further in attempting to indicate fine nuances of performance, especially with his notation of accents and dynamics. Beethoven had used only *sf* as an accent instruction; his employment of *rinforzando* (generally given as *rinf.*, never abbreviated to *rf* in his autographs) is a dynamic indication, and > very rarely occurs in Beethoven's music in contexts where its main function appears to be accent on a single note. Czerny, however, employed a much larger number of accent instructions and signs, perhaps more lavishly than any of his contemporaries. In printed editions, it is difficult to be sure how far the markings correspond with the composer's intentions, since engravers were often careless about which punch they selected for stamping staccato marks or performance instructions onto the plates.¹⁸ In Czerny's case, however, a significant number of corrected proofs survive, which confirm the intentionality of these markings. In his earliest published works, for example Op. 4, he used predominantly *rf*, *sf*, *fff*, and > as accents. In his Piano Sonata Op. 7, he used *fff* alongside *sf*, *fz*, and *rfz*. By the early 1820s he was using both *sf* and *fz* as clearly differentiated accents (e.g. Opp. 39, 42) and the signs >, ^, and ^ (Figure 1). Shortly afterwards, he also began using *ffz* regularly (e.g. Opp. 57, 68). And by the later 1820s, he employed both *fff* and *ffz* in the same work. In the Piano Sonata Op. 124 and the three *Grandes fantaisies en forme de Sonata* Opp. 143, 144, 145, *fff* occurs alongside *ffz* together with *fz*, *sf*, and *rf* (Figures 2a & b). In later works all these instructions except *fff*, are employed with evident deliberation (Figure 3).

His repertoire of verbal performance instructions was lavish and inventive, perhaps more so than that of any of his contemporaries. Whereas most earlier composers had scarcely used expressive terms, or used them very infrequently, leaving it to the performer to discern and convey the emotional meaning of the music, Czerny was in the vanguard of composers who sought to influence the performer in ways that were soon to become

17 "Wenn Hr. Cz. gern die tiefsten und höchsten Töne zusammen stellt, mit *ff* und *pp* nicht zufrieden noch ein fortississimo *fff* und pianississimo *ppp* verlangt und für die Bezeichnung des Ausdrucks eine wirklich beyspiellose Menge von Worten und Zeichen verbraucht, so sind das Eigenheiten, welche vielleicht zum Theil mit zur Mode gehören, über die sich jedoch weder viel Gutes noch viel Böses sagen lässt." [Anon.]: Recension. *Premiere Sonate* [...], in: *AmZ* 24 (1822), cols. 382–384, here col. 384.

18 In Czerny's *Grande Polonaise Brillante* Op. 118 *sf* is used exclusively, but this may well have been the engraver's choice of punch, because *fz* is used exclusively in his *Sonate Militaire et Brillante* Op. 119.

FIGURE 1 Carl Czerny: Impromptu ou variations brillantes Op. 36, Vienna [ca 1822], p. 9 and 10

FIGURE 2A Grande fantasia en forme de Sonata Op. 143, Leipzig [ca 1827], p. 3 (Proof copy corrected by Czerny. University of Rochester, Eastman School of Music, Sibley Music Library)

FIGURE 2B Grande fantasia en forme de Sonata Op. 145, Leipzig [ca 1827], p. 3 (corrected proof, Sibley Music Library)



FIGURE 3 Huit Nocturnes Romantiques Op. 604, No. 1, Mainz [1843], p. 5

commonplace. His terminology encompassed a mixture of familiar and unfamiliar terms, most of which have expressive connotations, and accords well with his own statement that “not only each complete piece, but also each individual part of it, either intrinsically expresses a particular feeling, or at least allows some such to be introduced into it through the performance.”¹⁹ The following terms have been found in a limited cross section of his piano works: *accelerando*, *agitato*, *animato*, *brillante*, *calando*, *cantando*, *capriccioso*, *con affetto*, *con amore*, *con anima*, *con ardore*, *con bravura*, *con duolo*, *con fuoco*, *con gusto*, *con tenerezza*, *delicatamente*, *delicatissimamente*, *delicatissimo*, *dolce*, *dolce amoroso*, *dolce armonioso*, *energico*, *espressivo*, *grazioso*, *impetuoso*, *innocente*, *lusingando*, *marcato*, *martellato*, *mesto*, *molto soave*, *morendo*, *patetico*, *perdendo*, *pesante*, *piacevole*, *poco slentando*, *piangendo*, *quiéto*, *radolcendo*, *rallentando*, *ritenuto*, *serioso*, *smorzando*, *sostenuto*, *stretto*, *stringendo*, *teneramente*, *tranquillo*, *veloce*, *vivo*, etc.

All these accent indications and performance instructions are, of course, impressionistic rather than precise. From his usage of them, and on logical grounds, it seems likely that Czerny expected the following hierarchy of accents: *rf*, *sf*, *fz*, *sff*, *ffz*; but in his didactic publications he never explained this. It is evident, however, that he intended these accent instructions to represent absolute dynamic levels. How he expected $>$ and \wedge to fit into this scheme is not entirely clear; his *Pianoforte-Schule* of 1839 indicates that he regarded these signs as relative to the prevailing dynamic, for, having illustrated their use in a passage marked *p*, he explained: “Since the whole passage is to be played piano, the notes marked $>$ or \wedge receive a small accent that can approximate to *mf*, but still ought not to be *sf*. If the passage were forte the accent should naturally be stronger.”²⁰ In the 1846

- 19 “Nicht nur jedes ganze Tonstück, sondern jede einzelne Stelle drückt entweder wirklich irgend eine bestimmte Empfindung aus, oder erlaubt wenigstens, eine solche durch den Vortrag hineinzulegen.” Czerny: *Pianoforte-Schule*, Vol. 3, p. 24 § 4.
- 20 “Da diese ganze Stelle piano zu spielen ist, so erhalten die mit $>$ oder \wedge bezeichneten Noten einen kleinen Nachdruck, der ungefähr dem *mf* nahe kommen kann, aber noch kein *sf* sein darf. Wenn die Stelle forte zu spielen wäre, so müsste der Nachdruck natürlicherweise stärker sein.” *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 141.

supplement, however, he stated, in relation to his former pupil Liszt's practice, that "the upright sign (^) implies a higher degree of power than the horizontal (>)".²¹ Czerny's use of *rf* (*rinforzando*) simply as a light accent on one note corresponds with Johann Friedrich Reichardt's and Ignace Pleyel's earlier practice, and it was later used in this manner by Bocklet's pupil Eduard Marxsen and Marxsen's pupil Brahms. This differs, however, from Beethoven's use of *rinf*, which as in Dussek's practice, and that of other older contemporaries, usually applied to a group of notes, often implying a powerful *crescendo*.²² In Czerny's *Pianoforte-Schule* Op. 500, there is no reference to *rf*, but in the list of instructions in his *Kleine theoretisch-praktische Pianoforte-Schule* Op. 584, he follows "*sfz*: (*sforzando*) one note especially strong" with "*rinf*: (*rinforzando*) strengthened."²³

These factors demonstrate Czerny's acute consciousness of, and sensitivity to the developing taste and practices of his time. They indicate that his practices constantly fluctuated in response to these developments. They also provide clues to his changing relationship with Beethoven's works. There can be no doubt about his sincerity in seeking to preserve what he regarded as the 'spiritual conception' of his master's music, but as his comments in 1846 reveal, this was not synonymous with preserving all the specific practices Beethoven had envisaged.²⁴ The following paragraphs will consider several areas in which Czerny's approach undoubtedly changed over time.



Czerny wrote nothing explicit about the rationale for the metronome marks he provided for all Beethoven's major piano works in the 1828–1832 Haslinger edition and its later revision, in *Die Kunst des Vortrags*, and in a later Simrock edition, many of which differ significantly in the various publications.²⁵ In the original printing of the Haslinger edition, he undoubtedly supplied the metronome marks for the piano sonatas, and perhaps also for the accompanied sonatas, but modified some of them in its revised

21 "Das stehende Zeichen (^) bedeutet einen höhern Grad von Stärke als das liegende (>)". Czerny: *Die Kunst des Vortrags*, p. 29.

22 See Brown: *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice*, 2nd edition (forthcoming).

23 "*sfz* (*sforzando*) eine Note besonders stark. / *rinf*: (*rinforzando*) verstärkt." Carl Czerny: *Kleine theoretisch-praktische Pianoforte-Schule für Anfänger* Op. 584, Vienna [1840], p. 31.

24 For stimulating and complementary discussion of these issues see James Parakilas: *Playing Beethoven His Way*, and George Barth: *Carl Czerny and Musical Authority*.

25 Sandra Rosenblum: *Two Sets of Unexplored Metronome Marks for Beethoven's Piano Sonatas*, in: *Early Music* 16 (1988), pp. 58–71; Barth: *The Pianist as Orator*, Ithaca/London 1992, pp. 60–62; Marten Noorduin: *Beethoven's Tempo Indications*, PhD diss. University of Manchester, 2016.

printings. The earlier markings (with a few notable exceptions)²⁶ correspond quite closely with those that would be generated by the remarkably consistent relationship between metre, tempo term, note values, and the quantity of the fastest notes, which underlies Beethoven's own metronome markings.²⁷ Taken as a whole, the metronome marks in *Die Kunst des Vortrags* show a strong tendency towards slowing tempos from those he had given earlier. In the *Pathétique* Sonata Op. 13, for instance, which Czerny already played to Beethoven before he became his pupil, the tempo was reduced significantly in every movement except the *Adagio cantabile*: Grave $\frac{1}{8} = 58$ to $\frac{1}{16} = 92$ ($\frac{1}{8} = 46$); *Allegro molto e con brio* $\frac{1}{2} = 152$ to $\frac{1}{2} = 144$; *Allegro* $\frac{1}{2} = 112$ to $\frac{1}{2} = 96$. Many *Andantes* and a few *Adagios* were also slowed significantly. The *Andante* of Op. 28, which Czerny stated that he had studied with Beethoven, was reduced from $\frac{1}{8} = 92$ to $\frac{1}{8} = 84$, that of Op. 14 No. 2 from $\frac{1}{2} = 66$ ($\frac{1}{4} = 132$) to $\frac{1}{4} = 116$, of Op. 27 No. 1 from $\frac{1}{4} = 72$ to $\frac{1}{4} = 66$, and the *Andante molto cantabile ed espressivo* of Op. 109 from $\frac{1}{4} = 72$ to $\frac{1}{4} = 63$. While the slowing down of fast movements might be seen as a response to the heavier and deeper key action of the later pianos, his similar treatment of slower movements cannot reasonably be explained by that factor.

In *Die Kunst des Vortrags* Czerny instructed, as “a universal rule”, in especially large type: “In the performance of his [Beethoven's] works (and overall those of all classical authors) the player ought absolutely not to permit himself any change to the composition, any addition, any abbreviation.”²⁸ This was certainly not the practice of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, nor had the first two of these injunctions been Czerny's own practice during Beethoven's lifetime; but by the 1840s extemporaneous elaboration or embellishment of a musical text had been gradually reduced from its heights in the mid eighteenth century to ever more limited circumstances. It survived longest in vocal music, especially opera, but was still not unthinkable in instrumental music in the mid nineteenth century. Charles de Bériot, discussing *fioriture* in his 1858 *Méthode de violon*, recognised the increasing limitation of embellishment, but not its total exclusion, remarking that “all melody that contains a very pronounced sentiment, whether profound, solemn, or serious, and of which the accompaniment produces complicated harmony,

26 For instance, the first movement of the Violin Sonata Op. 23. See Clive Brown: *Early Performing Editions and Historical Metronome Marks*, in: *Beethoven Violin Sonatas I*, ed. by Clive Brown, Kassel 2020, pp. 127–134, here p. 132.

27 See Brown: *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice*, pp. 299 ff., and the discussion of metronome marks for Beethoven's Violin Sonatas in Brown: *Early Performing Editions and Historical Metronome Marks*, pp. 127–134.

28 “[...] ist es nöthig eine allgemeine Regel festzusetzen. Beim Vortrage seiner Werke, (und überhaupt bei allen klassischen Autoren) darf der Spieler sich durchaus keine Änderung der Composition, keinen Zusatz, keine Abkürzung erlauben.” Czerny: *Die Kunst des Vortrags*, p. 34.

partially excludes any kind of ornamentation.” And he noted that “German music, more bound by harmony than Italian music, lends itself less to embellishment. In proportion as this harmonic complexity has won over all the modern schools, ornamentation has become rarer”.²⁹

There is significant evidence to demonstrate that, before 1830, Czerny regarded embellishment of the notated text, in specific circumstances, as both legitimate and tasteful. An often-mentioned incident, assigned by Czerny himself to “about 1812” in his account of it (published in 1845), but probably referring to a performance in February 1816, was his embellishment of the piano part of Beethoven’s Quintet for Piano and Winds Op. 16, involving, among other things, passagework that was more virtuoso than the original, and transposing passages up an octave. He attributed his treatment of the piece to “the frivolity of youth” and recalled Beethoven’s censure. It seems clear, however, that Beethoven’s annoyance concerned the nature of the changes rather than the presence of ornamentation as such, for it is scarcely credible that Czerny, after more than a decade of Beethoven’s tuition and guidance, and knowing his temper, would have dared to make any embellishment of the text at all, if he believed that Beethoven expected none. In other words, he simply went too far on that occasion. His final comment, that Beethoven’s reaction “cured my addiction to allowing myself to make changes in performing his music, and I wish it would have the same influence on all pianists”,³⁰ indicates both that Czerny often made extemporary embellishments at that time, and that the practice was still current in 1840s Vienna.

The anecdote is also at odds with Czerny’s edition of August Eberhard Müller’s widely admired method of 1804. Czerny made very many alterations to Müller’s text, and included much additional material.³¹ Having explained his amendments with regard to

- 29 “Mais toute mélodie qui porte en elle un sentiment bien arrêté, soit profond, grave ou sérieux, celle qui fait avec son accompagnement de l’harmonie compliquée exclut, en partie, toute espèce d’ornementation. De là vient que la musique allemande plus serrée d’harmonie que la musique italienne se prête moins à la fioriture. A mesure que cette complication harmonique a gagné toutes les écoles modernes, l’ornementation est devenue plus rare”. Charles de Bériot: *Méthode de violon Op. 102*, Paris/Mainz [1858], Vol. 3, p. 189.
- 30 “[...] erlaubte ich mir im jugendlichen Leichtsinne manche Änderungen [...]. Dieser Brief hat mich mehr als alles Andere von der Sucht geheilt, beim Vortrag seiner Werke mir irgend eine Änderung zu erlauben, und ich wünsche, daß er auf alle Pianisten von gleichem Einfluß wäre.” Carl Czerny: Carl Czerny über sein Verhältnis zu Beethoven vom Jahre 1801 bis 1826, in: *Wiener allgemeine Musik-Zeitung* 5 (1845), pp. 449 f.
- 31 Müller’s treatise was nominally the sixth edition of Georg Simon Löhlein’s 1773 treatise, but was in fact an entirely new treatise, hence its full title: August Eberhard Müller: *G. S. Löhleins Klavierschule, oder Anweisung zum Klavier- und Fortepiano-Spiel nebst vielen praktischen Beyspielen, und einem Anhang vom Generalbasse. Sechste Auflage, ganz umgearbeitet und sehr vermehrt*, Jena 1804.

fingering and other aspects of technique in his preface to the new edition, Czerny continued: “Likewise, in the chapter on ornamentation and performance style, the changed and, I believe, very refined taste of our time had to be taken into account”.³² In that chapter he included many additions and removed many parts of Müller’s original, but he made only minor changes to Müller’s introductory paragraph on “Discretionary embellishments” (*Willkürliche Verzierungen*). Significantly, he retained Müller’s statements that the execution of *fioriture* “is left more to the feeling and taste of the player” and that “only those who understand composition and are trained artists are allowed to add anything that is not prescribed.”³³ Even more telling was his retention of a passage discussing the distinction between ‘correct’ and ‘beautiful’ performance, which stated that the pupil must:

“a) be able to play the piece of music exactly as it is written, literally, or with respect to those things that can be determined by notes and other signs: then his performance will be (mechanically) correct. But he must also
b) understand the character of the piece of music correctly and precisely, enter into the prevailing feeling in it, and be able to modify his playing accordingly [...]: only then does his performance become (aesthetically) beautiful, or, as they say, expressive.”³⁴

It was generally agreed that ‘beautiful performance’ could not be taught through verbal descriptions; it could only be effectively learned from emulating good performers, especially great singers.³⁵ One of the passages from Müller’s original text, which Czerny retained, reiterates the traditional wisdom that an accomplished performer was expected to modify the repetition of a phrase or melody. Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach had stated in the preface to his *Sonates pour le clavecin avec des reprises variées*: “When we make a repeat nowadays, and reproduce something, it is indispensable to make changes in it. This is

- 32 “Eben so mußte in dem Kapitel von den Verzierungen und vom Vortrage der geänderte und, wie ich glaube, wirklich sehr geläuterte Geschmack unsrer Zeit berücksichtigt werden”. Carl Czerny: *Grosse Fortepiano-Schule von Aug. Eberh.^d Müller [...]* Achte Auflage mit vielen neuen Beyspielen und einem vollständigen Anhang vom Generalbass versehen, Leipzig [ca 1830], p. iv.
- 33 “[...] deren Ausführung mehr dem Gefühl und Geschmack des Spielers überlassen ist. [...] Nicht-Vorgeschriebene anzubringen, ist nur dem erlaubt, der Composition versteht und schon für die Kunst ausgebildet ist.” Ibid., p. 227 f. See also Müller: *G. S. Löhleins Klavierschule*, p. 45 f.
- 34 “Er muß demnach: a) das Musikstück genau so spielen können, wie es geschrieben ist in Absicht auf den Buchstaben, oder in Absicht auf das, was durch Noten und andere Zeichen bestimmt vorgeschrieben werden kann: dann wird sein Vortrag (mechanisch-) richtig seyn. Er muß aber auch b) den Charakter, den das Musikstück hat, richtig und genau auffassen, sich selbst in die darin herrschende Empfindung versetzen, und dieser gemäß sein Spiel modifizieren können [...]: dann erst wird sein Vortrag (ästhetisch-) schön, oder, wie man auch sagt, ausdrucksvoll.” Czerny: *Grosse Fortepiano-Schule von Aug. Eberh.^d Müller*, p. 229 f.
- 35 This was explicitly stated both by Hummel: *Ausführliche theoretisch-praktische Anweisung*, p. 417, and Louis Spohr: *Violinschule*, Vienna 1833, p. 196.

expected of all those who are charged with the execution of a work.”³⁶ That attitude certainly remained current into the nineteenth century. Czerny’s edition states:

“For this purpose, it will be very beneficial if the teacher plays to the student the pieces, which he is to learn, or – for the sake of mechanically correct playing – has already learned; not only with regard to its character as a whole, but also to draw his attention to details, by which it can be made so much more beautiful. – Thus, he can show him, for example (assuming knowledge of the rules of harmony!), when to decorate one and the same melodic passage, especially when it is frequently repeated, with free ornamentation or to alter it in various ways, partly to avoid monotony and partly, in this manner, to make the passage pleasanter and more distinctive for the listener.”³⁷

That Czerny’s retention of this statement was intentional, is demonstrated by the two transcriptions of Beethoven’s *Kreutzer Sonata* Op. 47, which Czerny had made and published in the early to mid 1820s. Clear examples of Czerny’s embellishment of repetitions are provided by his treatment of Variation 2 in the *Andante* (Figures 4a/b). Another similar instance occurs in the first movement, where the violin’s accompaniment to the second part of the lyrical theme at bars 107–116 and 428–437, which is a simple transposition in Beethoven’s original, receives different treatment on its return (Figure 5). Elsewhere, too, Czerny introduced additional embellishment.

Among the other ‘additions’ to Beethoven’s text that Czerny allowed himself in his transcriptions of Op. 47, was a cadenza or *Eingang* at the fermatas in bar 196 of the *Andante*. Curiously, perhaps, he did not supply an elaboration of the fermata at bar 27 of the first movement, where George Bridgetower is known to have made one (to Beethoven’s delight),³⁸ but both his 1820s transcriptions of the *Sonata* contain cadenzas in the *Andante*: a different one in each (Figures 6a, b & c). It seems very likely therefore that Beethoven envisaged embellishment of these fermatas; it is even possible, since there are two fermatas in bar 196, that he envisaged cadenzas for violin as well as piano. In both

36 “Dès qu’on se répète aujourd’hui, & qu’on reproduit une chose, il est indispensable d’y faire des changemens. C’est ce qu’on attend de tous ceux qui sont chargés de l’exécution de quelque Ouvrage.” Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: *Sonates pour le clavecin avec des reprises variées*, Berlin 1760, Préface.

37 “Zu dem Ende wird es sehr vortheilhaft seyn, daß der Lehrer auch die Musikstücke, die der Schüler unter seiner Leitung erlernen soll oder auch – in Absicht auf das Mechanisch-richtige – schon erlernt hat, diesem vorspiele, und ihn, nicht nur auf den Charakter des Ganzen, sondern auch auf Einzelheiten, wodurch dieser um so schöner wiedergegeben werden könne, aufmerksam mache. – So zeige er ihm, wie man z. B. (Kenntniß der Regeln der Harmonie vorausgesetzt!) eine und eben dieselbe melodiöse Stelle zur rechten Zeit, besonders wenn sie öfter wiederkehrt, durch eine freye Verzierung schmücken, auf mancherley Weise verändern könne, theils um Monotonie zu vermeiden, theils die Stelle auf solche Art dem Zuhörer noch angenehmer und auch eindringlicher zu machen”. Czerny: *Grosse Fortepiano-Schule* von Aug. Eberh.^d Müller, p. 234 (this passage was retained from the 1804 edition).

38 For a full account of this see *Beethoven Violin Sonatas*, ed. by Clive Brown, Vol. 2, pp. VI–VII (Introduction) = pp. XLI–XLII (Einführung).

The image displays three musical score excerpts for Variation 2 of Beethoven's Violin Sonata Op. 47. The top excerpt is the first edition violin part, marked 'leggermente' and featuring dynamic markings 'cres.', 'sfp.', 'cres.', and 'f.'. The middle excerpt is a piano solo transcription by Carl Czerny, marked 'Brillante.' and includes extensive fingering numbers. The bottom excerpt is a piano duet transcription by Carl Czerny, marked 'VAR: II.', 'p dol leggiero e brillante.', and includes dynamic markings 'cres.', 'sfp.', 'cres.', and 'sfp.'.

FIGURE 4A Ludwig van Beethoven: Violin Sonata Op. 47, Andante con variazioni, Variation 2, bars 1–7
 Above: first edition violin part (Vienna [1805])
 Middle: piano solo transcription: Carl Czerny: Variations brillantes, Vienna [ca 1824]
 Below: piano duet transcription (primo): Carl Czerny: Grand duo brillant, Vienna [ca 1824]
 (© Landesbibliothek Coburg, shelfmark Mus 3327:4)

FIGURE 4B Ludwig van Beethoven: Violin Sonata Op. 47,

Andante con variazioni, Variation 2, bars 19–27

Above: first edition violin part

Middle: piano solo transcription

Below: piano duet transcription (primo)

(© Landesbibliothek Coburg, shelfmark Mus 3327:4)



FIGURE 5 Czerny: *Grand duo brillant*, first movement (Adagio sostenuto – Presto)

(© Landesbibliothek Coburg, shelfmark Mus 3327:4)

Above: bars 107–116 (primo)

Below: bars 428–437 (primo)

his transcriptions Czerny omitted Beethoven's arpeggio on the dominant chord of C major, replacing it in the piano solo transcription with an extended version of the arpeggio followed by rapid scales, while in the piano duet transcription he may have imagined a longer violin cadenza, since this is written entirely in the treble register, beginning from the violin's trilled f_5 . In both transcriptions, Czerny also altered the preceding violin melody, apparently imitating the use of portamento by the violinist in the upbeats to bars 194 and 196; and in the duet transcription he added further ornamentation to the violin's melody.

Another contradiction in Czerny's teaching is his treatment of trills. In his edition of Müller's treatise, he retained, unaltered, the discussion of ornaments indicated by small notes, merely adding a couple of footnotes suggesting that some of them were better indicated by full-size notes; but he made several changes in the section on ornaments indicated by signs. Müller began by discussing the trill and followed it with his consideration of other ornaments; Czerny reversed this order, giving much more attention to the Pralltriller³⁹ and the Doppelschlag (for which he prefers the term Mordent),⁴⁰ and he omits discussion of Müller's Mordent and Battement, which he remarks in parentheses are "already out-of-date and no longer used at all in modern compositions."⁴¹ In their

39 Czerny: *Grosse Fortepiano-Schule von Aug. Eberh.^d Müller*, p. 218; Müller: *G. S. Löhleins Klavierschule*, p. 41. Czerny equates this ornament with the Schneller, indicated by small notes before the main note, whereas Müller realised the ornament designated by a sign differently from the one designated by small notes.

40 Czerny: *Grosse Fortepiano-Schule von Aug. Eberh.^d Müller*, pp. 218–222; Müller: *G. S. Löhleins Klavierschule*, pp. 43 f.

41 "[...] bereits veraltet, und in neuen Compositionen gar nicht gebraucht." Czerny: *Grosse Fortepiano-Schule von Aug. Eberh.^d Müller*, p. 217.

192 *molto adagio* *Tempo I* *p dolce* *sf* *f*

molto adagio *Tempo I*

p *sf* *f*

Ped *

FIGURE 6A Beethoven: Violin Sonata Op. 47 (ed. by Clive Brown),
Kassel 2020, Andante con variazioni, bars 192–196

espressivo *sf* *Ped.* *molto Adagio* *a tempo* *cres.*

G. et D. N. 1162.

Allegro *sf* *Ped.* *ff* *loco*

FIGURE 6B Czerny piano solo transcription, bars 190–196

P dol *espress:* *Fz* *Presto*

rallent

FIGURE 6C Czerny piano duet transcription, bars 190–196
(primo) (© Landesbibliothek Coburg, shelfmark Mus 3327:4)

treatment of the trill, there are significant differences. Czerny, for instance retained the introductory paragraph almost unaltered except that where Müller wrote: “its execution begins always with the higher of the two notes (the auxiliary)”,⁴² Czerny substituted “its execution begins normally, as a rule, with the higher of the two notes (the auxiliary)”, adding: “But it can also begin with the lower and occasionally with the addition of an even lower note”.⁴³ Both editions began with the same example (“Erstes Beyspiel”), but Czerny added two new ones (Figure 7). All Czerny’s subsequent music examples show an upper-note start except one: a chain of descending trills, which like the earlier example involves the trill being preceded by a main note one step higher.⁴⁴

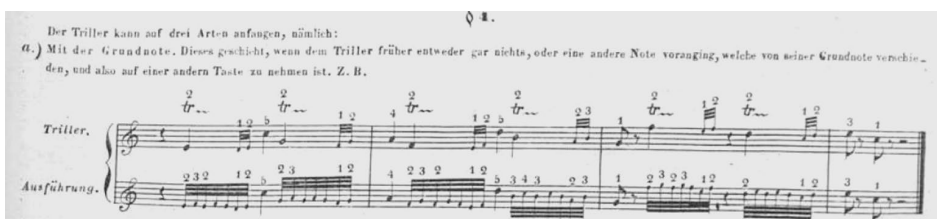


FIGURE 7 Czerny: *Grosse Fortepiano-Schule* von Aug. Eberh.^d Müller, p. 222

While, in this treatise, Czerny cautiously indicates the possibility of beginning a trill with the main note, he takes a very different stance in his 1839 *Pianoforte-Schule*. Here he begins with examples of trills starting on the main note, before instructing, with self-explanatory music examples:

“The trill can begin in three ways, i. e.:

a) With the main note. This happens if the trill is preceded either by no note or by one that is different from the main note, and therefore on another key.



42 “[...] seine Ausführung fängt allezeit mit dem höher liegenden von beyden Tönen (Hülfsnote) an”. Müller: *G. S. Löhleins Klavierschule*, p. 38f.

43 “Seine Ausführung fängt in der Regel gewöhnlich mit dem höher liegenden von den beyden Tönen (Hülfsnote) an. Doch kann er auch mit dem tiefern anfangen, und bisweilen sogar mit dem Zusatz eines noch tiefer liegenden Tons”. Czerny: *Grosse Fortepiano-Schule* von Aug. Eberh.^d Müller, p. 222.

44 *Ibid.*, p. 224.

b) With the auxiliary. This must happen when the main note of the trill immediately precedes it.

c) With the note below, i. e.:

This can occasionally be allowed if the trill is rather long, and one wants particularly to emphasise it. If the composer specifically shows, with a small note, how it should begin, one must, as always, obey.⁴⁵

In 1839, therefore, Czerny adopted an approach very similar to Johann Nepomuk Hummel in his 1828 *Anweisung zum Piano-Forte-Spiel* and Spohr in his 1833 *Violinschule* (both published in Vienna by Haslinger).⁴⁶ All of them were probably concerned to emphasise the primacy of precise notation over uncertain and arbitrary practice. Partly in consequence of this concern to encourage notational precision, however, the principles they prescribed were applied retrospectively and inappropriately to earlier repertoire. From the 1830s onwards, it became increasingly common practice to begin trills in Classical repertoire from the main note unless explicitly indicated to the contrary. By the end of the century, many editors of annotated editions provided realisations of trills in Classical repertoire that began with the main note and ended without a concluding turn, where the composer had not specifically indicated one, while theoretical writers like Andreas Moser argued, with no solid evidence beyond Hummel, Spohr, and Czerny, that beginning trills with the main note was typical of Classical Viennese practice;⁴⁷ and twentieth-century writers, such as Frederick Neumann, who had grown up in the aftermath of the early twentieth-century stylistic revolution, sought to find historical justification for the practices with which they were familiar and comfortable, such as continuous (essentially post-Kreisler) vibrato and main-note trills, often over-emphasising or even distorting the meaning of sources that they cited to support their predilections.

Czerny's transcriptions of Beethoven's Op. 47 clearly demonstrate that his teaching in 1839 was at odds with his earlier understanding of Beethoven's expectations: his fingerings and annotations make it absolutely clear that he expected the vast majority of trills

⁴⁵ Czerny: *Pianoforte-Schule*, Vol. 1, pp. 130f. The Figures themselves give the German original.

⁴⁶ See Hummel: *Ausführliche theoretisch-praktische Anweisung*, p. 386; Spohr: *Violinschule*, pp. 154f.

⁴⁷ See Joseph Joachim/Andreas Moser: *Violinschule*, Berlin 1905, Vol. 3, p. 20.

to begin with the upper note, in line with the teaching in his edition of Müller's treatise. Before examining this evidence, however, it is appropriate to note that he was in no doubt that (except in a few particular contexts) trills must conclude with a turn (*Nachschlag*), whether notated or not, commenting in his edition of Müller: "Since the turn rounds off and completes the trill into a whole, it is to be accepted as a rule, according to current taste, and also to be used where the composer failed to indicate it (for the exceptions see below at B)."⁴⁸ And in 1839, too, he instructed: "Although these final notes are usually added, they also have to be added where this is not the case."⁴⁹ He detailed the few very specific exceptions in both treatises. In this respect his practice and his teaching, along with that of the overwhelming majority of his contemporaries, was consistent.⁵⁰

Czerny's two transcriptions of Op. 47 contain numerous indications of trill beginnings, some of which may seem quite surprising to musicians trained according to twentieth-century aesthetics. In Figure 8a the trill starts with the upper auxiliary despite the octave leap. In Figure 8b, the fingerings indicate upper-auxiliary beginnings for all the trills except the first one in bar 26, which, as in Czerny's illustration of a main-note start in his edition of Müller, is preceded by the note above (Figure 7); and to make his intention clear in this instance, Czerny precedes the trilled note with a grace note on the same pitch. In Figure 8c, in the solo transcription, Czerny gives fingerings for a succession of upper-auxiliary beginnings, even for the trill preceded by the note above; comparison with the duet transcription suggests that he took these upper-auxiliary beginnings for granted. In the duet version, however, he marked the turns, which he had omitted in the other transcription, but not for the trill that is followed by another a step below, which reflects his teaching on successive descending trills.

Figure 9, from one of the most remarkable of his own serious compositions from the mid 1820s, the Piano Sonata No. 6 Op. 124, shows how, at that time, Czerny took upper-auxiliary beginnings for granted, only marking the upper-note start (in the final bar of the example) when an accidental was necessary.

To what extent Czerny's way of playing Beethoven's, or indeed his own music, changed over time is indeterminable, but his pedagogic publications make it clear that his

48 "Da der Nachschlag erst den Triller zu einem Ganzen rundet und abschließt, so ist er, nach dem jetzigen Geschmack, als Regel anzunehmen, und auch da anzuwenden, wo ihn der Componist anzuzeigen unterließ (die Ausnahmen siehe weiter unten bey B)." Czerny: *Grosse Fortepiano-Schule von Aug. Eberh.^d Müller*, p. 223.

49 "Obschon man diese Schlussnoten gewöhnlich dazu schreibt, so müssen sie auch da hinzugefügt werden, wo dieses nicht der Fall ist." Czerny: *Pianoforte-Schule*, Vol. 1, p. 130.

50 I know of no earlier writer who suggested the omission of a turn (*Nachschlag*) where the composer did not mark it (which was very frequent). For examples see Brown: *Reading Between the Lines of Beethoven's Notation*, in: *Beethoven Violin Sonatas*, Vol. 1, pp. xxiv–xxvi, Vol. 2, pp. xxv–xxvii.

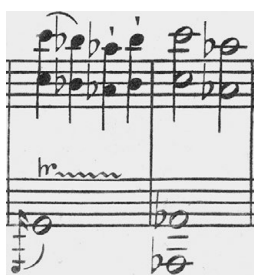


FIGURE 8A Beethoven: Violin Sonata Op. 47, first movement, bar 221

Left: first edition piano part

Right: Czerny piano duet transcription (secondo) (© Landesbibliothek Coburg, shelfmark Mus 3327:4)



FIGURE 8B Czerny piano solo transcription, second movement, bars 23–26



FIGURE 8C Second movement, bars 145–147

Above: Czerny piano solo transcription

Below: Czerny piano duet transcription (primo) (© Landesbibliothek Coburg, shelfmark Mus 3327:4)

teaching and his published compositions were at the forefront of instrumental developments and aesthetic change. His notion that the ‘spiritual conception’ of Beethoven’s music needed to be expressed through using different performing practices than those of Beethoven’s lifetime, corresponds with similar revisionist attitudes expressed by ‘progressive’ musicians in later generations. Most of Czerny’s contemporaries, as well as the majority of later nineteenth-century musicians, showed a marked propensity to prefer new practices over the preservation of old ones. In string playing, for instance, springing bowstrokes, when they were used in 1822 by Joseph Böhm, had astonished a Viennese reviewer, who believed that bowstrokes of this kind “have not until now been used by any



FIGURE 9 Czerny: Piano Sonata No. 6 Op. 124, Paris: Zetter [s. a.], third movement (*Allegretto con moto, vivace*), bars 156–165

German violinist”.⁵¹ At first they were a specific virtuoso effect, but they were gradually adopted in the performance of Classical repertoire. Anton Schindler, who took a much more conservative attitude towards Beethoven performance than Czerny, condemned their employment in Beethoven’s music in a series of reviews of chamber concerts in Frankfurt in 1859–1860, asserting that Schuppanzigh never used bowing of this kind. But by the 1880s, the springing bowstroke was already regarded as “an indispensable bowstroke for every violinist”, even though “in the old Italian School and particularly in the German up to Louis Spohr, it was employed less. One mostly played the passages that were suitable for this bowstroke with short on-string bowing at the point.”⁵² By the end of the century, it could be asserted:

“It ought not always to be seen as a sin against the Holy Ghost if occasionally, even in the works of our Classical masters, at the appropriate place, one sometimes introduces a more modern bowing,

- 51 “[...] welches bis jetzt noch von keinem deutschen Geiger ausgeübt wird”. [Anon.]: Concert-Anzeigen [23. 3. 1822], in: Wiener Zeitschrift 7 (1822), pp. 293–296, here p. 293. See also Clive Brown: The Springing Bowstroke in Beethoven’s Vienna. Important New Evidence, in: Beethoven Sonatas for Pianoforte and Violin. Performing Practice Commentary, ed. by Clive Brown and Neal Peres Da Costa, Kassel 2020, pp. 10–20, available at www.baerenreiter.com/en/shop/product/details/BA9014/ (5 February 2022).
- 52 “[...] eine unentbehrliche Strichart für jeden Geiger [...]. In den alten italienischen, besonders in den deutschen Schulen bis zu L[ouis] Spohr, wurde sie weniger angewandt. Man spielte die diesem Striche angemessenen Stellen grösstenteils mit kurzen Strichen im liegenden Bogen an der Spitze.” Hermann Schröder: Die Kunst des Violinspiels. Ein encyclopädisches Handbuch für jeden Violinisten, Leipzig [1887], p. 72.

especially when one is convinced that this will be more likely to fulfil the composer's intention than his violin-playing contemporaries could have done."

The author went on to suggest, with reference to Mozart:

"where light grace and sparkling humour predominate in his works, the *Saltato* bowstroke, which admittedly was not yet known at this master's time, is nevertheless really good to use, indeed according to our present-day taste, is absolutely indispensable."⁵³

Less than a century after Czerny's pronouncements on Beethoven performance in his *Pianoforte-Schule*, Carl Flesch, in *Die Kunst des Violinspiels*, was to articulate a comparable distinction between 'spiritual conception' and performing practices in the interpretation of earlier repertoire, asserting: "If we are to recall Spohr's compositions to life again, we must employ present day means of expression in their reproduction." Then, having explicitly rejected the fingering and other expressive practices that Spohr himself had detailed in his compositions and in his *Violinschule*, Flesch echoed Czerny's comment by concluding: "It is only that which is essential, Spohr's spirit, that we must try to save and carry over without injury into our own time."⁵⁴ Such references to 'spirit' provide a convenient justification for ignoring the aural expectations that lay behind composers' notational practices, while still claiming fidelity to their aesthetic intentions.

Czerny could not have foreseen a future in which tastes would have changed so radically from those with which he lived, that his strictures about playing the music exactly as the composer had notated it would have been understood in a way that was completely alien to the subtleties of beautiful performance, which he detailed with such care in his *Pianoforte-Schule*. He could not have anticipated the modernist artistic revolution of the early twentieth century and its ramifications into the twenty-first century. He could not have foreseen the incremental rejection of almost all the expressive resources he knew and employed, which involved what later musicians would deem significant deviations from the notated text. Could he still have recognised the validity of the spiritual

53 "So darf es auch nicht immer als eine Sünde wider den heiligen Geist angesehen werden, wenn man gelegentlich am rechten Orte selbst in den Werken unserer klassischen Meister einmal eine mehr moderne Strichart anbringt, zumal wenn man die Ueberzeugung hat, die Intention des Autors damit viel eher zu verwirklichen, als es von seiten seiner geigenden Zeitgenossen geschehen konnte. An einem Beispiel von Mozart [...] wurde schon gezeigt, wie der zu dieses Meisters Zeit gewiß noch gar nicht bekannte *Saltato*strich in seinen Werken da, wo leichte Grazie und prickelnder Humor vorherrschend sind, doch recht gut zu brauchen, ja nach unserem heutigen Geschmack gar nicht zu entbehren ist." Reinhold Jockisch: *Katechismus der Violine und des Violinspiels*, Leipzig 1900, p. 141.

54 "Wenn wir die Spohrschen Kompositionen zu neuem Leben erwecken wollen, so müssen wir uns für ihre Wiedergabe zeitgenössischer Ausdrucksmittel bedienen. [...] Bloß das Wesentliche, den Geist Spohrs, müssen wir versuchen, unversehrt in unsere Zeit herüberzuretten." Carl Flesch: *Die Kunst des Violinspiels*, Vol. 2: *Künstlerische Gestaltung und Unterricht*, Berlin 1928, p. 179.

conception in Artur Schnabel's celebrated recordings of all the Beethoven piano sonatas, despite Schnabel's total abandonment and condemnation of arpeggiation and asynchrony in piano playing, which Beethoven and Czerny certainly used extensively, but surely with great subtlety, as an essential expressive resource? Could Czerny have imagined the strict performance of notated rhythms, and the minimising of all kinds of tempo flexibility that occurred during the second half of the twentieth century? Could he have accepted that "the changed taste of the times" necessitated these developments in Beethoven performance, in order to preserve the spiritual conception?

Whatever tenuous threads of the "inherited 'spiritual legacy'", which Philokales had hoped to hear "entirely unchanged" in Czerny's playing, might have survived through the nineteenth century, were irreparably severed in the twentieth. This does not, however, mean that the study of historical sources is incapable of casting light on the hidden messages that are only to be 'read between the lines' of Beethoven's notation. Despite Czerny's inconsistency, his writings, and those of his contemporaries, offer stimulating insights into a lost world of performance that can still inspire us to reinvigorate Beethoven's music with a new spiritual conception, which may, perhaps, even achieve validity by changing the taste of the times.

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