

Mario Aschauer

**Text, Context, and Creative Process
in Diabelli's Vaterländischer Künstlerverein**

One of the many great aspects of composer anniversaries, such as Ludwig van Beethoven's 250th birthday in 2020, is that they have a tendency to shed light upon yet-to-be-illuminated corners of music history. Among the many projects that have received more attention leading up to this anniversary was Anton Diabelli's *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein*. For example, Rudolf Buchbinder made it a starting point for an entirely new cycle of variations by contemporary composers,¹ and the European Piano Teachers' Association (EPTA) Germany made it the theme for their annual conference, including a complete performance of all fifty variations by piano students from all over Europe.² The German music publisher Bärenreiter in Kassel decided to honour the occasion with the first modern edition of both parts of Diabelli's mammoth project – Beethoven's Op. 120 but also the fifty variations by Vienna's composers and virtuosos – perhaps the most impressive 'family picture' of Viennese pianoforte culture in the 1820s.³ I was honoured to have been asked to be in charge for this project, and this article summarises the philological problems that both parts of the *Künstlerverein* pose. It argues in favour of a less-traditional editorial approach that does not emphasise a 'one work, one text' philosophy but instead remains truthful to and presents the unevennesses caused by particular working and publication processes. It presents selected examples of the methodology and illustrates the reasoning behind it.

Beethoven's 33 *Veränderungen*: the sources Table 1 lists the main manuscripts and printed sources that document Beethoven's fascinating creative process that resulted in the 33 *Veränderungen*. The composer's sketches preceding the autograph score of the cycle have been the subject of a thorough investigation that has produced compelling results about the genesis of the work.⁴ With the recent acquisition of Beethoven's previously

- 1 Rudolf Buchbinder: *The Diabelli Project* (Berlin, Deutsche Grammophon, 2020).
- 2 EPTA: 42nd International EPTA Conference – Online Conference (2020), http://epta-deutschland.de/cms/front_content.php?idart=22 (last accessed 1 June 2023).
- 3 Ludwig van Beethoven et al.: *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein. Veränderungen für das Piano Forte über ein vorgelegtes Thema, componirt von den vorzüglichsten Tonsetzern und Virtuosen Wien's und der k. k. oesterreichischen Staaten*, ed. by Mario Aschauer, Kassel 2020.
- 4 See William Kinderman: *Beethoven's Diabelli Variations*, Oxford 1989.

inaccessible autograph manuscript⁵ (source **A**) by the Beethoven-Haus in Bonn and the resulting public availability of the source, a new dimension was added to a thorny source situation. The sources that earlier modern editions were based on include a manuscript copy that Beethoven had extensively revised in anticipation of an English edition (source **B**), several pages with lists of corrections in the Engelmann Sketchbook (source **A₄**), and the first edition by Diabelli with various title pages and plate corrections (source **C**). A further manuscript copy (source **B₂**) remains lost.

TABLE 1 The sources for Beethoven's 33 *Veränderungen*, Op. 120

A	Autograph manuscript. Beethoven-Haus Bonn. Shelfmark: NE 294.
A₂	Autograph fragment (inserted leaf with the end of Variation 31). Beethoven-Haus Bonn.
A₃	Autograph title page. Beethoven-Haus Bonn. Shelfmark: NE 363.
A₄	Engelmann Sketchbook with corrections for Op. 120 on pp. 16–18 and 33 as well as a fair copy of Diabelli's waltz in Beethoven's hand on p. 37. Beethoven-Haus Bonn. Shelfmark: HCB Mh 60.
B	Manuscript copy by an anonymous copyist and Wenzel Schlemmer (fol. 30r–31v) with numerous corrections and revisions by Beethoven for an English edition ('London copy'). Beethoven-Haus Bonn. Shelfmark: HCB Mh 55.
B₂	Manuscript copy by Wenzel Rampl, last known in Archduke Rudolph's collection. Whereabouts unknown, but A₃ may have constituted its title page.
C	First edition.
	Title variants
C₁	"33 VERÄNDERUNGEN über einen Walzer für das Piano-Forte componirt, und Der Frau Antonia von Brentano gebornen Edlen von Birkenstock hochachtungsvoll zugeeignet von LUDWIG VAN BEETHOVEN 120 ^{tes} Werk. [left:] N ^o 1380. [middle:] Eigenthum der Verleger. [right:] 2 fl. 45 X. C. M./5 fl. 30 X. W. W. Wien bey Cappi u: Diabelli, Graben N ^o 1133. Leipzig bey C. F. Peters."
C₂	"33 VERÄNDERUNGEN über einen Walzer für das Piano-Forte componirt und Der Frau Antonia von Brentano gebornen Edlen von Birkenstock hochachtungsvoll zugeeignet von LUDWIG VAN BEETHOVEN 120 ^{tes} Werk. [left:] N ^o 1380 [middle:] Eigenthum der Verleger [right:] 2 fl. 45 X. C. M. Wien, bey A. Diabelli et Comp. Graben N ^o 1133. Leipzig bey H. A. Probst."
	Music plate variants
C₁	39 plates paginated as pp. 4–43 engraved by Joseph Sigg (engraver's mark on p. 43: "Gestochen v:[on] Jos:[eph] Sigg."), original stage.
C₂	Like C₁ plus circa 60 corrections.
C₃	Like C₂ plus extra measure inserted after measure 5 in Variation 4.

5 Ludwig van Beethoven: 33 *Veränderungen* C-Dur über einen Walzer von Anton Diabelli für Klavier op. 120, Vol. 1: Faksimile des Autographs NE 294 im Beethoven-Haus Bonn, Bonn 2010 (Ausgewählte Handschriften in Faksimile-Ausgaben, Vol. 19), pp. v–vi.

The autograph (A) Beethoven's autograph is a true working manuscript. Not only does it show countless corrections that occurred in the process of developing the sketches into a finished version,⁶ but it also displays multiple layers of revisions, additions, and corrections, in pencil and various shades of black and red ink, that were made after the composition had stabilised to a high degree of completeness. Some of these revisions seem to have been triggered when Beethoven looked over his manuscript from a compositional perspective. Others can be shown to be connected with Beethoven's proof-reading of copy manuscripts and the first edition. For example, it would be tempting to interpret the over sixty corrections and annotations in red ink, which stand out so colourfully in the manuscript, as one coherent layer of revision. However, closer inspection and comparison reveals that they not only derive from several separate phases of revision but are also connected to multiple other sources. About half of the red-ink corrections in **A** can be associated with the revision involving the list of corrections in the Engelmann Sketchbook **A₄** (see discussion below). The other half, many of them with the remark "london" in the margin, stems from a slightly later date when Beethoven was involved with the first edition **C**.

Beyond the purely musical sources, there is also a considerable amount of documentary evidence in Beethoven's conversation books and his correspondence to be considered here. Unfortunately, in most cases the references in the conversation books cannot be dated exactly. Furthermore, they only document one side of the conversation, not Beethoven's response, and often lack the context to fully evince their meaning. Similarly, some of the key letters regarding the 33 *Veränderungen* between Beethoven, Schindler, and Diabelli are undated. Therefore, an exact chronology of events and plans is extremely hard to establish, and sources need be interpreted with great caution.

The London copy (B) and the London edition The pianist and composer Ferdinand Ries studied with Beethoven in Vienna between 1801 and 1805.⁷ During that period he appears to have functioned as a personal assistant to Beethoven, copying and arranging music, conducting negotiations with publishers, and taking care of personal matters. After Ries had settled in London in 1813, Beethoven began to use his former student's contacts with publishers in England to promote his own works. In this context Beethoven also sought to publish his 33 *Veränderungen* in England, and Ries found a prominent buyer in Thomas

6 Many of these are described in Bernhard R. Appel/Michael Ladenburger: [Untitled Documentation of Beethoven's Autograph of Op. 120], https://internet.beethoven.de/regist/scanid6847_02.pdf (last accessed 8 January 2022).

7 Burkhard Meischein: Ferdinand Ries, in: *Das Beethoven-Lexikon*, ed. by Heinz von Loesch and Claus Raab, Laaber 2008 (*Das Beethoven-Handbuch*, Vol. 6), pp. 616–618.

Boosey.⁸ An entry in the conversation books suggests that Diabelli, at least initially, did not oppose a parallel publication of the variations in London or Paris.⁹ Around 21 April 1823, Beethoven asked Schindler to check in on a copyist who had already been working on the variations for eight days.¹⁰ Shortly thereafter, on 25 April, Beethoven notified Ries that “in a few weeks” he would receive his new 33 *Veränderungen*, dedicated to Ries’s wife.¹¹ Five days later Beethoven dated the title page of **B** with 30 April, and in the early days of May, Schindler took the manuscript to Anton Wocher, private secretary of Prince Paul III Anton Esterházy de Galantha, who had agreed to help with a courier to London.¹² However, the courier’s departure was delayed. He left Vienna only in the first days of July.¹³ By the time he finally reached England, Diabelli’s edition (**C**) – with a dedication to Antonia Brentano, much to Ries’s irritation – was already for sale in London and thwarted the plans for an English edition.¹⁴ A rather unfavourable review of the Diabelli edition appeared only days later in the August issue of *The Harmonicon*.¹⁵ Blaming Schindler that “everything went wrong”, Beethoven wrote apologetically to Ries that “the variations were to appear here [in Vienna] only after they had been published in london” and “the dedication to Brentan.[o] was to be for Germany only, because I was very obliged to her and had nothing else to publish at the moment.”¹⁶ A year later, in 1824, Boosey published Beethoven’s variations Nos. 1 and 17 along with a selection of variations from the 50 *Veränderungen* as *A Favorite Waltz with Variations for the Piano Forte*.¹⁷

- 8 Franz Gerhard Wegeler/Ferdinand Ries: *Biographische Notizen über Ludwig van Beethoven*, Koblenz 1838, p. 123.
- 9 Ludwig van Beethoven: *Konversationshefte*, Vol. 3: Hefte 23–37, ed. by Karl-Heinz Köhler and Dagmar Beck, Leipzig 1983, p. 178.
- 10 Beethoven to Schindler, [around 21 April 1823], (No. 1633), in: Ludwig van Beethoven: *Briefwechsel. Gesamtausgabe*, ed. by Sieghard Brandenburg, Munich 1996–1998, Vol. 5, p. 108.
- 11 Beethoven to Ferdinand Ries, 25 April 1823, (No. 1636), *ibid.*, p. 112.
- 12 Beethoven: *Konversationshefte*, Vol. 3, p. 247.
- 13 *Ibid.*, p. 395.
- 14 Wegeler/Ries: *Biographische Notizen*, p. 123.
- 15 Review in *The Harmonicon* 1 (1823), p. 113; along with a number of other contemporary reviews of Op. 120 and the 50 *Veränderungen* published in: Ludwig van Beethoven. *Die Werke im Spiegel seiner Zeit. Gesammelte Konzertberichte und Rezensionen bis 1830*, ed. by Stefan Kunze, Laaber 1987, p. 417.
- 16 “[...] die Variationen sollten erst hier erscheinen, nachdem sie in london <erschiene>herausgekommen wären, allein alles schief, die dedikation an Brentan.[o] sollte nur für Deutschland seyn, da ich ihr sehr verpflichtet u. nichts anders in dem augenblick heraus geben konnte”. Beethoven to Ries, 5 September [1823], (No. 1740), in: Beethoven: *Briefwechsel*, Vol. 5, pp. 225f., here p. 226. All translations by the author unless otherwise stated.
- 17 *A Favorite Waltz with Variations for the Piano Forte, Composed by the Following Eminent German Composers. Beethoven. Czerny (C.). Gänsbacher. Gelinek. Hummel. Kalkbrenner. Leidesdorf. List. Mayseder. Moscheles. Mozart Junr. Pixis. Plachy. Tomaschek. Worzischek.* (London [1824]); copy: British Library, Music Collections. Shelfmark: h.3865.o.(6.); for further editions see Ludwig van Beethoven. *Thematisch-bibliogra-*

The copy manuscript for London (**B**) shows a degree of revision that must have taken considerable effort on Beethoven's part. The descriptor "überprüfte Abschrift" ("examined copy") by which the manuscript is catalogued and referred to in the literature grossly understates the extent of revision documented in this manuscript. Beyond mere proofreading, by which Beethoven would simply have ensured that the copy represented its model, the composer took the opportunity to revise both copy and composition. In other words, not only was **B** changed in this process but **A** as well. Many of the corrections in **B** were first sketched with pencil and subsequently carried out with ink.

The list of corrections in the Sketchbook 'Engelmann' (**A**₄) In addition to preliminary sketches and a fair copy of Diabelli's waltz, the *Engelmann Sketchbook* contains a three-page list of corrections for the 33 *Veränderungen* (**A**₄). A thorough discussion of this source, its curious content, and its role in the revision process of Op. 120 is worthy to be the subject of a separate, in-depth study and exceeds the scope of this article. At any rate, several scholars have suggested that the list resulted from a revision of **A** that Beethoven wanted to transfer subsequently into a temporarily inaccessible **B**.¹⁸ While all the corrections listed in **A**₄ are present in **B**, more than a quarter of them are missing in **A**. This would suggest that, in fact, the process went in the opposite direction and that Beethoven was correcting **B** when he compiled most entries in **A**₄ because **A**, or at least parts of it, was not accessible to him at the time – perhaps because it served as the model for the engraving of the plates for the first edition (**C**).

To complicate matters further, as Beethoven entered the **A**₄ corrections into **A**, he changed his mind about some of them. For example, in Variation 21, measure 6, Beethoven planned to suggest fingering in the left hand on the tied note *a*. He notated "1" over the note in **B**, copied the measure into **A**₄ and added the comment "1 Daumen" ["1 thumb"]. In **A**, however, there never was a "1" in this measure. Instead, Beethoven cancelled the entry in **A**₄ with red ink and added "london" as a reminder to correct **B**.

The manuscript copy by Wenzel Rampl (**B**₂) Entries in the conversation books and a letter from Beethoven to Schindler show that, before Beethoven moved to Hetzendorf on 17 May 1823, another manuscript copy was ordered from copyist Wenzel Rampl (**B**₂).

phisches Werkverzeichnis. Revidierte und wesentlich erweiterte Neuausgabe des Verzeichnisses von Georg Kinsky und Hans Halm, ed. by Kurt Dorfmueller, Norbert Gertsch and Julia Ronge, Munich 2014, Vol. 1, p. 774.

18 Ludwig van Beethoven: 33 *Veränderungen* C-Dur über einen Walzer von Anton Diabelli für Klavier op. 120, Vol. 2: Faksimile der Originalausgabe (Widmungsexemplar) und Kommentare von Bernhard R. Appel, William Kinderman und Michael Ladenburger, Bonn 2010 (*Ausgewählte Handschriften in Faksimile-Ausgaben*, Vol. 19), p. 102; Ludwig van Beethoven: *Diabelli-Variationen*. Opus 120, ed. by Felix Loy, Munich 2019, p. 14.

Bernhard R. Appel and Michael Ladenburger suggest that this copy was intended as the model for the Diabelli edition (C).¹⁹ Sieghard Brandenburg interprets an entry in the conversation books such that Schindler, before 17 May, suggested that Beethoven order **B₂** to give to Diabelli instead of the autograph, which the publisher had demanded as proof of ownership.²⁰ As so often, the wording of Schindler's suggestion in the conversation book is ambiguous: "how about you let Ramfl [i. e., Rampl] sit in and copy the Variat.[ions] one more time, then you must not [or "may not"] give the manuscript to Diab.[elli] any more."²¹

A letter from Beethoven to Schindler from after 17 May confirms the ownership conflict over the autograph manuscript with Diabelli. However, Beethoven also makes it sound as if the proposition of a manuscript copy as substitute for the autograph was either never actually made to Diabelli, or he simply declined:

"[...] that one has to have the manuscript to prove one's ownership, is a new concept to me which I have never heard before, the counter-proof already being the manuscripts which I have and which have been used as models for engraving, and which I have received back – a written document about the ownership of a work has been demanded from me at times, and Diabelli can have one as well – D.[iabelli] could have made a claim on a [manuscript] copy, but you know how the latter turned out all the more since one wanted to give D.[iabelli] the var.[iations] as quickly as possible."²²

What copy Beethoven is referring to – **B**, **B₂**, or yet another, unknown copy – remains ultimately unclear, although **B** with its numerous corrections is a likely candidate.

Curiously, the copy by Rampl had to be carried out discreetly – so much so that even the copyist himself was not to be let in on the plan to its full extent (Schindler: "it will be best if I go to him [i. e., Rampl] in person und tell him what he needs to know and nothing more"²³). Conversation books and letters alike attest to how Beethoven – frustrated by his financial situation – was dissatisfied with the publication deal he had made with Diabelli

19 Beethoven: 33 Veränderungen, Vol. 2, p. 106.

20 Beethoven: Briefwechsel, Vol. 5, p. 127, footnote 5.

21 "[...] wie wäre es denn, weñ Sie den Ramfl herein setzten u die Variat.[ionen] nochmal's copiren ließen, dañ dürften Sie dem Diab.[elli] nicht mehr das Manusc[ri]pt geben." Beethoven: Konversationshefte, Vol. 3, p. 282.

22 "[...] daß man das Manuscript haben muß, um sein Eigenthum zu beweisen, ist mir ein ganz neuer saz, wovon ich nie gehört, <das>den <beweisen>Gegenbeweis liefern schon die M.[anu]s.[cri]pte, welche ich habe, u. wo nach mehrern selbst gestochen ist worden, u. ich darnach zurück erhalten habe – eine Schrift über das Eigenthum eines werkes ist wohl von mir zuweilen gefordert worden, u. die kann D.[iabelli] auch haben – auf eine Abschrift hätte D. Anspruch machen können, sie wissen aber, wie selbe ausgefallen ist, um so mehr, da man die Var. D. so geschwind als nur möglich übergeben wollte." Beethoven to Schindler, [shortly after 17 May 1823], (No. 1650), in: Beethoven: Briefwechsel, Vol. 5, p. 125.

23 "[...] da ist es am besten, ich gehe selbst zu ihm, u sage ihm, was er zu wissen nöthig hat, u mehr nicht." Beethoven: Konversationshefte, Vol. 3, p. 283.

and with the way he was treated by the publisher. Additionally, the plan of Diabelli publishing the *Missa solemnis* fell through. The offer letters Beethoven wrote to Antonio Pacini in Paris²⁴ and Carl Lissner in St. Petersburg²⁵ in early May 1823 can be seen as last-minute attempts by the composer to increase his profit from the 33 *Veränderungen*. Perhaps it was in this context that Beethoven ordered the Rampl copy, which would also explain the secrecy around the copying process. In any case, all efforts to get the 33 *Veränderungen* published abroad ultimately failed, Beethoven lost the fight with Diabelli, and the autograph became the publisher's property. The whereabouts of **B₂** are unknown today, and thus its role in the publication process cannot be conclusively established.

At any rate, it is very likely that it was **B₂** which Beethoven sent as a gift to Archduke Rudolph on 27 June 1823 – indeed, this may have been its purpose all along. Surely the archduke was eager to see Beethoven's composition since he, too, was one of the contributors to the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* (under the acronym 'S. R. D.'). From Rudolph's collection the manuscript probably came into the possession of the Viennese music collector and scholar Aloys Fuchs,²⁶ who listed a copy of Op. 120 with "the title page in Beethoven's hand" in the catalog of his collection.²⁷ Such an autograph title page was recently acquired by the Beethoven-Haus Bonn (**A₃**), and since it also shows entries in Fuchs's hand, it may have originally belonged to **B₂** and would consequently represent Beethoven's latest version of the title.

The first edition (C) When exactly Diabelli received Beethoven's 33 *Veränderungen* is not entirely clear. An entry in the conversation books could be interpreted such that Diabelli had received the autograph **A** already around mid-April before Beethoven requested it back only shortly thereafter to have **B** copied for the London edition.²⁸ Since **A** was still being copied for London (**B**) around 21 April, it probably was not returned to Diabelli before the beginning of May. In a letter to Diabelli, Beethoven suggested the following *modus operandi*:

"my manus.[cript] is written on loose bifolios, you could give to Schindler as many bifolios as you have written as well as the copy which you would always receive back the same day that I receive them that way we both would make quick progress".²⁹

²⁴ Beethoven to Antonio Pacini, [5 May 1823], (No. 1644), in: Beethoven: Briefwechsel, Vol. 5, pp. 120 f.

²⁵ Beethoven to Carl Lissner, 7 May 1823, (No. 1647), *ibid.*, pp. 123 f.

²⁶ Sieghard Brandenburg: Die Beethovenhandschriften in der Musikaliensammlung des Erzherzogs Rudolph, in: *Zu Beethoven. Aufsätze und Dokumente*, ed. by Harry Goldschmidt, Vol. 3, Berlin 1988, pp. 141–176, here pp. 163 f.

²⁷ Richard Schaal: Handschriften-Kopien aus der Wiener Musiksammlung von Aloys Fuchs, in: *The Haydn Yearbook = Das Haydn Jahrbuch* 7 (1970), pp. 255–280, here p. 264.

²⁸ Beethoven: *Konversationshefte*, Vol. 3, p. 217.

Unfortunately, this letter is undated. We also don't know whether Diabelli agreed to Beethoven's plan and whether Diabelli indeed created another manuscript copy (unknown today) to serve as an engraving model. That composer and publisher did end up working in instalments is, at least, supported by several documents. Shortly after 17 May Beethoven wrote to Schindler, "Herewith Diabelli receives the old [material] and a portion of new [material]. My eyes, which are worse rather than better, only let me work slowly."³⁰ Moreover, autograph **A**, the *recto* page of a bifolio containing the beginning of Variation 32, shows an autograph remark in red ink: "after the other Diabelli receives this –".³¹

While no actual proofs are extant, several documents³² demonstrate that, despite serious medical issues with his eyes, Beethoven corrected the proofs for the Diabelli edition **C** and complained on occasion about the high number of mistakes in the engraving carried out by the Viennese music engraver ("Musikalien-Graveur") Joseph Sigg. Curiously, only a part of the revisions Beethoven had undertaken in **A**, **B**, and **A₄** made it into the first edition. At the same time Beethoven appears to have continued to revise his composition, prompting further corrections (see above, source **A**). Presumably these corrections arose after Schindler had given **B** to Woche, and Beethoven made a reminder to himself to ensure they would at some point be carried out in the London edition. A letter from late June 1823 suggests that when it became clear that the departure of the courier to England would be delayed, Beethoven may have received **B** back one more time before it finally left Vienna.³³ This would explain why most of the eleven "London" corrections are actually carried out in **B**. Another group of red-ink corrections in **A** are not in **B** and can therefore be considered to have been made after **B** had finally left Vienna.

- 29 "[...] mein Manus. ist Bögen weise geschrieben, so viel Bögen als sie geschrieben könnten sie Schindler geben so wie auch die Abschrift selbe erhielten sie immer am selben Tage, wo ich sie erhalten zurück auf diese weise rükten wir beyde geschwind vor". Beethoven to Diabelli, [middle of April 1823], (No. 1629), in: Beethoven: Briefwechsel, Vol. 5, p. 106.
- 30 "[...] diabelli erhält hier das alte u. eine Portion Neues Meine Augen, die noch[?] <nicht>eher <beßer> schlimmer als beßer lassen nur alles langsam verichten." Beethoven to Schindler, [shortly after 17 May], (No. 1650), *ibid.*, p. 125.
- 31 "[...] nach anderem erhält Diabelli dieß –". Beethoven: 33 Veränderungen, Vol. 1, p. 65.
- 32 The letters explicitly referring to Beethoven's proofreading of the first edition include Beethoven to Schindler, [shortly after 17 May], (No. 1650), in: Beethoven: Briefwechsel, Vol. 5, p. 125; Beethoven to Schindler, 1 June [1823], (No. 1662), *ibid.*, p. 137; Beethoven to Diabelli, [between 3 and 27 June 1823], (No. 1668), *ibid.*, p. 147; Beethoven to Diabelli, [between 3 and 27 June 1823], (No. 1669), *ibid.*, p. 148; Beethoven to Schindler, [between 3 and 27 June 1823], (No. 1670), *ibid.*, p. 149; Beethoven to Schindler, [between 3 and 27 June 1823], (No. 1670a), *ibid.*
- 33 Beethoven to Schindler, [shortly after 25 June 1823], (No. 1679), *ibid.*, p. 155.

Beyond that, **C** contains a considerable number of readings that are neither in **A** nor **B**. This may be the result of any combination of the following reasons: firstly, Beethoven may have revised the proofs without transferring the changes into **A**. Secondly, Diabelli, whom Beethoven valued as a proofreader and who advertised the edition with its elegant visual appeal and correctness (“und waren auch möglichst bemüht, in Rücksicht des Stiches Eleganz mit größter Correctheit zu vereinen”),³⁴ can be assumed to have done some editing in a similar fashion as he did in the 50 *Veränderungen* (discussed below). And thirdly, some deviating readings may simply be mistakes.

In total, seventeen copies of the first edition were consulted for the new *Bärenreiter* edition.³⁵ While there may be more stages of plate corrections evident in further extant copies, only the three types described here are relevant for the text of Op. 120.

Around 1860 the successor of *Diabelli und Comp.*, Carl Anton Spina, prepared a new edition of Beethoven’s 33 *Veränderungen*.³⁶ For this purpose he used a copy of the Diabelli print, compared it to Beethoven’s autograph (**A**), which was still in the firm’s possession (see the section about source **B**₂), and edited it accordingly for the new engraving. It is safe to assume that the copy he used constitutes the last stage of the plates,³⁷ here referred to as stage **C**₃ (the state of the plates of **C** is indicated with a subscript number after the period).

Spina’s copy is all but identical with the copies Beethoven received “on fine paper” in the summer of 1823 to give as dedication copies to friends and supporters.³⁸ The only difference seems to be the extra measure after measure 5 in Variation 4. We refer to this stage as **C**₂. Several copies extant today deviate from stage **C**₂ in some sixty details. These copies constitute the earliest stage of the plates, stage **C**₁.

While the corrections between stage **C**₁ and **C**₂ may not have been carried out all at once, they almost certainly occurred under Beethoven’s supervision and before he received his own copies.

In early nineteenth-century editions, title pages and musical scores were normally produced by different craftsmen. This is also true for the first edition of Op. 120. Today, two variants of the title page are known: **C**₁ and **C**₂ (the title type is indicated with a

34 *Wiener Zeitung* (16 June 1823), p. 554.

35 For a complete list see *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein*, *Critical Commentary*.

36 Ludwig van Beethoven: 33 *Veränderungen über einen Walzer von A. Diabelli für das Pianoforte componirt und Frau Antonia von Brentano gewidmet* [...] Op. 120, Vienna ca 1860, plate number 22.461; copy: Vienna, Austrian National Library, Music Collection, shelfmark: MS4811-4°/11.

37 Vienna, Austrian National Library, Music Collection, shelfmark: SH Beethoven 474.

38 Beethoven’s copies “auf schönes Papier” are mentioned in letters from Beethoven to Diabelli, [between 3 and 27 June 1823], (No. 1669), *Beethoven: Briefwechsel*, Vol. 5, p. 148, and Beethoven to Schindler, [between 3 and 27 June 1823], (No. 1670), *ibid.*, p. 149.

subscript number immediately following the siglum C).³⁹ The main discerning factor between the two is the name of the publisher. While **C₁** was published by Cappi und Diabelli, **C₂** shows Diabelli und Comp.[agnie] – a name change that occurred between late February and early June 1824.⁴⁰ There are two groups of extant copies with the **C₂** title page; in the main group of **C₂** copies, the new title page simply takes the place of the old one (followed by two empty pages before the music begins on p. 4). The second group dates from the point when the 33 *Veränderungen* became Part I of the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein* in 1824. The copies of this type show a *Künstlerverein* series title page on folio 1r and feature the Beethoven title on page 3. We refer to this type as **C_{v2}**.

Virtually all stages of plate corrections can be found in combination with any of the described title variants among extant copies, yielding the following types (the number preceding the period denotes the title type, the one after the period the correction stage of the music): **C_{1.1}**, **C_{1.2}**, **C_{2.1}**, **C_{2.2}**, **C_{v2.1}**, **C_{v2.2}**, and **C_{v2.3}**. A likely scenario for the history of the print would therefore be as follows: first, Diabelli produced a stock of copies of type **C_{1.1}**, which he advertised in the *Wiener Zeitung* of 16 June 1823 and began to sell. Before Beethoven's eight copies were printed, corrections were carried out on the music plates, yielding type **C_{1.2}** for Beethoven's copies. However, Diabelli seems to have had a remaining stock of type **C_{1.1}** which, given the considerable expenses for engraving, paper, and printing, he also wanted to sell. This stock appears to have been considerable enough that, when he changed the name of his firm in June 1824, he still had some copies left over. Given the existence of **C_{2.1}** copies, Diabelli probably had the outer bifolio of these copies (which contained only the title page on folio 1r and page 44 of the music on folio 2r) exchanged with new ones that contained the new title page. In other words, he turned **C_{1.1}** copies into **C_{2.1}** copies by replacing the outer bifolio and continued to sell them. Since the name change was officially announced with the publication of the *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein*, of which Beethoven's Op. 120 was now Part I ("1. Abtheilung"), Diabelli began to sell copies of the print in which a *Künstlerverein* title on page [1] pushed the original title to page [3] (**C_{v2.2}**). There are, however, also extant copies without the *Künstlerverein* title (**C_{2.2}**). The latest copies of the print show one more plate correction, namely the additional measure in Variation 4. Unfortunately, we cannot establish the exact time and reason for the correction that led to stage **C₃** of the plates.

39 For a bibliographic description see *Vaterländischer Künstlerverein*, Critical Commentary.

40 The last advertisement of music under Cappi und Diabelli appeared in the *Wiener Zeitung* of 27 February 1824; the new name was filed on 3 June, the first advertisement under Diabelli et Comp. appeared on 9 June 1824 (see the discussion of Part II below); Alexander Weinmann: *Verlagsverzeichnis Peter Cappi und Cappi & Diabelli (1816 bis 1824)*, Vienna 1983 (*Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alt-Wiener Musikverlages*, 2/23), pp. 1 and 18.

The sources for the 50 *Veränderungen* Today, autograph manuscripts are extant for thirty-eight of the 50 *Veränderungen* in the second part of the *Künstlerverein*. Thirty-five were given to the Vienna Court Library (today the Austrian National Library) in 1829 by Diabelli himself.⁴¹ Three further autographs (by Hummel, Kalkbrenner, and Pixis) came to the library from different sources, and a second autograph fair copy of Emanuel Aloys Förster's variation joined the collection as part of the composer's estate. The whereabouts of the autographs for the remaining twelve variations and Czerny's coda are currently unknown; they are believed to be lost.

The individual autographs comprise a wide range of manuscript types. While some constitute carefully produced fair copies (e.g. Vitásek), others show the typical characteristics of a first written version with numerous corrections (e.g. von Winkhler). Assmayr, Moscheles, and Plachý notated their variations on the very leaf Diabelli had sent them with his waltz theme.

While all extant copies of the first edition appear to have the same title page on page [3], they occur with two different *Künstlerverein* series titles on page [1]. Series title 1 was engraved by the Viennese copper engraver and printer Heinrich Zimer.⁴² The other, anonymous title 2 is all but identical in content save for one detail: title 1 reads "1^{te} Abtheilung" ("1st Section") while title 2 only shows "ABTHEILUNG" ("Section") with some space for numerals 1 or 2 to be inserted by hand. Otherwise, the main difference between the two titles is their artistic design. Interestingly, no copies of Beethoven's 33 *Veränderungen* with title 1 are known. Title 1 can also be shown to be connected with an earlier stage of the music plates of the 50 *Veränderungen*. In the copies consulted for my edition, two stages of plate corrections can be observed. The later stage of the music plates shows some fourteen corrections, mainly in Czerny's coda. A copy of title 1 is also extant in Anselm Hüttenbrenner's estate. We can therefore assume that title 1 is the earlier of the two titles and was only used briefly and for a smaller number of copies. The music plates were engraved by Joseph Sigg, who had already engraved Beethoven's Op. 120.

Similarities between the two first editions Similar to the first edition of Beethoven's 33 *Veränderungen* (C), the edition of the 50 *Veränderungen* also shows at times considerable differences between the autographs and the print. While some of them may stem from undocumented revisions by the composers, others look much more like an editorial

41 Günter Brosche: Einleitung, in: Anton Diabellis Vaterländischer Künstlerverein. Zweite Abteilung (1824); anhand der erhaltenen Originalhandschriften revidierter Nachdruck, ed. by Günter Brosche, Graz 1983 (Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, Vol. 136), p. VII.

42 Zimer began to advertise as a copper engraver and printer in the *Wiener Zeitung* on 8 November 1824; similar advertisements can be found until 1845.

intervention by Diabelli. While the average age of the contributors was about forty years, the oldest, Förster and Stadler, were seventy-four, while the youngest were eleven (Franz Liszt), nineteen (Franz von Szalay), and twenty-one (Carl Maria von Bocklet). A generational diversity that is, of course, also reflected in the participants' notational habits so that Diabelli was faced with the difficult task of editing fifty very heterogenous manuscripts into one coherent cycle. While there are many interesting details concerning individual cases, two general aspects of Diabelli's 'house style' are particularly worth reporting: the treatment of appoggiaturas and staccato signs.

It comes as no surprise that particularly the older guard of the fifty composers used appoggiaturas very much in the late eighteenth-century way with different note values – Figure 1 shows two examples by Horzalka and Freystädler. Yet the engraving standardises each and every appoggiatura, no matter the note value, to a slashed eighth note. The same is true for Beethoven's 33 *Veränderungen* (Figure 2). In Variation 9, for example, all of Beethoven's 16th-note appoggiaturas are engraved as slashed eighths, which seems to have been a feature in which Beethoven was so uninvested that he did not demand a change. In the same example a similar standardisation effort can be observed with regards to staccato markings. Beethoven's staccato strokes are printed as dots. In this context it is interesting to observe Diabelli's own treatment of staccato signs in the autographs of his waltz where he, in fact, writes signs that could be interpreted as distinct dots and strokes (Figure 3). Yet the first editions of both parts of the *Künstlerverein* standardise to dots only. This, of course, also reflects many Viennese fortepiano treatises from around 1800 that make no distinction between dot and stroke with regard to their execution either.⁴³

However, given the extraordinary magnitude of the project, we can assume that it was for the most part not the composers themselves who carried out the proofreading of the edition. Rather, Diabelli took the task upon himself to edit fifty heterogenous manuscripts into one harmonious collection. Moreover, Diabelli took pride in high-quality engraving and made sure to point out in the last sentence of his announcement that "the appearance matches the content".⁴⁴

Problems of editorial procedure Because of his particular working circumstances between April and June 1823, Beethoven carried out multiple revisions without having all three sources at his disposal to work on at the same time. Part of the revision of **B** appears

43 Mario Aschauer: Viennese Pianoforte Treatises as Reflection of Schubert's Pianistic Audience, in: *Schubert and the Piano*, ed. by Matthew Gardner and Christine Martin, Cambridge (forthcoming).

44 "Das Aeußere ist dem Gehalte entsprechend." Anton Diabelli: [Advertisement for Vaterländischer Künstlerverein], in: *Wiener Zeitung*, 9 June 1824, pp. 551f., here p. 552.

FIGURE 1 Autographs by Johann Evangelist Horzalka (A-Wn Mus.Hs.18376), top, and Franz Jakob Freystädler (A-Wn Mus.Hs.18372), bottom, compared with the first edition

FIGURE 2 Autograph of Beethoven's 33 Veränderungen (source A) (D-BNba NE 294), Variation 9, p. 17, compared with the first edition (source C)

The image displays two versions of a musical score for Diabelli's waltz. The upper portion is the autograph, showing handwritten notation on three systems of staves. Three red circles are drawn around specific musical phrases in the autograph: one in the first system's right-hand part, one in the second system's right-hand part, and one in the third system's right-hand part. The lower portion is the first edition, featuring a printed score with dynamic markings (p, sf, f) and a tempo instruction 'Vivace.' at the beginning. The first edition score is presented in two systems of staves.

FIGURE 3 Autograph of Diabelli's waltz (A-Wn Mus.Hs. 18399) compared with the first edition

to have occurred at a time when **A** was inaccessible, necessitating **A₄** as an intermediary. When finally the **A₄**-corrections were incorporated into **A**, Beethoven changed his mind about some of them and returned to **B** to revise once more. About a quarter of the **A₄**-corrections that made it into **A** are not in **C** – if by accident or on purpose remains uncertain. Instead, **C** features a number of readings that are in neither of the other two sources. In short, the texts in each of the three sources began to develop a certain degree of individuality on account of Beethoven's revision process – which raises the question how to adequately present these circumstances in a modern 'urtext' edition.

When in the last two decades of the nineteenth century the term ‘urtext’ began to be used in connection with sheet music, the term itself was not new. A quick search in the big digital corpora of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century German literature, journals, and newspapers available to us today actually reveals a pretty regular occurrence of the term. It typically refers to the original-language version of a text, particularly either ancient Greek classics or the Hebrew bible.⁴⁵ When the term was then adopted to refer to a philological method for music, it – intentionally or unintentionally – retained that underlying, quasi-biblical *Werkbegriff* or ‘work concept’, the idea that there is only one true work and therefore only one perfect urtext which the early urtext editors in the 1890s sought to rescue from what had been added by anyone but the composer. The text may even be scattered among several sources, which is when the editor has to function as the work’s advocate, deciding “[w]hich source provides the ‘correct’ (= the composer’s ultimate) text, and which is ‘wrong’.”⁴⁶ The fact that this quote is from the website of a well-known publisher today shows how, in essence, this methodology continues to be one of the main schools of philological thought.

Yet in the 120 years since the invention of urtext editions, two important sister-disciplines of philology have made amazing progress: creative-process studies have opened the door to composer’s workshops through transcriptions of sketchbooks and monographs describing the geneses of particular works. More recently, the field has even made significant progress employing cutting-edge digital technology, such as the *Beethoven’s Werkstatt* project, for example,⁴⁷ arguing for a wider understanding of the text that also includes its pretext and corresponding processes.

Consequently, my edition does not pretend coherence where the sources do not support it. The text is based on **A**, because it constitutes the central source from which all others were derived and to which Beethoven returned almost until the end of the creative process. Because of the mechanics of Beethoven’s revision processes (as outlined above), **A** supersedes the deviating readings in **B** and **A₄** in most cases. There are, however, instances where **B** shows clear corrections or clarifications in Beethoven’s hand that were not transferred to **A** and **C**. These cases could be argued to constitute valid alternative readings and they appear in the edition as *ossias* and footnotes. Those additions and changes in the state of the first edition that Beethoven received for his own copies (**C_{1.2}**)

45 E. g., Moses Mendelssohn: *Die fünf Bücher Moses in hebräischem Urtexte mit einer treuen deutschen Übersetzung*, Vienna 1836.

46 G. Henle Verlag: *What is Urtext?* (s. a.), www.henle.de/us/about-us/what-is-urtext/ (last accessed 1 July 2021).

47 Beethoven-Haus Bonn: *Beethovens Werkstatt. Genetische Textkritik und digitale Musikedition* (s. a.), <https://beethovens-werkstatt.de/> (last accessed 1 July 2021).

and that are – in all likelihood – intentional are shown in greyscale, clearly discernible as a separate layer.

For example: in Variation 33 (Figure 4) in the London manuscript, Beethoven explicitly revised the *crescendo* and *decrescendo* hairpins as well as the articulation markings. However, he never transferred these changes into his autograph. In my edition, both readings are given: the autograph as the main text, the London reading as *ossia*. As you can see, the two readings make for a substantially different musical result. Figure 5, from Variation 12, illustrates how Beethoven changed his mind about measures 22–24 at least four or five times, documented in the manuscript sources. The first edition shows yet another reading of these three measures, leaving Beethoven's final decision open. In my edition, the (presumably latest) autograph reading is in black, the reading from the first edition in grey.

The edition of the 50 *Veränderungen* employs a similar method: for those variations and the coda for which no autograph sources are known, the text is based on the first edition; for the thirty-eight variations for which autographs do survive, it is based on the autograph. Additions and revisions in the first edition (identified by a comparison with the autographs) that constitute – in all likelihood – an intended revision of the autograph text, most probably by Diabelli, are shown in my edition in greyscale.

The text of Diabelli's waltz Diabelli's waltz poses an interesting philological problem. The text survives in a total of nine sources. Three of them are Diabelli autographs, sent out to contributors of the collection. Förster made a copy of both the theme and his variation for himself to keep, which became subsequently part of his estate. Beethoven's autograph of the 33 *Veränderungen* (A) contains a theme sheet that, as William Kinderman has shown, originally belonged to Beethoven's earliest sketches for the variations and seems to have served as the thematic model for Beethoven's creative process. While it eventually changed its function and became the first page of the autograph, it retained many of its sketch-like characteristics, lacking notational detail and displaying multiple corrections. The London copy B shares some of these characteristics, but it seems unlikely that Beethoven's theme sheet served as its model. The first editions of both parts of the *Künstlerverein* contain Diabelli's theme in two separate engravings that deviate in a few details.

Since there does not seem to be any compositional input to Diabelli's waltz on Beethoven's part, I treat it as a work by Diabelli in my edition. A group of manuscripts and prints collectively serve as the main source. These were the closest sources to Diabelli and can be described as complementing one another. While they all differ to some extent, these differences do not seem to be a result of intentional revision but of mistake, negligence, or practicality (e. g., space issues). The edition presents the waltz in a synthesis of

The figure displays three versions of musical notation for measures 5-8 of Variation 33 from Beethoven's 33 Variations. The top-left image shows a handwritten manuscript with some ink bleed-through from the reverse side. The top-right image shows another handwritten manuscript with a 'cres.' marking. The bottom image shows a printed edition with a new edit, featuring a '3)' annotation above the first measure, a 'cresc.' marking in the piano part, and a '5' above the first measure of the piano part.

FIGURE 4 Beethoven's 33 Veränderungen, Variation 33, measures 5–8, sources B, A, and new edition (extract)

the sources, establishing that common underlying text which they individually fail to transmit.

Conclusion We live in a time when more and more musicians, amateurs and professionals alike, engage with the ever-growing collections of historical sources easily and freely available online. YouTube channels and social media groups serve as platforms for thousands of users to discuss aspects of music philology and performance practice. Therefore, I would argue that it is time to reconsider the classical urtext's potential as

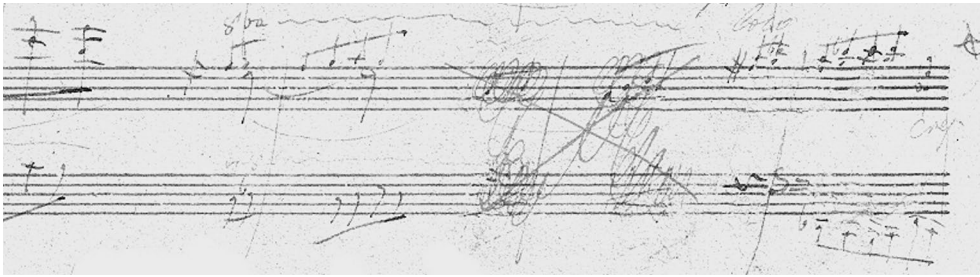


FIGURE 5 Beethoven's 33 Veränderungen, Variation 12, measures 20–24, sources C, A, and new edition (extract)

mediator between scholarship and performer. After all, it is one of the very few international 'mass-market products' that we have at our disposal to extend an invitation – particularly to new generations – to engage with source and creative-process studies. Despite the fact that the historical and, it seems, cultural distance to the 'classical' repertoire grows greater every day, our research allows for an ever-deeper understanding of it. Sharing and promoting that understanding in times like these, I think, should be more than ever one of our top priorities.

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Dieses Buch ist in gedruckter Form im September 2023 in erster Auflage in der Edition Argus in Schliengen/Markgräflerland erschienen. Gestaltet und gesetzt wurde es im Verlag aus der *Seria* und der *SeriaSans*, die von Martin Majoor im Jahre 2000 gezeichnet wurden. Gedruckt wurde es auf Eos, einem holzfreien, säurefreien, chlorfreien und alterungsbeständigen Werkdruckpapier der Papierfabrik Salzer im niederösterreichischen Sankt Pölten. Das Vorsatzpapier *Caribic cherry* wurde von Igepa in Hamburg geliefert. *Rives Tradition*, ein Recyclingpapier mit leichter Filznarbung, das für den Bezug des Umschlags verwendet wurde, stellt die Papierfabrik Arjo Wiggins in Issy-les-Moulineaux bei Paris her. Das Kapitalband mit rot-schwarzer Raupe lieferte die Firma Dr. Günther Kast aus Sonthofen im Oberallgäu, die auf technische Gewebe und Spezialfasererzeugnisse spezialisiert ist. Gedruckt und gebunden wurde das Buch von der Firma Bookstation im bayerischen Anzing. Im Internet finden Sie Informationen über das gesamte Verlagsprogramm unter www.editionargus.de, zum Institut Interpretation der Hochschule der Künste Bern unter www.hkb.bfh.ch/interpretation und www.hkb-interpretation.ch. Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über www.dnb.de abrufbar. © der zeitgleich erschienenen digitalen Version: die Autorinnen und Autoren, 2023. Dieses Werk ist lizenziert unter einer Creative Commons Namensnennung-Nicht kommerziell 4.0 International Lizenz ([CC BY-NC 4.0](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/)).

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