

UC Berkeley

Charlene Conrad Liebaw Library Prize for Undergraduate Research

Title

Posthumous Schubert: The Exhumation of the Solo Piano Works in Mid- and Late- 19th Century Transcription and Editing

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/86g6h92h>

Author

Trujillo, Jeremiah

Publication Date

2014-04-01

Undergraduate

Jeremiah Trujillo

Professor Davies

Music 198

20 June 2013

Some figures have been removed, in the interest of preserving a smaller file size

Posthumous Schubert: The Exhumation of the Solo Piano Works in Mid- and Late- 19th-
Century Transcription and Editing

In Vienna during October 1858, the city was in the midst of a surge of support for Franz Schubert. That month, thirty years after his death, a commemorative plaque was placed at Schubert's birthplace and dedicated to him.¹ In 1862, the Verein received permission to erect a statue of the composer on the Zelinka hill in Vienna,² and they began a push to raise funds for the statue, raising more than 20,000 florins by 1865.³ A year later, on October 13, 1863, the bodies of both Schubert and Ludwig van Beethoven were exhumed from Vienna's Währing Cemetery.⁴ Their remains were measured, examined, and photographed to try to better understand the physiology of genius. In 1864, the first documentary biography of the composer, *Franz Schubert*, was completed by Heinrich Kreissle von Hellborn, and it was published in the following year. The image of Schubert was shifting, from a little-known composer only recognized for his *Lieder* to a great musical figure in instrumental as well as vocal music who was a great source of civic pride for Vienna.

¹ Brodbeck, 12.

² Messing, 18.

³ In 1825, forty years earlier, Schubert himself had received from the Artaria music publisher a mere 120 florins for his D major piano sonata (D. 850).

⁴ Gibbs, 250.

In this essay, I will examine ways in which Schubert's image was shaped and the reception of his solo piano works changed in the mid- and late-1800's, well after his lifetime. I will argue that three individuals in particular influenced how Schubert's music was performed throughout history and to the present day, all in different ways: Franz Liszt, in the 1840's as a transcriber, performer, and editor; Johannes Brahms, in the 1860's as a force toward the editing and publication of little-known Schubert manuscripts; and Julius Epstein, in the 1880's as a music editor who influenced the performance of Schubert's solo piano works throughout the 20th century. My aim is to demonstrate the different ways in which those in the 1800's felt they were faithful in exhuming Schubert and his works. Based on the individuals examined in this essay, we might identify three phases in the reception of Schubert's music: one during his lifetime, one approximately from the 1830s to the 1850s including Franz Liszt, and one from the 1860's to the present day, which includes Johannes Brahms and Julius Epstein.

The city in which the view of Schubert changed is important to an understanding of his image and the reception of his works. Viennese musical life and the traditions of performance in the city were changing throughout the 19th century. The shifting values of Viennese audiences caused performers and composers to conform to those values in order to be popular. Public concerts were not a frequent occurrence, but were worked around other events taking place in theaters, such as operas. As a cultural institution, public concerts had not yet stabilized as a specific type of societal event.

Many concerts in early 1800's Vienna took place on *Normentagen*, days on which theaters were forbidden from presenting drama and so hosted music concerts instead.⁵ Such concerts featured a mix of different musics, often featuring a vocal performance as well as chamber music or a duet. In orchestral repertoire, set pieces from opera or oratorio were often performed. In piano music, transcriptions of works, especially those from operas, were more commonly performed. An academy (public concert) given on November 10, 1826 by pianist Franz Schoberlechner was presented at the *Kärntnertortheater*, an opera house that seated about one thousand people. His program included the Overture to *Euryanthe* by Weber, Piano Variations on a Theme from Rossini's *La Cenerentola*, the Polonaise for Violin by Max Mayseder, and a Free Fantasia by Schoberlechner. Public concerts of instrumental and vocal music in mid-1800's Europe drew on the repertoire both from private performances and from other public performances involving music, such as opera and religious services.

However, there were also performances that took place in musical salons, which were semi-public affairs; these had been where Schubert would play for groups of friends. These concerts were more likely to include lengthy sets of solo piano music, but the programs were more informal and thus what was played was not usually preserved in writing. In addition, the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*, founded in 1818, sponsored private performances at inns or small halls, which were much like subscription concerts in that members paid a fee in order to attend a series of performances.⁶ Schubert was first denied entry to the society in March 1818, on the grounds that "he was not an amateur,"

⁵ Hanson, 99.

⁶ Hanson, 106.

though the society at the time included professional musicians.⁷ Three years later, he applied again and was accepted, and this society would go on to arrange most semipublic performances of Schubert's works during his lifetime. The one semipublic concert consisting only of Schubert's music during his lifetime took place on March 26, 1828. It included the several art songs, the Trio in E-flat, and the "Schlachtgesang" for double male choir.⁸ No solo piano works were presented, testifying to their obscurity in the early 1800's.

Public "variety" concerts, along with private performances for select upper-class societies, continued in similar forms into the 1830's and 1840's. This was a time when virtuosity and theatricality were highly valued in public concerts. Most of Schubert's compositions lacked the theatricality that was desired by virtuoso performers. This music was not written for small, private circles of friends in musical salons, but for concert halls where a general public would pay money to be enthralled and mesmerized. As a result, Christopher Gibbs writes that during the first half of the 1800's, "reworkings largely created his [Schubert's] fame across Europe."⁹ One major performer of Schubert transcriptions was Clara Wieck (1819-1896). Early in her career, Wieck frequently performed transcriptions of Schubert art songs by Franz Liszt.¹⁰ In Paris at age nineteen, Wieck performed a concert both with solo works and a duet with the violinist Charles de Bériot, in the tradition of the time. She performed a Chopin Etude, her own Scherzo, a Thalberg Caprice, and two Schubert pieces transcribed by Liszt: *Erlkönig* and *Ständchen*.

⁷ Winter, "Schubert."

⁸ Hanson, 107.

⁹ Gibbs, 247.

¹⁰ Montgomery, "Franz Schubert," 277.

At a Weimar concert on September 5, 1840, in addition to works by Beethoven, Henselt, Chopin, and Thalberg, Wieck played two Liszt transcriptions of Schubert: *Ave Maria* and *Erlkönig*.¹¹ On February 13 of that year in north Germany, the audience was so enthusiastic at the end of a concert that Steegman reports she played Schubert-Liszt's *Erlkönig* "a second time."¹²

The first stage in Schubert's gain in popularity as a composer for piano was to have his music transcribed into a virtuosic, solo piano form, one that appealed to European audiences' penchant for theatricality and showmanship. Franz Liszt was a main figure behind this stage of the resurrection of Schubert as a composer for piano, being both a transcriber and a major performer of the 1840's.

Franz Liszt: *Mélodies hongroises d'après Franz Schubert (1840)*

Like Brahms and Epstein, Liszt's experiences in Vienna played a major role in establishing his interest in Schubert. In 1838, Vienna had just endured an unusually cold winter, and the Danube overflowed its banks in the spring, causing disease and famine in Hungary. Liszt heard of the situation and traveled to Vienna to give eight concerts as charity for victims of the natural disaster.¹³ His visit to Vienna was what prompted him to greatly increase his output of Schubert transcriptions. It appears that Liszt became acquainted with Schubert works in other cities he had been in the past, such as Paris. He then composed Schubert transcriptions in order to have music based on a Viennese

¹¹ Steegmann, 50.

¹² Steegman, 47.

¹³ Walker, 27.

composer that would be appealing to audiences in the city. Liszt made a first set of 28 song transcriptions, and performed groups of them at four of his charity concerts between April and May 1838. They were immensely successful, and many of them were soon published by Haslinger in Vienna. They sold so well that the publisher commissioned more.¹⁴ Given that this all originated from Liszt's Vienna trip, one may argue that much of the Schubert-Liszt repertoire came about because of the severely cold 1837/8 weather!

One set of Liszt's Schubert transcriptions that particularly exemplifies this phase of



Figure 1.1: Diabelli 1840 first edition: Piece 1, measures 4-8

Schubert performance on the piano are the *Mélodies hongroises d'après Franz Schubert*, composed in 1838-1839 and published in 1840 by A. Diabelli and Company in Vienna. The *Mélodies hongroises* are based on Schubert's *Divertissement à la hongroise*, D. 818, which is a set of three arrangements of Hungarian folk melodies, scored for piano four-hands. *Divertissement à la hongroise* is Schubert's only venture into the use of Hungarian-style music for a composition. Liszt was exposed to *Divertissement à la hongroise* during his trip to Vienna.¹⁵ While *Divertissement à la hongroise* was not much performed in

¹⁴ Walker, 28.

¹⁵ Gibbs, 207.

public, Liszt's transcription did much to popularize the tunes used in the pieces. *Mélodies hongroises* combines Schubert's Hungarian-style melodies with the virtuosity and showmanship that was valued in concert spaces of the mid-1800's.

In contrast to Schubert, Liszt had a close acquaintance with Hungarian traditions, as he was born in western Hungary, grew up in Sopron, and lived in the country until 1823.¹⁶ Both as a child and during the 1840's, Liszt would sometimes perform in a

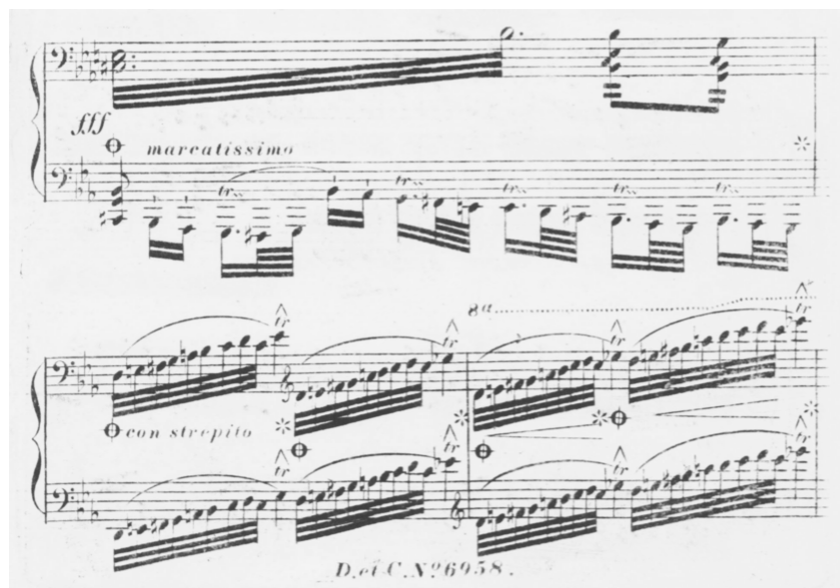


Figure 1.2: Diabelli 1840 first edition: Piece 1, measures 88-90

Hungarian national costume in order to theatricalize his national identity.¹⁷ As a performer, Liszt used "Hungarian identity" to his advantage.

According to Phillippe Autexier, Liszt

performed music involving Hungarian titles more often in France than in Germany or Austria.¹⁸ Liszt used the term "Hungarian" to give his performances an exoticism and sex appeal. In the case of *Mélodies hongroises* Schubert was swept up and was carried along in the focus on theatricality existing during the 1840's. The result is a "virtuosic Schubert" that prevailed in popularity for a time over Schubert's original compositions.

¹⁶ Loya, 81.

¹⁷ Walker, "Liszt."

¹⁸ Bartoli, 204.

In this instance, however, Liszt had a special motivation in his composition of *Mélodies hongroises*. In his choosing of Schubert's version, Liszt was looking for something already featuring a Hungarian element. He is "borrowing" his Hungarianness



Figure 1.3: Diabelli 1840 first edition: Piece 1, measures 29-30

from Schubert. It is no coincidence that this would be one of the first Schubert four-hands piano works to be transcribed by Liszt, as Liszt was able to take Schubert's imitation of a Hungarian sound and add to it with his own experiences of the musical culture of Hungary.

Liszt did not feel that his predecessors "understood what could be done with such music."¹⁹ He had a fascination for Hungarian music, both as a performer and a composer, and his affinity for *Divertissement à la hongroise* continued throughout his life. He produced no fewer than eight versions of the second of the three pieces, six for solo piano, one for orchestra, and one for piano four-hands (the same instrumentation as Schubert's original).²⁰ The last version dates from 1883, entitled *Marche hongroise, Troisième édition revue et augmentée*.

¹⁹ Loya, 58.

²⁰ Loya, 276.

The 1840 version of *Mélodies Hongroises d'après Franz Schubert* is extremely virtuosic. Liszt maintains almost as many notes in his solo version as were in *Divertissement à la hongroise* (despite that this work is for four hands). One characteristic feature of all three pieces in *Mélodies Hongroises* is the widely spaced sonorities, even during quiet sections (see Figure 1.1). They give the impression that more than one performer is present. In addition, Liszt extravagantly embellishes the melody with arpeggios, grace notes, and chromatic runs (see Figure 1.2). The tremoli are notable both in that its usage was rare in solo music before this time, and also that Liszt seems unconcerned with creating a “muddled” sound; in fact, he seems to desire it in his quest for new sonorities from the piano. Liszt’s emphasis is on extremes of register. The tremoli are constructed of dissonant seventh chords, and are placed in the bass clef, along with trills in the left hand, which further make for a dissonant sound.

Liszt writes parallel 10ths in the right hand in multiple passages (see Figure 1.3), the first instance in measures 29-30 of the first piece. That makes the passage unplayable for many performers. In addition, the grace notes preceding some right-hand notes, along with the strokes and accents in the preceding measure, are very detailed and prescriptive. The pedal markings are carefully indicated, and on the whole nothing is spared in the attempt to make a set of detailed instructions for performance.

Liszt’s agenda for the completion of this set of transcriptions was multi-faceted. Besides performing them himself, these transcriptions were popular as sheet music, and so Liszt was paid by publishers (as in the case of Haslinger.) Liszt’s desire to write something that would sell in large numbers is evident in a second version completed in 1846, also

published by Diabelli. It is simpler than the 1840 version, likely to make it more appealing to amateur pianists.²¹ However, a third impetus for Liszt's work on these transcriptions is that he had a powerful admiration for Schubert and his works, and desired to display them to his audiences. Liszt wrote in 1868:

Our pianists scarcely realize what a glorious treasure they have in Schubert's piano compositions. Most pianists play them over *en passant*, notice here and there repetitions, lengthiness, apparent carelessness . . . and then lay them aside. . . . Harmony, freshness, powerful, grace, dreamings, passion, soothing, tears and flames pour forth from the depths and heights of thy soul, and thou makest us almost forget the greatness of thine excellence in the fascination of thy spirit!"²²

The philosophy behind Liszt's transcriptions extended also to his editions of Schubert piano works. His editions form a bridge between the theatricality of his transcriptions and the burgeoning ideals of *Werktreue*. His editions include the impromptus, the sonatas Op. 42, Op. 53, and Op. 78, the Moments musicaux, and the Fantasie Op. 15. All of them appear in Sigmund Lebert's Instructive Edition, published in 1870 for the use of conservatory students in Vienna and Stuttgart.²³

On the one hand, during the creation of these editions Liszt had in his mind the idea of respecting an original text. In a letter from October 19, 1868, to Lebert, Liszt states that his intention is to "fully and carefully retain the original text together with tentative indications of *my way of rendering it, by means of distinguishing letters, notes and*

²¹ Walker, "Liszt."

²² Walker, 185.

²³ Walker, 184.

signs."²⁴ The editions, however, contain alterations that clearly come from the philosophy of the earlier 1800's, and show only modest regard for the *Werktreue* ideal.

In the recapitulation of the Schubert Impromptu, Op. 90, No. 3, Liszt adds an optional rewriting of the texture, with rolled chords in the right hand and constant arpeggiation in the left hand (see Figure 1.4). In addition, the key is transposed up a half-step to G major, likely to facilitate its playing by students in conservatories. Liszt clearly views changes to add theatricality as desirable in Schubert performance, and finds it acceptable to change

The image shows a musical score for measures 55-59 of Liszt's 1870 Lebert edition of Schubert's Impromptu, Op. 90, No. 3. The score is in G major and 3/8 time, marked 'Andante'. It features a right hand with rolled chords and a left hand with constant arpeggiation. Performance markings include 'dolcissimo armonioso', 'una corda', and 'legato'. Fingerings and a 'cresc.' marking are also present.

Example 1.4: Liszt's 1870 Lebert edition, measures 55-59.

key to simplify playing. Again, the rewriting is very much like a preservation on paper of a single performance, with detailed performance indications. The "dolcissimo armonioso," "una corda," and "legato" markings are specific in what effect is to be created, and the rewriting has its own set of pedal markings.

²⁴ Walker, 184.

Johannes Brahms's edition of *Drei Clavier-Stücke, D. 818 (1868)*

By the late 1850's and 1860's, a new reverence for Schubert's compositional abilities, perfection of form, and profound effects took hold among major composers and performers. Clara Schumann's popularity is a reflection of the shift in attitude toward public Schubert performance, from emphasis on transcriptions to emphasis on original piano compositions. In the 1870s, "she played a whole series of Schubert works for the first time in London," consisting of the sonatas in B-flat major (D. 960), Op. 42 in A minor (D. 845), and Op. 78 in G major (D. 894), as well as Impromptus and chamber music.²⁵ She believed that she had given the sonata in B-flat major its first public performance.²⁶

Other performing pianists in the 1860's also began to popularize Schubert's original works more than his transcriptions. From 1861 onward, English pianist Sir Charles Hallé (1819-1895) played a series of recitals in London during May and June of each year.²⁷ In these concerts, he frequently performed both Schubert and Beethoven on the same program. During 1868, Hallé performed eleven Schubert sonatas. One program from 1868 featured the Sonata in A minor Op. 164, the Sonata in G major Op. 78, the song "Marie" by Schubert, the Variations on a Theme in D by Beethoven, and a song "The Violet" by Mozart.²⁸ In keeping with the practice of the time, this concert featured both solo piano and art songs. The juxtaposing of Schubert sonatas, Schubert *Lieder*, Beethoven, and Mozart subconsciously elevated the stature of the piano sonatas. This

²⁵ Stegman, 88.

²⁶ Stegman, 88.

²⁷ Reed, "Schubert," 257.

²⁸ Reed, "Schubert," 258.

trend was helped along by the fact that music by earlier composers in general was gaining in popularity. Leon Botstein refers to an “evolution of musical connoisseurship” that occurred in 1800’s Vienna.²⁹ With the rapidly increasing availability of books and journals, people became more learned about music history, and their interest increased in hearing performances of original music from decades or centuries ago.

At the same time, major musical figures became more interested in preserving Schubert works, and shifted more toward the ideology of *Werktreue*. They were still far from displaying the moral code in editing that exists today, as will be shown later, but were closer than just a few decades prior. Johannes Brahms (1833-1897) is a musical figure who was involved in the newfound interest in original Schubert works. One example is his involvement in the publishing of *Drei Clavier-Stücke* in 1868 by J. Melchior Reiter-Beidermann, Johannes Brahms's principal publisher. Brahms, in his editing of these works, faced squarely the many difficulties that arise in creating a first edition of a piece of music by a composer from the past.

Walter Emery notes in *Editions and Musicians* (1957) that “there is no such thing as an 'original text' of any piece of old music, unless either there is only one source, or all the sources give identical readings.”³⁰ The fact that Schubert often wrote sketches for his compositions before marking his final manuscript makes the editing of his works problematic. Often the sketches and the manuscript differ in substantial ways. For example, Schubert's manuscript for the *Impromptu* Op. 142 No. 1, dated December 1827, was preceded by a sketch left at Schober's house in the Tuchlauben, Vienna, where

²⁹ Botstein, 4.

³⁰ Emery, 9.

Schubert was once a guest.³¹ The first thirty-eight bars are substantially the same as those in the more complete manuscript, but there are important differences. The tempo indication is *Allegro*, rather than *Allegro moderato*, and many left-hand harmonies are not filled in. In this case, it is fairly clear that the sketch is a prior version and that the manuscript with the complete piece is the one to be used, but often the distinction is unclear. In other instances, there may exist multiple complete pieces, each of which has merit. For example, the art song *Die Forelle (The Trout)*, D. 550, is contained in five manuscript sources (four autographs and one copy), and none of them is identical to any other.³²

In the case of *Drei Clavier-Stücke*, the posthumous additions to the image of Schubert are many. Even the titles given to these pieces and the existence of them together as a set are creations of others. The title *Drei Clavier-Stücke* was given most likely by the publisher Reiter-Beidermann for the 1868 publishing of Brahms's edition. Moreover, the catalogue number D. 946 was only appended to the set of pieces in 1951 by the Austrian music scholar Otto Deutsch,³³ who referred to these pieces as *Impromptus*. Although these compositions are grouped together, Schubert may have considered them to be separate. Reiter-Beidermann most likely grouped the pieces together for their 1868 publishing, merely because the pieces were discovered at the same time and all are for solo piano.

Brahms's journey to Vienna in late September 1862 seems to have been an attempt to increase his number of contacts in a city that was a major musical center, as well as promote the spread of his compositions. Several of his acquaintances in Hamburg likely

31 Brown, 20.

32 Campbell, 6.

33 "Deutsch."

encouraged him to make the trip, such as Clara Schumann, who regularly performed in Vienna. It was just a short tenure after his arrival in the city that he met many prominent artists, including Julius Epstein, Carl Tausig, and Otto Dessoff.³⁴ The experience of



Figure 2.1: Brahms edition (1869): Measures 67-73.

Viennese culture was instrumental in further amplifying his interest in Schubert. In a letter to his friend Adolf Schubring in March 1863, Brahms wrote that the memory of great musicians was strong in Vienna, and notes:

This is especially true of Schubert, about whom one has the feeling that he still lived! One is always meeting new people who speak of him as of a good friend, and one is always seeing new works, of whose existence one knew nothing...³⁵

Brahms left Vienna in early May 1863, but the city's influence lasted on him. In the same year, Brahms began his push to have some of Schubert's late works published. After Franz Schubert's death, the *Drei Clavier-Stücke* manuscript was in the possession of Ferdinand, Schubert's brother. After Ferdinand's death in 1859, the manuscript was bequeathed to Ferdinand's nephew Eduard Schneider.³⁶ At Brahms's recommendation (in a letter to Reiter-Beidermann in May 1863), Reiter-Beidermann negotiated personally with Schneider for him to give up the manuscript, perhaps aware of Schubert's increasing

³⁴ Musgrave, *The Cambridge Companion to Brahms*, 31.

³⁵ Geiringer, 353-354.

³⁶ Brown, 266.

reputation and that the publishing of never-before-seen works by Schubert would elevate his status as a publisher.

Brahms's collection and revision of *Drei Clavier-Stücke* was completed around 1868 or 1869, a time in which his independence as a composer was growing rapidly. His concert tours were no longer financial necessities, but were undertaken for promoting his work, for recreation, or for intellectual development.³⁷ Only five of Brahms's editions of



Figure 2.2: Henle edition (1976), measures 67-73

works by other composers were published before 1869; thirteen others were published in 1869 or later.³⁸ At this point in his career, Brahms became more able to focus more on altruistic projects, such as editing others' unpublished works, rather than those that proved himself as a composer.

Clearly, Brahms appreciated and wanted to give more recognition to Schubert's talent. Brahms's work as an editor, however, shows mixed results in his accuracy in producing a Schubert edition. The third piece in C major provides an excellent study of the difficulties that Brahms and Paul Mies, editor of the Henle *Urtext* edition (published in 1971), both encountered when reading Schubert's score, and how they took different

37 Neimann, 91.

38 Musgrave, *The Music of Brahms*, 289.

approaches to putting together their respective editions. At measure 68, which is at the climax of a long section building up in volume, the Brahms edition has a *fortissimo* marking (see Figure 2.1 and 2.2), while the Henle edition has a *sforzando* in its place. An examination of the autograph reveals that it is hardly possible to tell for certain what the marking is in that measure (see Figure 2.3), as it does not much resemble either a *fortissimo* or a *sforzando*. Mies is perhaps following the lead of an 1888 edition by Julius Epstein (1832-1926), published by Breitkopf & Härtel, which prints a *sforzando* marking.

After the single bar of rest in measure 69, another inconsistency appears. All editions agree on the indication "*tenuto*" in measure 70 (Figures 2.1-2.3), but the Brahms edition has *staccato* dots over the notes in measures 70-73, while Mies places seemingly redundant *tenuto* marks over each note, with those in the left hand placed in parentheses. The manuscript, again, is ambiguous: Schubert seems to begin with *staccato* dots that slowly lengthen into *tenuto* markings. One would expect that Schubert would not write "*tenuto*" and *staccato* markings at the same place, but the word "*tenuto*" along with *tenuto* marks is plausible if we consider that Schubert may have been attempting to reinforce the point. Also possible is that Schubert intended for these measures to morph from detached to *tenuto*, since the texture and mood of the piece is changing from animated to lyrical, though this is less likely.

As an editor, Brahms occasionally either missed small details, or found what he thought was a probable mistake but left it in the score. In measures 81 and 82, Schubert notates chords with a C-natural, E-natural, and G-flat (see Figure 2.4). The key signature shows D-flat major, but Schubert does not notate the key signature on every line, in order

to save time and ink. It is very likely that Schubert intended these to be C major chords, but Brahms does not add any accidentals or explanatory indications (Figure 2.5). The same situation occurs again ten measures later, with similar harmonies but both hands higher by about an octave. In both cases, the Henle edition, in scholarly fashion, includes G-naturals, but with the natural sign in parentheses. Later, in measures 102-105, Schubert includes many more courtesy G-flats than are necessary (see Figures 2.6 and 2.7), and Brahms follows in leaving the accidentals in the score, while Mies removes them. Thus, Brahms appears to be copying what he sees in the autograph, rather than what would be in keeping with Schubert's style. Brahms's zeal to be faithful to the manuscript perhaps prevents him from following common sense.

Errors caused by carelessness will occur on the part of the composer as well as the editor, and one of the editor's tasks is to correct those which are obviously wrong. When situations arise where it is not clear whether there is an error in the manuscript or not, the philosophy of the editor becomes more apparent. Judging from these cases, it appears that Brahms takes a more passive role in remediating Schubert's score as a printed book. Brahms works to have the pieces published for the general public, but he does not go to lengths to make corrections to the score. The Henle edition in these last two cases purports to reproduce an "original text" in the sense that Mies makes changes (always in parentheses) so that what is published is not always exactly what Schubert notated, but what Mies believes Schubert intended to write.

Perhaps the most interesting passage with regard to Brahms's interpretation of the manuscript occurs in measures 156 and 157. Here, Brahms adds the abbreviated word

“*diminuendo*” in measure 157, as well as a 'hairpin' *diminuendo* marking on the third and fourth beats (see Figure 2.8). However, both of those are quite incorrect, as the manuscript has the *decrescendo* a measure earlier (see Figure 2.9), and a 'hairpin' *crescendo* mark in measure 157. It is possible that Brahms saw the text “*decresc.*” and did not think there could be a *crescendo* marking immediately after. The Henle edition in this case is clearly closer to the manuscript, correctly placing both markings (see Figure 2.10).

While the Henle edition does make editorial calls one way or the other at many ambiguous locations, it seems to have the most success in combining an accurate reproduction of the manuscript with indications as to where Schubert may have made errors. The concept of the *Urtext* edition is very recent. In 1895, the Königliche Akademie der Künste Berlin published a collection of musical works titled *Urtext-Ausgaben Classischer Musicwerke*. This collection had the intention of freeing works as much as possible from being influenced interpretively by anyone except the composer, and claimed to present a version free of editorial intervention.³⁹ The Academy was reacting against the heavy editing done in some published music of the 19th century, most notoriously by Carl Czerny and Sigmund Lebert. Whenever a piece of music notation is edited and changed (even changing the clefs or adding slurs), it starts to take on qualities particular to a certain era. However, the organization ran into problems in its attempt to avoid interpretative editorial decisions. In much music written before the eighteenth century, it is not obvious that an autograph should be followed in only one specific way.

39 Assis, 9.

The concept of "*Fassung letzter Hand*" also posed difficulties to the organization, as it is sometimes unclear when a work is considered complete by the composer.

These issues underline the point that except for a facsimile of the composer's manuscript, there is no such thing as a true *Urtext* in the strictest sense of the word. Any reproducing of the composer's music in a clean, readable type will necessarily involve editorial decisions, and editing is considered by one scholar to be equivalent to the "act of interpretation."⁴⁰ The word *Urtext* was used commercially, especially in the post-World War II period by G. Henle Verlag of Munich, to purport an edition that allowed the performer to make his or her own decisions regarding interpretation, but actually such editions merely provided a less interpreted text than some of the other editions available at the same time.

Much of the current literature in English on music editing is focused on early music. Examples are John Caldwell's book *Editing Early Music* (1995) and Susan Hammond's book *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany* (2007), as well as Philip Brett's "Text, Context, and the Early Music Editor." Brett argues that when editors of music written before 1750 propose definitive solutions for problems in the score (such as the execution of ornaments or phrasing), they obstruct the aim of performance, as performers are often able to make just as good or better musical decisions than the editor. This line of reasoning may be extended well beyond Machaut and Couperin. When an editor comes to an ambiguous measure in the manuscript, where multiple readings are possible, deciding on one interpretation or the other robs the performer of the opportunity to use his

40 Grier, 2.

or her own judgment and achieve a more full interpretation. As we saw in the third piece in C major, the ambiguous *fortissimo/sforzando* sign in measure 68 has necessarily been decided one way or the other by the editor, with no explanatory remarks given, even in the Henle *Urtext* edition.

Schubert editions tend to have less variation than editions of some other composers, such as Bach or Beethoven, partly because his notation is generally easy to read. Also, the more recent a piece of music is, the less ambiguity there normally is about its performance. However, Schubert editors are still faced with many difficulties when reading his music. Brahms wrote several “mistakes” into his edition, but he had no previous printed editions to consult or work from, whereas more recent editors have the advantage of not being the first to create an edition.

Julius Epstein: Sonata in D major, Op. 53, D. 850 (1888)

For a long time after Schubert’s death, there existed only one or very few editions of many of Schubert’s works. Thus, one single editor could have a large impact on how many people performed Schubert’s piano music. One such editor who issued many well-known editions of Schubert works was Julius Epstein, a Croatian pianist who became well-known for his interpretations of Mozart and Schubert.⁴¹ While Sir Charles Hallé had performed all the known Schubert sonatas in England in the 1860’s, Epstein is also credited with introducing concert hall audiences to Schubert sonatas. Willi Kahl (1893-

⁴¹ Clive, 129.

1962), a German musicologist, credits Epstein with popularizing the sonatas in A major (D. 664), G major (Op. 78, D. 894), and D-flat (D. 567).⁴² Epstein was a professor at the Vienna Conservatory from 1867-1901, and was one of Brahms's first contacts with Viennese musicians.

Epstein's Schubert editions were published in the *Kritische durchgesehene Gesamtausgabe*, a collection of 33 volumes published by Breitkopf & Härtel between

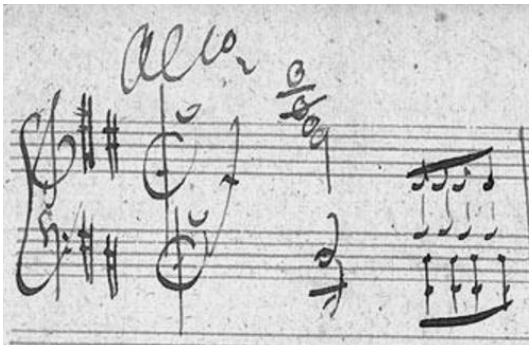


Figure 3.1: Schubert autograph (1825), measure 1

1884 and 1897. It featured the collected works of Schubert, just as Breitkopf & Härtel also had published the collected works of Beethoven, Mozart, and Schumann earlier in the 1800's. The Schubert *Gesamtausgabe* uses many different

editors, including Johannes Brahms for the symphonies, Eusebius Mandyczewski for much of the chamber music, and Johann Fuchs for the operas. For all of the solo piano works, Breitkopf & Härtel chose Julius Epstein as the editor. The Epstein editions were used widely throughout the 20th century, being one of only a handful of editions available for many Schubert piano works in the first half of the 1900's, and are now being reprinted by Dover Publications.

Despite his abilities as a pianist, Epstein's editions are not critical or scholarly by modern standards. Epstein often followed the lead of other editions when it came to

⁴² Whaples, 255.

editing Schubert works, and sometimes introduced dubious, unlogical changes to the score. The result is that inconsistencies that appeared between manuscripts and early editions sometimes continued into Epstein's editions. To show how that occurred, I will examine selected passages in Epstein's edition of the Sonata in D Major, D. 850, and compare them with both the manuscript, from August 1825, and a first edition of the sonata, published by Viennese music publisher Matthias Artaria on April 8, 1826.⁴³

Another autograph dated December 1825 is mentioned by George Grove, but its location is not known, if it still exists.

The first movement contains many major discrepancies between editions. In the manuscript, the time signature is an incomplete circle with a vertical line through it, indicating *tempus imperfectum diminutum*, or *alla breve* (see Figure 3.1). However, in the first edition, the time signature is missing the vertical line, giving simply *tempus imperfectum* or 4/4, and Epstein's edition follows suit (see Figure 3.2). In bar 48 of the first movement, at the first tempo change, the manuscript contains much more detail than is presented in either edition (see Figures 3.3-3.5). The indication "pedale" is missing from Epstein's edition, as well as the accent over the two G's in the second beat. More interestingly, a continuation of the tempo indication appears in the manuscript, but not in the first edition or the Epstein edition. The final word of the indication is not easily decipherable, and it is possible that the engraver of the first edition had difficulty reading the word and so left it out.

⁴³ Deutsch, The Schubert Thematic Catalogue, 412.

The second movement likewise contains major disparities between editions. The manuscript clearly has accents on the first beats and the second half of the second beats. However, the first edition, as well as Epstein's, place the accents on the first and third beats instead (see Figures 3.6-3.8). The accent locations in Schubert's manuscript make more sense from a musical point of view, as a slur connects the first two chords in both hands, and the first note in a two-note slur is more traditionally given weight than the second note.

Epstein does make changes in comparison with the Artaria edition, but many of them are peculiar. For example, he adds the tie in the left hand in measure 2, from the first D to the second D, that is present in the manuscript but not in the first edition. This is not necessarily because he studied the manuscript, but merely because he observed the pattern of ties in the low notes in the left hand. However, he also ties the F-sharp in the left hand, and the D and the F-sharp in the right hand. In addition, in the second beat of the first measure, Epstein ties the low A and the E in the left hand, which is indicated neither in the manuscript nor in the first edition.

So far, we have seen that the Epstein edition is closer to the first edition than the manuscript. Evidence suggests that Epstein did not have access to the manuscript when he prepared the edition. This is surmisable from a close examination of the scores, which reveals multiple instances where the manuscript is almost certainly preferable to the first edition, but where Epstein never involves any elements of the manuscript version. One such passage occurs near the end of the final movement, where the Artaria edition places an accent on the second half of the first beat, on the E in the right hand (see Figures 3.9-

3.11). Epstein follows in placing the accent on the E, but in the manuscript, Schubert's placing of the accent is on the downbeat. In addition, for many measures thereafter, the pattern in Epstein's edition, more recent editions such as Henle, and the manuscript is for the accents to be on the downbeat. More situations similar to this occur throughout the sonata.

In discussion of small details in notation, the question arises as to how Schubert viewed the importance of articulations, tempi, and dynamic markings in his own notation. Such a question is difficult to answer precisely, partly because accounts from during Schubert's lifetime differ as to how Schubert performed his music, and comparisons of Schubert's performance of a particular piece on two different occasions are rare. Some evidence points to Schubert revising his works often, and producing many different versions, as with the previous example of the art song *Die Forelle*. Schubert was also known to frequently improvise at Schubertiades held at his home or friends' homes.⁴⁴ Those social gatherings may have led to revision of some of his compositions, as they were an opportunity for him to try out new works. Insight can also be obtained from Viennese treatises on music performance from Schubert's time, especially with regard to the addition of ornaments. Friedrich Starke's *Wiener Piano-forte-Schule* (1819-1821) and August Swoboda's *Allgemeine Theorie der Tonkunst* (1826) are two treatises that include discussion of ornamentation. Both instruct that a performer, either vocal or instrumental, can add ornaments to a piece, but should do so sparingly and recommend it be done only in slow movements.

⁴⁴ Hilmar, 255.

One of the best pieces of information we have comes from facts surrounding the publication of the Sonata in A minor Op. 42, D. 845, in 1826 by Pennauer. Anton Pennauer (1784-1837), a Viennese music publisher, produced many of the first editions of Schubert works. The first edition of the Sonata D. 850 examined earlier was published not by Pennauer but by Artaria, also a Viennese music publisher; however, the degree of Schubert's involvement in publication may be similar. The discoveries behind this sonata are instructive in the examination of Schubert's role in the appearance of first editions during his lifetime. For the A-minor sonata, the *Gesamtausgabe* based the edition of the sonata on the first edition published by Pennauer, as the location of the autograph(s) are not known, if any still exist. For years, only one version of the Pennauer first edition was known. Yet another copy of the Pennauer first edition was discovered around 1980 in the possession of the American pianist Jacob Lateiner. This copy differs considerably from the previously-known first edition, and appears to be a proof version. It has less interpretive marks (especially with regard to tempo indications and dynamics), but also there is one measure removed from the Scherzo and two added in the Trio.⁴⁵ The differences are so profuse that it is a near certainty that Schubert obtained one of these proof copies and made extensive changes to it, before a second printing was done. Franz Hüther, a manager at the Pennauer publishing firm, sent a letter on July 27, 1825 to Schubert, which helps to confirm this likelihood. The letter in part reads:

⁴⁵ Goldberger, 4.

I shall by some private means send you a proof of the [a-minor] sonata in care of Herr von Vogl, with the request that you look through it carefully, for I am anxious that the works issued by me should be free of mistakes.⁴⁶

These facts suggest that Schubert most likely did take scrupulous care in the preparation of his editions. The question then arises as to whether Schubert saw the Artaria edition of the D major sonata, and what he thought of the differences between it and the manuscript. On the one hand, the evidence of the a-minor sonata reveals that Schubert was fastidious in the preparation of at least some editions published during his lifetime. At the same time, the many small changes and additions in the A-minor sonata suggest that Schubert did consider small details in articulation, tempo indications, and dynamics to be an important aspect of the text.

From the large number of clear mistakes in the Artaria edition, such as leaving ties or accidentals off of notes, or omitting an accent or sforzando marking in one place within a clear pattern of them (when the manuscript differs), it is difficult to believe that Schubert edited a proof copy and left all the errors present, when his manuscript has so many fewer clear mistakes. Also, in the case of the a-minor sonata, the proof copy has significantly less detailed tempo indications than the final version. It is very unlikely that, if Schubert approved of the interpretive markings in the Artaria edition, that he would remove many of them, such as the “Andante” in the first movement, the further writing at “Un poco piú mosso,” and the “leggermente” in figure 3.10. In addition, as the locations of accents at the beginning of the second movement differ, it is possible but not likely that Schubert

⁴⁶ Goldberger, 6.

moved the locations of the accents in his revision of a proof copy. There are three more likely scenarios. One is that Schubert saw the aforementioned differences and recognized them as errors, but did not wish to spend his time correcting engravers' mistakes. This is plausible, as Schubert in 1826 had many musical engagements and undoubtedly wished to spend his remaining time on composing new works. A second is that Schubert, after sending the manuscript to the publisher, did not have his own version to compare with and forgot the details of what he had composed. A third likelihood is that Schubert did not revise the first edition at all.

In August 1826, Schubert sent letters to two Leipzig publishers: Breitkopf & Härtel, and Heinrich Probst (1791?-1846), a German agent for Artaria.⁴⁷ In both letters, Schubert expressed an interest in having his instrumental music published. Breitkopf & Härtel was not committal, but Probst, in a return letter dated August 26, 1826, said the following:

Some carefully selected Lieder, some pianoforte works for 2 and 4 hands, not too difficult . . . would, I think, answer your purpose and my wishes. When once the ice is broken, all will go well and easily; at the outset we must, to some extent, humor the public. Please send your manuscripts to be forwarded to me by Herr Lähne, bookkeeper for Artaria and Company.⁴⁸

Later that year Schubert sent three manuscripts to Probst, though it is not known what they were. Moreover, Schubert was an acquaintance of Domenico Artaria (father of Matthias Artaria), going to a party at Domenico Artaria's house around January 1827 to hear his Rondo in b minor (D. 895) performed. Thus, at the time Schubert was certainly

⁴⁷ Reed, *Schubert*, 60.

⁴⁸ Hellborn, et al., 73-74.

trying to stay on good terms with Artaria, and he may not have been inclined to make copious small changes in the works that were being published by Artaria in that year, in order that he might be seen by the publishing firm as easier to work with.

Conclusion

On the basis of evidence presented here, we might identify three phases in the reception of Schubert's music, the latter two of which were discussed in this work. The first, operative during Schubert's lifetime, consisted of large amounts of his work being mostly ignored by the public, except for *Lieder* and a few published works. The second phase, of which Franz Liszt was a major part, focused on molding Schubert according to the theatrical expectations of public concert performance in the 1830's-1850's. The last, which has more or less continued to the present day, reveres Schubert compositions that are original and "authentic". Major figures in this phase have been interested in recovering, preserving, and publishing every piece of music that Schubert has written.

In the case of the Sonata in D-major and *Drei Clavier-Stücke*, the differences between editions, of which only a few were mentioned here, are substantial enough to impact how it will be performed by an uninformed musician. From the musical evidence it is clear that Epstein did not consult the manuscript in his preparation of the edition for the *Gesamtausgabe*. Unfortunately, ascertaining whether Schubert was involved in the changes from the manuscript to the first edition is not definitively clear from musical analysis. The first edition certainly contains many errors that the manuscript does not, and

leaves many things out. That said, it also includes some markings that are not in the manuscript, ones that no person at the Artaria publishing house would have a logical reason to add. However, by examining both versions, one may be able to arrive at an excellent interpretation of the work, knowing that the manuscript certainly contains a version that Schubert favored at one point, and the first edition certainly contains pitch errors, and therefore is almost sure to contain other errors as well. While those in the mid- and late-1800's recovered and popularized Schubert piano works, exhuming only that which Schubert intended to write and avoiding changes or omissions made by others is a challenge. Understanding how an edition differs from the manuscript or manuscripts is a crucial step in preparing the work for performance.

Sources referred to in this essay

Liszt Mélo­dies hongroises d'après Franz Schubert

Published in 1840 by A. Diabelli and Company, Vienna.

Impromptu Op. 90, No. 3 (Liszt edition)

Sigmund Lebert's Instructive Edition, published in 1870.

Sonata in D Major, D. 850

Autograph: From the collection of the Musiksammlung der Österreichischen

Nationalbibliothek. Dated August 1825.

1st edition: Published by Artaria (Vienna), 1826.

Epstein edition: From the *Franz Schubert Werke*, a collected edition of Schubert works published by Breitkopf and Härtel. Dated 1888.

Schubert Drei Clavier-Stücke

Autograph: piece II (dated May 1828 at the head of piece I). Vienna, Stadtbibliothek, MH 143/C.

Piece III (undated). Vienna, Stadtbibliothek, MH 144/C.

1st edition: *Drei Clavier-Stücke componiert von Franz Schubert, Nachgelassenes Werk*; J. Reiter-Beidermann, Plate Nos. 563a-c, Leipzig & Winterhur 1868. Edited by Johannes Brahms.

Henle Music Folios HN 66. Published in 2009 by G. Henle Verlag. Revised edition.

Edited by Paul Mies.

Works Cited

- Assis, Paulo de. "Beyond *Urtext*: A Dynamic Conception of Musical Editing." Dynamics of Constraints. Ghent: Leuven University Press, 2009.
- Bartoli, Jean-Pierre. "Liszt and French Exoticism in Music." Liszt and the Birth of Modern Europe. Ed. Michael Saffle and Rossana Dalmonte. New York: Pendragon Press, 2003.
- Botstein, Leon. "Time and Memory in Brahms's Vienna." Brahms and His World. Ed. Walter Frisch. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.
- Brodbeck, David. "Brahms as Editor and Composer: His two editions of Ländler by Schubert and first two cycles of waltzes, op. 39 and 52." Diss. University of Pennsylvania, 1984.
- Brown, Maurice. Essays on Schubert. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1966.
- Campbell, Frank. "Schubert Song Autographs in the Whitall Collection." Quarterly Collection of Current Acquisitions Vol. 6 No. 4 (August 1949): 3-8.
- "Deutsch, Otto Erich." *The Oxford Dictionary of Music*, 2nd ed. rev. Ed. Michael Kennedy. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press. Web. 16 May. 2013. <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>.
- Deutsch, Otto. The Schubert Thematic Catalogue. New York: Dover Publications, 1995.
- Dürr, Walther. Notation and Performance: Dynamic Marks in Schubert's Manuscripts. Ed. Brian Newbould. Hants: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003.
- Emery, Walter. Editions and Musicians. London: Novello and Company Limited, 1957.

- "Epstein, Julius." *The Oxford Dictionary of Music*, 2nd ed. Rev.. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed May 17, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.
- "Extemporization or Improvisation." *Grove, Dictionary*, 5th edn., ii.
- Gibbs, Christopher. "German Reception: Schubert's 'Journey to Immortality'." The Cambridge Companion to Schubert. Ed. Christopher Gibbs. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. 241-253.
- Gibbs, Christopher. "'Just Two Words. Enormous Success': Liszt's 1838 Vienna Concerts." Franz Liszt and His World. Ed. Christopher Gibbs and Dana Gooley. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.
- Goldberger, David. "An Unexpected New Source for Schubert's A-minor Sonata, D. 845." 19th-Century Music 6.1 (1982): 3-12.
- Grier, James. The Critical Editing of Music: History, Method, and Practice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Hanson, Alice. "Vienna, City of Music." Schubert's Vienna. Ed. Raymond Erickson. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Hellborn, Kreissle, et al. The Life of Franz Schubert. London: Longman, Greens, and Co. 1869.
- Hilmar, Ernst. "Vienna's Schubert." Schubert's Vienna. Ed. Raymond Erickson. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Loya, Shay. Liszt's Transcultural Modernism and the Hungarian-Gypsy Tradition. New York: University of Rochester Press, 2011.

Messing, Scott. Schubert in the European Imagination, Volume 2. New York: University of Rochester Press, 2007.

Montgomery, David. "Franz Schubert's Music in Performance." The Cambridge Companion to Schubert. Ed. Christopher Gibbs. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. 270-283.

Musgrave, Michael. The Cambridge Companion to Brahms. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Musgrave, Michael. The Music of Brahms. Cornwall: T. J. Press, 1985.

Neimann, Walter. Brahms. Trans. Catherine Phillips. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1929.

Reed, John. "Schubert's Reception History in Nineteenth-Century England." The Cambridge Companion to Schubert. Ed. Christopher Gibbs. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. 254-262.

Reed, John. Schubert: The Final Years. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1972.

Stegmann, Monica. Clara Schumann. London: Haus Publishing Limited, 2004.

Walker, Alan, et al. "Liszt, Franz." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online.* Oxford University Press. Web. 17 Jul. 2013.

<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/48265pg28>>.

Walker, John. Reflections on Liszt. New York: Cornell University Press, 2005.

Whaples, Miriam. "Mahler and Schubert's A Minor Sonata D. 784." *Music & Letters* 65.3 (1984): 255-263.

Winter, Robert, et al. "Schubert, Franz." Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online.

Oxford University Press. Web. 17 Aug. 2013.

<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/25109pg1>>.