Akc. 46/83

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE CHOPIN SOURCES
VARIANTS AND VERSIONS IN LATER MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTED EDITIONS

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF MUSIC

BY

JEFFREY KALLBERG



7241

C/4/76

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

AUGUST 1982

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I have benefited greatly from generous support for the research and writing of this study. A grant from the Martha Baird Rockefeller Fund for Music allowed a year of research in Poland and Western Europe in 1978-79. For research in France in 1979-80, I am thankful for a fellowship from the Social Science Research Council. A stipend from the Mrs. Giles Whiting Foundation in 1980-81 allowed a year of unfettered thought and writing. Naturally, views expressed here are not necessarily held by any of these agencies.

While abroad, I had the pleasure of working in several outstanding centers of research. Special thanks must go to my sponsoring organization in Warsaw, the Towarzystwo imienia Fryderyka Chopina, directed by Wiktor Weinbaum. The marvelous staff, in particular Teresa Dalila Turło, Hanna Wróblewska-Straus, Janina Ohrt, and Maria Lewkowicz, welcomed me daily in their midst, answered my countless questions, and made me feel at home. Many kindnesses were also shown me in Warsaw by Wanda Bogdany and her staff in the Music Division of the Biblioteka Narodowa, and by Andrzej Spóz and his associates at the Warszawskie Towarzystwo Muzyczne. In Paris, François Lesure at the Bibliothèque Nationale was always willing to assist with problems in my

research; a special vote of thanks must go also to his able assistants at the Département de la Musique, Catherine Massip and Jean-Michel Nectoux. I wish to thank as well the staffs of the following libraries and archives abroad in which I had the pleasure of working: Cracow--Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Muzeum Narodowe Zbiory Czapskich, Muzeum Narodowe Zbiory Czartoryskich, and Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk; London--British Library, Royal College of Music, Public Record Office, and Stationers' Hall; Oxford--Bodleian Library; Paris--Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Bibliothèque Polonaise, and Archives Nationales; Stockholm--Stiftelsen Musikkulturens Främjande; and Vienna--Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, and Wiener Stadtbibliothek.

In the United States, I wish to acknowledge the assistance of the staffs of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (and in particular the help of J. Rigbie Turner), the Music Division of the Library of Congress, and the Newberry Library, Chicago. Special mention must be made of the music staff of the Joseph Regenstein Library at The University of Chicago, who aided my work in ways too numerous to mention.

Many individuals left their stamp on this study. Krystyna Kobylańska shared with me her inexhaustible knowledge of Chopin's manuscripts. Alan Tyson offered many helpful suggestions on the study of nineteenth century music publishing practices. Discussions with Jean-Jacques Eigel-

dinger clarified my thoughts on the glossed editions owned by pupils of Chopin.

Without the friendship and support offered by David Pituch in Warsaw and Richard Gringeri in Paris, my time abroad would not have been as productive and enjoyable as it was.

Robert L. Marshall read with care the entire text of this study. His numerous and insightful suggestions have improved it immensely. The first seeds of this dissertation germinated in a reading course with him; he has since been a constant source of encouragement and inspiration. Howard Mayer Brown read a draft of Chapter II, and offered several valuable suggestions. From Hans Lenneberg's reading of Chapter I, I gained many insights. I have benefited also from many friendly discussions about Chopin's music with Edward E. Lowinsky. Ellen T. Harris assisted in some crucial decisions in the last days of the preparation of the final text.

To Philip Gossett, my principal adviser, I owe the greatest debt. From the start he has taken an active interest in my work, reading promptly and critically every scrap of writing I have given him. His ability to pinpoint methodological problems, to spot inconsistencies, and to hone details is truly astonishing. From him I have learned that asking the right questions is often as important as finding

answers. But his most precious gift he offered daily, and perhaps unknowingly: the model of his scholarship.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ii

LIST OF TABLES viii

LIST OF FIGURES ix

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS x

A NOTE ON THE TRANSCRIPTIONS xi

INTRODUCTION 1

Chapter

I. GOING BEFORE THE PUBLIC: CHOPIN AND THE INTERNATIONAL MUSIC PUBLISHING INDUSTRY . . . 11

Copyright Law 12
England 12
France 24
The German-speaking States 30
Chopin and Simultaneous Publication 37
Chopin's Methods of Publication 41
France 47
The German-speaking States 68
England 110

II. ON THE NATURE OF CHOPIN'S MANUSCRIPTS 142

Stage One: at the Piano 154
Stage Two: Sketches 158
Stage Three: Autographs for a Public 165
Rejected Public Manuscripts 172
Manuscripts Prepared for Publishers 180
Presentation Manuscripts 183
Stage Four: Copies 186

III. FLAWED STRUCTURES: COMPOSITIONAL PROBLEMS IN REJECTED PUBLIC MANUSCRIPTS 189

Structural Problems in the Mazurka, op. 59 no. 3: Key Relationships in Multipartite Opuses 190

TABLE OF CONTENTS--Continued

Chapter

Local Corrections and Larger Proportions . . 215
Structural Problems in the Mazurka, op. 59 no. 2: Proportions and Balance in Codas . . 221
Corrections of Detail 238

IV. COMPOSITION IN AUTOGRAPHS FOR A PUBLIC 248

Compositional Changes in the Autographs of the Nocturne, op. 62 no. 1 248
Compositional Process and Textual Criticism in the Waltz, op. 64 no. 1 275
Corrections of Performance Details 302

V. AFTER MANUSCRIPTS: COMPOSITIONAL CHANGES IN PRINTED SOURCES 308

Alterations in Proofs 309
Glosses in Editions Owned by Students and Friends 318
Alterations in Later States of Editions . . . 322
Summary 333

VI. EPILOGUE: COMPOSITIONAL PROCESS AND EDITORIAL CHOICE 335

Appendix

A. BREITKOPF & HÄRTEL RECEIPTS 340

B. CHOPIN'S CONTRACTS WITH WESSEL 352

C. AN OVERVIEW OF PAPER FROM CHOPIN'S LATE PERIOD 371

BIBLIOGRAPHY 390

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1.	Dates of Registration for Chopin's Works in France and England	42
2.	Provisions of Breitkopf & Härtel Receipts	88
3.	An Overview of the Wessel Contracts	118
4.	Key Schemes in Multipartite Opuses	201
5.	Twelve-stave Papers	379
6.	Fourteen-stave Papers	381

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1.	Farrenc publishing scenario	70
2.	Schlesinger publishing alternatives	72
3.	Schlesinger publishing scenario--1	74
4.	Schlesinger publishing scenario--2	78

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Standard RISM sigla for libraries are used throughout. For convenience, I list them below.

D-BNu	West Germany: Bonn, Universitäts-Bibliothek
F-Pc	France: Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds du Conservatoire
F-Pn	France: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
F-Po	France: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Opéra
GB-Lbl	England: London, British Library
GB-Lcm	England: London, Royal College of Music
GB-Ob	England: Oxford, Bodleian Library
PL-Kj	Poland: Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska
PL-Wn	Poland: Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa
PL-Wtifc	Poland: Warsaw, Towarzystwo imienia Fryderyka Chopina
S-Smf	Sweden: Stockholm, Stiftelsen Musikkulturens Främjande
US-Cn	United States: Chicago, Newberry Library
US-Cu	United States: Chicago, University of Chicago
US-NYpm	United States: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library
US-Wc	United States: Washington, D.C., Library of Congress

A NOTE ON THE TRANSCRIPTIONS

Chopin's cancellations have appeared impenetrable to many a casual observer. To judge from photographs or microfilms, one could hardly presume otherwise, for the composer's manuscripts are liberally sprinkled with dense cross-hatchings that thoroughly conceal the readings that lie beneath them. However, a different picture emerges upon consultation of the original manuscripts. Saint-Saëns already realized that in working with the originals one could ferret out many of the early versions; his principal tools were "a magnifying glass and a fair stock of patience."[1] To Saint-Saëns' arsenal, I found it necessary to add only one item: a light source, usually a pocket flashlight. Chopin and his copyists normally used relatively thin manuscript paper. (This is particularly true of the non-watermark paper used after roughly 1837, but even the watermarked paper used before allows light to pass through.) Viewed against a strong light, Chopin's original readings appear darker than the surrounding inkblot. Using this method, I found it possible to decipher well over nine-

---

[1]Camille Saint-Saëns, "A Chopin M.S.: the F Major Ballade in the Making," Outspoken Essays on Music, trans. Fred Rothwell (London, 1922; reprint ed. Westport, 1970), p. 97.

tenths of the music covered by Chopin's close web of cancellations.

Certain notational conventions are followed in the music examples. The earliest readings are shown on the central system of the example, with successive versions emanating out from this system, right-hand corrections above, left-hand below. Thus if Chopin essayed three versions of a right-hand passage in a manuscript, the first would appear on the central system, the second on the staff immediately above, and the third on the staff two above the central system. Successive readings are connected to the central system by means of dotted lines between the staves. Editorial realizations of clefs, key signatures, idiosyncratic notational abbreviations (such as the strokes indicating a repetition of the chord immediately preceding) and other signs are enclosed in square brackets.

INTRODUCTION

Chopin revised inveterately. Individual manuscripts of his works overflow with cancellations and insertions; multiple autographs of the same composition seldom agree; and the texts of editions issued "simultaneously" frequently diverge. Even after a work appeared in print he might in various ways alter the text. In sum, composition for Chopin was an open-ended process, unbounded by the nature and physical restrictions of the source or the limits of publication. Revisions made after initial publication are legion in the history of music.[1] What distinguishes Chopin's attitude is that he was willing to allow different readings of a work to appear in print at the same time, albeit in different countries. It seems that Chopin did not feel compelled to mask all traces of the act of composition; nor did the creative process in his case occupy an exclusively private domain. In a sense, the creation of a work becomes part of its aesthetic property. Critical understanding of Chopin's music thus requires a grasp of its evolution.

---

[1]Georg von Dadelsen, in "Die 'Fassung letzter Hand' in der Musik," Acta Musicologica, 33 (1961): 1-14, describes this open-ended approach to composition as characteristic of the Baroque era in general.

The extensive variants found in the sources for Chopin's music have attracted a fair amount of attention; indeed, textual discrepancies among the multiple manuscript and printed sources had been recognized as one of the central "Chopin problems" soon after the composer's death. Most discussions however have been cast in purely descriptive terms; the few analytical studies have been more directed towards resolving textual differences than towards understanding their compositional motivations--as if one could separate these inextricably linked areas of inquiry.[2] Notably absent are attempts to discover what Chopin's revisions might tell us about the music itself. Critical exploration of the musical problems revealed in Chopin's revisions will therefore be one of the primary concerns of this study.

The origins of the sources which transmit these variants will constitute another fundamental area of investigation. Chopin's artistic decisions were doubtless determined only by his aesthetic sensibilities; nevertheless, had he not been required to prepare often multiple manuscripts for publishers in different countries, he might not have been so

---

[2]A textually-oriented discussion is Arthur Hedley, "Some Observations on the Autograph Sources of Chopin's Works," The Book of the First International Musicological Congress Devoted to the Works of Frederick Chopin, ed. Zofia Lissa (Warsaw, 1963), pp. 474-77; an attempt at critical analysis appears in Oswald Jonas, "On the Study of Chopin's Manuscripts," Chopin-Jahrbuch (Vienna, 1956), pp. 142-55.

free with his revisions, and the picture of Chopin the composer might be quite different from what it is. The cultural and economic milieu within which Chopin worked has not been adequately explored from this point of view: why do the manuscript and printed sources for his music exist in multiple copies in the first place? To comprehend fully Chopin's activities as a composer one must grasp both the mechanics of the international music publishing industry at the time and Chopin's relations with various of its parts.

Questions of why Chopin's manuscripts exist in multiple copies lead in turn to questions of what purpose the various manuscripts served. Even a cursory glance at a number of Chopin's manuscripts reveals that all did not have the same function: the degree of compositional completeness varies greatly from one autograph to another. To judge the musical issues brought about by revisions, it is necessary to determine how advanced the composer thought the work in a given manuscript; that is, a taxonomy of manuscript types needs to be established.

In doing the research for this dissertation, I have examined first-hand nearly all of the composer's extant manuscripts, as well as all first and early editions of his music and all known documents relating to these publications (some of these uncovered here for the first time). In this study, however, I treat primarily sources from Chopin's later years (with the exception of the discussion of his relations with his publishers, where I cover his entire

career as a publishing composer). Moreover, I attempt no comprehensive discussion of the musical issues raised by Chopin's sketches. Practical considerations helped dictate these limitations: looking in depth at problems in compositional process from the whole of Chopin's oeuvre would have swelled the study beyond manageable proportions.

Other factors influenced the selection of particular boundaries. Sketches were excluded since two recent dissertations examine in detail this type of manuscript: Wojciech Nowik's "Proces twórczy Fryderyka Chopina w świetle jego autografów muzycznych" [Fryderyk Chopin's creative process in light of his musical autographs] (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Warsaw, 1978) and Ferdinand Jan Gajewski's "The Worksheets to Chopin's Violoncello Sonata" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1980). Nowik's study mainly probes the perceived semiotic and psychological content of Chopin's autographs; critical discussions of the music itself tend to be more perfunctory. Comments on revisions in sketches (and in the other sources that Nowik examines) tend to describe rather than criticize; Nowik seems unconcerned with questions of why Chopin made the changes he did. Given its focus, however, Nowik's dissertation makes a valuable contribution.[3] I have not seen Gajewski's dissertation

---

[3]Nowik has also published several articles on Chopin's sketches, among which are "Próba rekonstrukcji Mazurka F-moll op. 68 nr. 4 Fryderyka Chopina," Rocznik Chopinowski 8 (1969): 44-85; "Autografy muzycznych jako podstawa badań źródłowych w Chopinologii," Muzyka 16 (1971): 65-84; "Stu-

(my repeated requests to the author for permission to obtain a copy of his study have been ignored); presumably however he explores the large body of sketches for the Violoncello Sonata, op. 65, which in themselves comprise well over three-fourths of the composer's extant manuscripts of this type. Problems abound in establishing the chronology of the preserved sketches and in deciphering the notes written on the pages; once solved, the musical problems would be of particular interest as well, for the work caused Chopin some difficulty in its gestation. Gajewski's insights into these problems remain hidden, and Nowik's orientation does not emphasize critical understanding; nevertheless, that so much attention has been focused on sketches warrants a concentration in this study on other musical sources employed by Chopin in his late period.

Two factors influenced my decision to limit this study to the music from Chopin's late period. First, the years after 1841 are those over which one can establish the greatest amount of bibliographic control. As will be established in Chapter I, after this date Chopin was by and large the only one responsible for the preparation of manuscripts and the reading of proofs; seldom need one worry, then, about contamination from other hands. This means that

---

dium autografów mazurka 'palmejskiego'," Studia Musicologica: Aesthetica, Theoretica, Historica, ed. Elżbieta Dziębowska, et al. (Cracow, 1979), pp. 359-65; and "Do związków Chopina z Bellinim. Chopinowski autograf arii Belliniego 'Casta Diva'," Pagine 4 (1980): 241-71.

variants in the late period, unless obviously deriving from the engraver, stem mainly from the composer himself, a statement that cannot be made so assuredly about his early music. Second, more evidence exists from the late period bearing on the evolution of Chopin's musical thought than for any other period. Some manuscripts were rejected altogether, others teem with corrections, extensive alterations were made in proofs. That it is the sources from the late period in particular that abound with evidence of the trials of composition is not coincidental; I will show below that the creative act came with difficulty to Chopin during these years.

I have invoked Chopin's "late period" several times without justifying the starting date: namely roughly 1842. Chopin's artistic development more than that of other composers resists unequivocal divisions into periods: from the very start of his maturity, certain musical traits remain throughout his career. Yet both biographical and musical factors suggest that 1842 marked an important caesura in the composer's development.

A significant drop in Chopin's output commences around 1842.[4] Chopin never composed prolifically, but a tally of his publications reveals that his rate of release

---

[4] I have briefly discussed Chopin's lowered output after 1841 and posited some reasons for it in my review of The Lioness and the Little One: The Liaison of George Sand and Frédéric Chopin, by William G. Atwood; 19th Century Music 5 (1982): 244-47.

fell by nearly half in the years 1842-47, from some five-and-a-half opuses a year to just under three. First-hand testimony exists of the difficulties he faced in molding his musical ideas into concrete shape. At first, the problem may not have been perceived as severe, perhaps nothing more than a passing writer's block. George Sand's occasional references to the phenomenon are always cast in a light tone:

> [Chopin] vous appelle à grands cris pour lui rendre la faculté musicale qu'il prétend avoir perdue. Ne tardez donc pas, chérie.[5]

> Chopin se fait un petit bagage de compositions nouvelles, tout en disant comme de coutume qu'il ne peut rien faire que de détestable et de misérable. Ce qu'il y a de plus drôle c'est qu'il le dit de la meilleure foi du monde.[6]

> Chopin compose toujours des chefs d'oeuvre, dont on vous fera part, quoiqu'il prétend ne rien faire qui vaille.[7]

Even in 1846, after four years of depressed production, Sand could write bemusedly on the subject. Chopin refers to the quantitative aspect of his work less often in these years,

---

[5]Letter of 29 August 1842 to Pauline Viardot; in George Sand, Correspondance, ed. Georges Lubin, 15 vols. to date (Paris, 1964-), 5 (1969): 765. In the second sentence, Sand refers to the planned visit to Nohant of Viardot. All quotations in this dissertation will be given in the original language, save those in Polish, which, less accessible to most readers, will be translated into English with the original footnoted.

[6]Letter of 12 November 1844 to Eugène Delacroix; Sand, Correspondance, 6 (1969): 691.

[7]Letter to Charles Poncy on 21 August 1846; Sand, Correspondance 7 (1970): 455.

but he too assumes a matter-of-fact or humorous tone at first:

> I do not play much--because my piano went out of tune, I write still less--which is why you have had nothing from me for so long.[8]

> Mon bon, je fais tout mon possible pour travailler--mais cela ne va pas--et pourvu que cela continue, mes nouvelles productions ne pourront plus faire penser ni aux gazouillements des fauvettes ni même à la porcelaine cassée. Il faut me résigner.[9]

To Franchomme in 1846, he could invoke warbling birds and broken china, but by the end of 1848, when the flow of compositions had slowed to a trickle, he would sum up his frustration with the far more poignant phrase "where have I mislaid my art?".[10]

The act of composition had clearly grown more difficult for Chopin. In the latter part of the period, both the progress of his disease and his separation from George Sand likely contributed to the shrinking in production. But at the start, his health, though hardly perfect, was stable and his relationship with Sand flourishing. No obvious outside

---

[8] "Nie gram wiele--bo mi się fortepian odstroił, piszę jeszcze mniej--dlatego tak dawno nic ode mnie nie macie." Letter of 18-20 July 1845 to his family; Fryderyk Chopin, Korespondencja z Rodziną, ed. Krystyna Kobylańska (Warsaw, 1972), p. 140.

[9] Letter of 8 July 1846 to Auguste Franchomme; Fryderyk Chopin, Korespondencja Fryderyka Chopina, ed. Bronisław Edward Sydow, 2 vols. (Warsaw, 1955), 2: 396. My text differs slightly from Sydow's, in accordance with the autograph.

[10] "moja sztuka gdzie się podziała?"; letter of 30 October 1848 to Wojciech Grzymała, Chopin, Korespondencja 2: 285.

forces, then, explain the onset of the fall in output; on the other hand, there is reason to believe that strictly musical reasons might account for it. A number of stylistic features attain prominence only after 1841. Counterpoint, for example, begins to take on greater importance. Canonic writing appears frequently, and an independence of parts surpassing anything known in earlier works becomes the rule. Chopin methodically cultivated his skills in counterpoint, exploring, at just the time his productivity began to decline, elementary counterpoint treatises by Cherubini and Kastner.[11] Other stylistic elements, though present since his earlier works, now take on different signficance. Ornamentation, for example, a keystone of Chopin's melodic style, is used with greater restraint, often to articulate moments of structural importance. Non-pitched musical elements are explored for their capabilities in defining formal properties. Rhythm in particular is put to use in order to increase the level of tension over entire sections of pieces. Harmonic writing transcends the high level of sophistication reached in earlier works, either by probing more chromatic realms, or by employing as a unifying device the same chordal progression repeatedly throughout a work. New genres are essayed, old ones recharged by the admixture of elements from other forms. What Chopin undertook after

---

[11]See letter to Julian Fontana assigned to early June 1841; Chopin, Korespondencja, 2: 20-21.

1841 was no less than a complete critical reassessment of the nature of his craft: small wonder that he found composing more difficult.

The manifold cancellations, rejected manuscripts, and conflicting printed sources doubtless reflect the prolonged struggle Chopin waged over the nature of his musical language. The many revisions left by the wayside in the genesis of a work allow one to form a vivid, if general, picture of Chopin's compositional process. Rarely however does enough source material survive for any one composition to permit an evolutionary study of the entire work from its first written notation in a sketch to the last printed version. Only for the Violoncello Sonata, op. 65 might one consider such a study; even here, problems in gaining access to some of the surviving manuscripts and the apparent lack of any extant Stichvorlagen leave large gaps in what can be reconstructed of the compositional process. Consequently another approach needed to be adopted. Study of Chopin's manuscripts yields an archetypical progression of written stages through which a work evolve. Rather than follow all the surviving evidence from any single work from beginning to end, I have chosen to examine the revisions in a number of works organizing the discussion around the type of manuscript or printed source. From such an organization emerges both a sense of the particular problems faced by Chopin in a given work and a feeling for the general sorts of issues he confronted at various times after sketching.

CHAPTER I

GOING BEFORE THE PUBLIC: CHOPIN AND THE INTERNATIONAL MUSIC PUBLISHING INDUSTRY

Multiple editions of Chopin's works and the variants found in them have perplexed many an editor and critic. Why did the composer release his works in more than one country, and why more or less contemporaneously? Who was responsible for the alterations in the editions: composer, copyist, publisher, or engraver? If Chopin, why would he allow different versions of the same passage to appear in print? If not the composer, under what authority were readings changed? Each of these questions bears centrally on a study of Chopin's compositional craft, and common behind each query lurks the institution of music publishing. Before one can weigh the musical import of the variants, one must grasp the mechanics of the international music publishing industry, for it was within the framework created by this industry that the variants occurred.

To answer the above questions, two facets of music publishing must be explored. The first is individual: how Chopin dealt with his publishers in France, the German-speaking states, and England, and what his machinations can tell us about the kinds of sources that formed the basis of the editions and the amount of control he had over the text

ultimately printed in them. The second is more general: what the possibilities and constraints of music publishing on the Continent and in England were in Chopin's time, and how the nature of this business affected the way Chopin released his music. It is with this second, general area of inquiry that I will start, for an understanding of it is crucial to the comprehension of the personal facet.

Copyright Law

International commerce in early nineteenth-century music publishing derived much of its character from the evolution of copyright laws in the individual countries. In each of the three regions in which Chopin published, these laws developed gradually and independently. The complex development of copyright laws is best considered separately by country.[1]

England

With the Copyright Act of 1709 (8 Anne, c. 19), England became the first European nation to enact statutory protection for authors' literary property.[2] The Statute of

---

[1]A cogent survey of copyright laws in England, France and Germany through roughly 1830 may be found in Joel Sachs, "Hummel in England and France: A Study in the International Musical Life of the Early Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1968), pp. 124-44, 241-54. See also idem, "Authentic English and French Editions of J. N. Hummel," Journal of the American Musicological Society, 25 (1972): 203-229.

[2]An excellent contemporary survey of the development and ramifications of English (and American) copyright laws is

Anne, "an Act for the Encouragement of Learning,"[3] gave to authors of books already printed who had retained their rights, and to booksellers, printers, and others who had purchased copyrights the sole right of printing these books for twenty-one years. For works not then printed, the term of protection was fourteen years. After the expiration of this term, the privilege would revert to the authors, if they were still living, for another term of fourteen years. Penalties for infringement on the copyright were provided, but these could not be claimed unless the book had been registered at the Company of Stationers before its publication. As a condition of registration, nine copies of the book, printed on the best paper, were to be delivered by the printers before publication to the warehouse-keeper of Stationers' Hall. These copies would be for the use of the Royal Library, the libraries at Oxford and Cambridge Univer-

---

George Ticknor Curtis, A Treatise on the Law of Copyright (Boston, 1847). Curtis's Appendix reprints the texts of all relevant British statutes through 1847, including the Statute of Anne (Appendix, pp. 1-7). Other useful treatments of English copyright law include Richard Rogers Bowker, Copyright: Its History and Its Law (Boston, 1912), particularly pp. 1-34, and Augustine Birrell, Seven Lectures on the Law and History of Copyright in Books (London, 1899). A helpful discussion of deposit practices in Britain is found in R. C. Barrington Partridge, The History of the Legal Deposit of Books throughout the British Empire (London, 1938). Finally, the musical significance of British copyright protection and deposit requirements in Beethoven's time are discussed in Alan Tyson, The Authentic English Editions of Beethoven (London, 1963), pp. 131-45.

[3] From the title of the Act; see Curtis, A Treatise, Appendix, p. 1.

sities, the four universities in Scotland, Sion College in London, and the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh. A further proviso stated that nothing in the Act should be construed to prohibit the importation or selling of any books printed in Greek, Latin or any other foreign language printed "beyond the seas," i.e., abroad. Complaints against the Act were to be brought within three months of the offense.[4]

The Georgian period saw much incidental copyright legislation, most of which does not apply directly to this study. The Copyright Act of 1801 (41 George 3, c. 107)[5] made small changes in the Statute of Anne; penalties were increased, the number of deposit copies required was increased to eleven, with the additional two copies going to the libraries of Trinity College and the Society of King's Inns, both in Dublin, and the period within which suits against the Act need be instigated was extended to six months.

More important changes were wrought by the Copyright Act of 1814 (54 George 3, c. 156).[6] Protection for authors under the Act was extended to twenty-eight years, and, if

---

[4]While music is not expressly mentioned in the Statute of Anne, in Bach v. Longman (Cowp. 623; 1777) it was held to fall within the protection of the act, it being a form of writing. See the summary of the case printed in The English Reports, 176 vols. (Edinburgh, 1900-30), 97 (1909): 1274-75.

[5]Curtis, A Treatise, Appendix, pp. 29-37.

[6]Curtis, A Treatise, Appendix, pp. 42-50.

the author was still living at the end of that time, for the remainder of his life. A publisher was required to deposit eleven copies of a book only if all eleven libraries requested he do so; if not, he was liable only for as many of such eleven copies as were claimed by the deposit libraries. However, one copy of the book, printed on the best paper, was to be submitted to the British Museum as a condition of the registration of the title at Stationers' Hall. No copies could be demanded of second or subsequent editions of a book unless this edition contained additions or alterations. Publishers of demandable books needed to register them within one month of the date of publication, if they were released in or near London, or within three months, if they were released elsewhere in the United Kingdom. Another extension was added to the time within which complaints must be brought, so that it stood at twelve months.

During the reign of William IV, changes in copyright law continued to accrue, the most important occurring in the Act of 1836 (6 & 7 Will. 4, c. 110),[7] which reduced the number of deposit copies to five. Receiving the copies were the libraries at the British Museum, Oxford and Cambridge Universities, the Faculty of Advocates, and Trinity College. The six libraries who lost their right to free copies of new books received instead a fixed yearly grant from which they could purchase books at their discretion.

---

[7]See Partridge, Legal Deposit, pp. 76-77 and 320-21. The full text of the Act may be found in Curtis, A Treatise, Appendix, pp. 83-84.

The Copyright Act of 1842 (5 & 6 Vict., c. 45)[8] witnessed the entire rewriting of laws for the protection of literary property. Terms are defined carefully at the outset: "book" is used as shorthand for every volume, part of volume, pamphlet, sheet of letter-press, sheet of music, map, chart, or plan separately published, and "copyright" refers to the sole liberty to print or otherwise multiply copies of said "book." Duration of copyright protection for the author and his assigns is increased to forty-two years or the life of the author plus seven years, whichever proved longer. A copy of any book published after the passing of the Act (1 July 1842), printed on the best paper, and also of any second or subsequent editions of a book whose preceding editions had not been delivered to the British Museum, should be presented to this institution within one month of its publication, if the book was released in the environs of London, or within three months, if published elsewhere in the United Kingdom. If any of the remaining four deposit libraries as defined in 6 & 7 Will. 4, c. 110 should demand a copy of the book, it should be delivered within one month to the officer of the Stationers' Company, or to the library itself. Penalties were provided for publishers who defaulted in the delivery of demanded copies. Proprietorship in the copyright of books, and the assignments thereof,

---

[8]Curtis, A Treatise, Appendix, pp. 64-81.

would be registered in a book kept at the Stationers' Company, and the information registered would include the title of the book, the time of its first publication, the name and location of the publisher, and the name and abode of the owner of the copyright. Provisions were made against piracies, and against any non-copyright holder, or anyone not assigned by the owner of the copyright, importing into the United Kingdom any copyrighted book first composed, written, printed, or published in Britain and reprinted anywhere outside of the British dominions. Entry in the book of registry at Stationers' Hall must precede any copyright litigation. Complaints against the Act were to be brought within one year of the offense.[9]

British legislators made a significant contribution in the arena of international copyright as well. Even before the passage of statutory protection, a series of legal decisions had discussed and defined the rights of foreign authors who published in the United Kingdom. As early as 1777, Bach v. Longman (Cowp. 623) determined that a foreigner resident and publishing in England could sue for breach of copyright in that country.[10] The question of

---

[9]The important provisions of Articles 20-22 relating to copyright as applied to the liberty of representing dramatic pieces and musical compositions (which articles in themselves drew on legislation passed in 3 & 4 Will. 4, c. 15) have been omitted from my summary, because they did not affect directly the publication of Chopin's music.

[10]The main argument in this case, as mentioned above, was whether music fell under the protection of the Statute of Anne.

assigning copyright to foreigners not living in Britain arose in three cases prior to the passage of the International Copyright Act of 1838; in each, protection under English law was restricted to works that had been first published in the United Kingdom.[11] Finally, the 1835 case of D'Almaine and Another v. Boosey (1 Y. and C. 288)[12] held that the English assignee of the copyright of a foreigner qualified for protection under the existing statutes. Likewise, a foreigner who resided and published in Britain also fell within the authority of copyright laws.

D'Almaine and Another v. Boosey provided an important legal precedent when the question of statutory international copyright was argued in the House of Commons. At the conclusion of a speech before this body in November 1837--a speech whose details were eventually drafted as the Copyright Law of 1842--T. N. Talfourd addressed the question of the rights of foreigners to copyright in the United Kingdom. Referring to D'Almaine and Another v. Boosey, Talfourd said:

---

[11]See, in 1818, Birchall v. Longman (Tyson, Authentic English Editions, pp. 144-45, contains a reprint of The Times (London) article of 18 December 1818 and a letter from George Thomson to Beethoven on this case); in 1824, Clementi v. Walker (2 B. and C. 861; English Reports, 107 [1910]: 601-5); and, in 1831, Guichard v. Mori (9 L. J. Chanc. 227; 2 Coop. t. Lott; English Reports, 27 [1905]: 1134).

[12]See the text printed in English Reports, 109 (1917): 117-23.

> if a recent decision on the subject of musical copyright is to be regarded as correct, the principle of international copyright is already acknowledged here, and there is little for us to do in order that we may be enabled to claim its recognition from foreign states.[13]

While Talfourd's motions on behalf of copyright protection for English subjects waited five years before becoming law, his proposals for an international copyright law reached fruition almost immediately with the Act of 1838 (1 & 2 Vict., c. 59).[14] According to this Act, the Queen, by order in council, could direct that authors of books first published in foreign countries and their assigns enjoy the same privileges of copyright as British subjects who had first published in the United Kingdom. An important condition was that no such order in council would be valid unless the foreign state granted reciprocal conditions to British subjects. Foreigners would secure copyright in much the same fashion as British citizens: the title of the book would be entered at Stationers' Hall, and one copy of it would be deposited for the use of the British Museum. However, no foreigner was ever granted copyright under the Act of 1838, for no order in council was ever signed. Reciprocal agree-

---

[13] From T. N. Talfourd, Three Speeches Delivered in the House of Commons in Favor of a Measure for an Extension of Copyright (London, 1840), p. 26.

[14] See the text printed in Curtis, A Treatise, Appendix, pp. 57-63.

ments could not be arranged after the passage, probably due to insufficiencies in the Act itself.[15]

These deficiencies proved the undoing of the Act of 1838, which was soon repealed and replaced with the International Copyright Act of 1844 (7 & 8 Vict., c. 12).[16] The Act of 1844 did not alter the basic text of the Act of 1838, except to adjust the wording to coincide with that of the Act of 1842 and to add provisions concerning performing rights, engravings and sculptures. But this was enough to stimulate reciprocal agreements: the first convention under the 1844 Act was signed with Prussia in 1846, and several other countries, including France in 1851, followed suit.

As a resident of France, then, Chopin never benefited from statutory copyright protection in England during his life. His rights there were determined instead by a number of legal decisions, most of which involved attempted piracies of books by American authors or musical works by European composers: as categories of art written in a "language" that needed no translation, both were logical choices for unsanctioned reproduction.[17]

---

[15]As suggested in an excellent study of international copyright, Simon Nowell-Smith, International Copyright Law and the Publisher in the Reign of Queen Victoria (Oxford, 1968), p. 23

[16]The complete text of the Act may be found in William Briggs, The Law of International Copyright (London, 1906), pp. 726-37.

[17]See James J. Barnes, Authors, Publishers and Politicians: The Quest for an Anglo-American Copyright Agreement 1815 - 1854 (Columbus, 1974), pp. 165-66.

In the year after the first copyright act under Victoria (1839), Bentley v. Foster (10 Sim. 329)[18] addressed the question of alien copyright in a novel by Fenimore Cooper, and, following the precedent of D'Almaine and Another v. Boosey, held that a foreigner composing a work abroad, but first publishing it in the United Kingdom, was entitled to the protection of British copyright law. Likewise, in an injunction filed over the unauthorized selling of excerpts from Fra Diavolo by Auber,[19] the plaintiff was not allowed to sue for piracy because the work had been published in France and sold in England before she attained a legal assignment of the title from Auber. At the same time, it was stated that a foreigner who composed a work unpublished in his home country could assign his British rights to a British subject. In 1848, in a case over the infringement of the copyright in "Der Elfin Walzer" by Joseph Labitzky,[20] it was for the first time held that simultaneous publication abroad did not annul a foreigner's right in Britain, or, in other words, that releasing a work at the same time in England and abroad guaranteed copyright in England just as did publishing first in England.

---

[18] English Reports, 59 (1906): 641-42.

[19] Chappell v. Purday (4 Y. and C. Ex. 485 [1841]; 12 M. and W. 303 [1843]); text in English Reports, 160 (1917): 1098-1102, and 152 (1915): 1214-15.

[20] Cocks v. Purday (2 Car. &K. 269 and 5 C. B. 860), English Reports, 175 (1930): 111-12, and 136 (1913): 1118-28, 1177-78.

With this string of decisions supporting a foreigner's rights in Britain, one would assume that the question was safely decided. But in 1849, two conflicting decisions on property rights for arias from Bellini's La Sonnambula thoroughly confused the situation. January saw, in Boosey v. Davidson (18 L. J. [Q. B.], 174),[21] a decision in favor of the assignee of a foreign author having copyright in Britain, if the work had not been published previously abroad (as in Cocks v. Purday, publication was simultaneous). June, on the contrary, witnessed in Boosey v. Purday (4 Ex. 145)[22] the opposite opinion maintained (although simultaneous publication was again held not to negate a copyright in Britain, should said copyright exist). In 1851, the pendulum swung back in the other direction; in both Buxton v. James (5 De G. & SM. 80)[23] and Boosey v. Jefferys (6 Ex. 580)[24] decisions were returned in favor of foreigners holding copyright in Britain. But in 1854, Jefferys v. Boosey (4 H. L. C. 815),[25] an appeal of Boosey v. Jefferys that was ultimately decided in the House of Lords,

---

[21] The Law Journal Reports, Vol. 27 (New Series Vol. 18). Part 2: Cases at Common Law (London, 1849), pp. 174-77.

[22] English Reports, 154 (1915): 1159-64.

[23] English Reports, 64 (1906): 1027-29.

[24] English Reports, 155 (1916): 675-83.

[25] English Reports, 10 (1901): 681-752.

found the judgment reversed once again, and it was decided that the Act of Anne required residence of a foreign author before copyright could be assigned (this of course applied only to citizens of those countries who had not signed conventions with Britain under the International Copyright Act of 1844).[26]

Until just before Chopin's death, though, the British courts were consistent in holding that, by publishing a work first in Britain or simultaneously in Britain and abroad, a foreigner was entitled to copyright protection in their domain. Should this foreigner desire, he could legally sell his title to a British subject, who would enjoy the same copyright privileges as if he had composed the work himself. Chopin, who wished to publish in England in order to avoid piracies that would at once reduce his income from a work and remove his control over the text printed, benefited from protection that arose from liberal legal interpretations of the existing copyright statutes for British subjects.

---

[26] See the discussions of Jefferys v. Boosey in Briggs, The Law of International Copyright, pp. 489-90; Nowell-Smith, International Copyright Law, pp. 39-40; and Barnes, Authors, Publishers and Politicians, pp. 165-76.

France

French copyright protection originated in the years immmediately following the 1789 revolution. With the decree of 19=24 July 1793, the ancient and knotty system of royal privileges was abandoned in favor of a more complete and clear legislation on the property rights of authors.[27] The decree began by alloting to authors, composers, painters and engravers the exclusive and lifetime right to sell, have sold, or distribute their works in the French republic, and to cede their property in whole or in part. Article 2 granted to the author's heirs the same property rights for ten years after the death of the author. Penalties for violations against the code were laid out in Articles 3-5, as well as the stipulation that assignment of property rights be made formally and in writing. Article 6 required that two copies of all publications be deposited in the national library; failure to deposit would disqualify any attempt to prosecute for piracy. The last article gave heirs exclusive property rights to all unpublished works for ten years.

Copyright laws were further refined in a decree of 5 February 1810 concerning the regulation of printers and booksellers. Article 39 redefined the guarantee of property

---

[27]The privilege system was formally discarded in a decree of 4 August 1789 (see J. B. Duvergier, ed., Collection complète des lois, décrets, ordonnances, réglemens, et avis du Conseil d'État, 67 vols. [Paris, 1824-67], 1: 39-41). The complete text of the decree of 19=24 July 1793 may be found in ibid., 6 (1825): 35-37.

rights so that they lasted the lifetimes of the author and his widow, and after their death, twenty years for their children.[28] Article 40 allowed authors, be they French or foreign, to cede their rights to a printer or publisher.[29] Article 48 placed the onus of depositing works on the printer, and increased the number of exemplars to be deposited to five. The five copies were to be delivered to the préfecture of the printer's département, or, in Paris, to the préfecture de police.

To discourage publication of illegal books, a decree was passed on 14 October 1811 establishing a journal in which would be published the titles, authors, publishers, number of exemplars and prices of all works printed or engraved in France.[30] According to Article 3,[31] it was forbidden for all authors and publishers, including those foreigners who were allowed to distribute their works in the empire, to announce any printed or engraved work, national

---

[28] A decree of 19 June 1811, under the provisions of Article 39, extended to authors and their heirs in the "royaume d'Italie" reciprocal rights. See Duvergier, Collection, 17 (1826): 461.

[29] An "avis du Conseil d'État" of 23 August 1811 clarified that articles 39 and 40 "n'a rien innové quant aux oeuvres dramatiques et des compositions de musique," and that rights for these should be regulated according to legislation prior to the decree of 5 February 1810. See Duvergier, Collection, 17 (1826): 512.

[30] Duvergier, Collection, 18 (1827): 33-34.

[31] Not Article 2, as stated in Sachs, "Hummel in England and France," p. 246. Article 2 concerns the disposition of the funds raised from subscription to the journal.

or foreign, before it had been announced in the journal, which came to be called the Bibliographie de la France.

Further legislation before and during Chopin's residence in Paris did not alter substantially the tenets of copyright protection in France. A law of 21=23 October 1814 lifting some of the strict press censorship of the Napoleonic regime asserted in Article 14 that no printer could issue a work before having declared that he proposed to print it, nor could it be released before the prescribed number of copies were deposited.[32] An ordonnance shortly thereafter (24=25 October 1814)[33] maintained the number of copies to deposited at five. On 8=21 October 1817, an ordinance was passed stating that lithographed works fell under the same laws as engraved and printed publications.[34] The number of deposit copies required was changed back to two in an ordinance of 9=26 January 1828,[35] and an ordinance of 29 March 1834 prescribed the deposit of one copy of every published musical work for the use of the library of the Conservatoire.[36]

---

[32]Duvergier, Collection, 19 (1827): 272-74.

[33]Duvergier, Collection, 19 (1827): 280-81.

[34]Duvergier, Collection, 21 (1827): 291.

[35]Duvergier, Collection, 28 (1829): 28.

[36]Article 77 of the "Réglements généraux" of the Conservatoire for 1841 reads "La Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, située dans un local spécial de l'établissement, renfermant une collection d'ouvrages didactiques et historiques sur l'art de la musique, les partitions françaises et

Decisions in the courts defined the property rights of authors who published abroad. In 1804, the Cour de Cassation decided that the existing copyright decrees applied only to the work of a Frenchman pirated by another Frenchman, and not to works published abroad by a foreign author and then engraved again in France.[37] An arrêt of the same court on 23 March 1810[38] held that a Frenchman who had received from a foreigner the right to print, engrave and sell exclusively in France a literary work not yet published abroad would be protected by the decree of 19=24 July 1793. Should the work have appeared previously abroad, the Frenchman could not exercise exclusive property rights. On 30 January 1818, the Cour de Cassation upheld the copyright of a Frenchman who, having first published a work abroad,

---

étrangères de tous les genres et de tous les compositeurs, et les oeuvres de musique en général, s'augmente par des acquisitions et par l'exemplaire de chaque ouvrage déposé à la Librairie et destiné à enrichir cette Bibliothèque, conformément à la ordonnance royale en date du 29 mars 1834." See Constant Pierre, Le conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation. Documents historiques et administrifs recueillis ou reconstitués (Paris, 1900), pp. 254-55. Duvergier, Collection, fails to print the ordinance.

[37] Pleyel v. Sieber; decision made 17 nivôse an XIII. See the summaries in Duvergier, Collection, 6 (1825): 36 (note 1); Sachs, "Hummel in England and France," p. 131; and Anik Devriès, "Les éditions musicales Sieber," Revue de musicologie 55 (1969): 32-33.

[38] Lahaute and Bonnemaison v. Sieber; a summary of the case, which concerned the piracy of a Cramer etude, may be found in L. M. Devilleneuve and A. A. Carette, Recueil général des lois et des arrêts, 156 vols. (Paris, 1801-1964), ser. 1, vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 167.

reprinted it in France after satisfying the formalities prescribed by law for publication in France.[39] Thus prior publication abroad did not necessarily place a work in the public domain. Turning to the rights of foreigners who published in France, the Cour Royale de Paris decided on 26 November 1828 that the deposit made by a foreign author in France of a work published by him abroad did not preserve his exclusive rights to the work if, prior to the deposit, the work had been published in France after publication abroad.[40]

Protection to cover two kinds of publishing circumstances was being addressed by these decisions. For a foreigner who published in France a work not yet published abroad, the courts clearly gave him the right to the same

---

[39] Chaumerot v. C. Michaud, published in Devilleneuve and Carette, Recueil, ser. 1, vol. 5, pt. 1, pp. 415-16.

[40] Troupenas v. C. Pleyel and Aulagnier; Devilleneuve and Carette, Recueil, ser. 1, vol. 9, pt. 2, p. 159. The precise significance of this case is not clear, for it dealt with a particularly complicated instance of altered versions of a work. Troupenas sued Pleyel and Aulagnier for pirating excerpts from Rossini's Le Siège de Corinthe, an opera that had been partly reworked from the composer's earlier Maometto II. The decision of the court hinged on the prior legal publication of Maometto II in France and abroad, and the interpretation that the use of numbers from Maometto II in Le Siège de Corinthe meant that the pieces in the latter had already fallen into the public domain, and could be published by anyone. The decision does not mean, as Sachs argues ("Hummel in England and France," pp. 248-49), that immediate deposit was required to maintain copyright in France; the deposit for Le Siège de Corinthe may well have occurred at the proper time, but it was negated by the special make-up of the opera. For an extensive discussion of Troupenas's relations with Rossini, see my "Marketing Rossini: Sei lettere di Troupenas ad Artaria," Bolletino del

protection as a Frenchman. But for an author, French or foreign, who, after having published a work abroad, released it in France while satisfying all of the legal formalities, and wished then to resell the exclusive property to this work in France, the legal precedents in the eyes of some were unclear. The author of a contemporary treatise on literary piracy, J. A. Gastambide, claimed that the courts were anything but unanimous on the subject, and offered the following advice:

> Si un auteur veut se réserver la propriété de son oeuvre en France en même temps qu'à l'étranger, qu'il en fasse deux publications simultanées, l'une ici, l'autre là-bas; qu'il remplisse les formalités légales de part et d'autre, et ses droits seront conservés. Alors le contrefacteur français ne pourra prétendre que la publication à l'étranger a eu pour effet d'enrichir le domaine public en France, puisque cette publication n'aura point précédé même d'un instant la publication faite sur le territoire française.[41]

For Chopin, the safest route towards insuring his rights in France at the same time he protected them in England was to release his works, as Gastambide suggested, simultaneously in the two countries. If a piece appeared in France prior to its publication in England, he could forfeit his (or his publisher's) right to prosecute for piracy in

---

centro rossiniano di studi, nos. 1-3 (1980), pp. 41-63.

[41] [Joseph] Adrien Gastambide, Traité théorique et pratique des contrafaçons en tous genres (Paris, 1837), p. 92. On pages 154-55, he reaffirms this view saying that, for an author to be able to resell his rights in France, the work must have been published either first in France, or simultaneously in France and abroad.

the United Kingdom. But if it appeared in the United Kingdom first, there was at least some legal precedent for still maintaining his exclusive property rights in France if he or his publisher were to meet the legal requirements (i.e. deposit) before an unauthorized edition appeared.

The German-speaking States

Lacking the political unity of Britain or France, the German-speaking states waited until well into the nineteenth century before enacting effective copyright protection.[42] Prior to the 1830s, conditions for intra-German piracy were ripe: not only were agreements between the states to combat piracy wanting, but some regions, notably Austria, actively encouraged unauthorized reproduction of literary and musical works. Several attempts at passing legislation in Prussia and other states in the 1810s and 1820s had failed, and, in the face of governmental inaction, publishers attempted to take matters into their own hands.

---

[42]Because tracing the convoluted development of copyright legislation in the German-speaking states would help little to understand the effect of German law on Chopin, I am focussing only on the years immediately before and during the composer's publishing career. An excellent survey of German copyright law is Ludwig Gieseke, Die geschichtliche Entwicklung des deutschen Urheberrechts, Göttinger Rechtswissenschaftliche Studien, Band 22 (Göttingen, 1957). Also useful is Max Schumann, Zur Geschichte des deutschen Musikalienhandels seit der Gründung des Vereins der deutschen Musikalienhändler (Leipzig, 1929). Sachs, "Hummel in England and France," pp. 133-44 neatly summarizes in English portions of Gieseke; on pages 145-77 he discusses Hummel's part in the batle for effective copyright legislation in Germany. See also idem, "Hummel and the Pirates: the Struggle for Musical Copyright," The Musical Quarterly 59 (1973): 31-60.

In April 1825, the book trade led the way with the formation of the Börsenverein der deutschen Buchhändler, a development that influenced greatly the anti-piracy actions of German music publishers. Easter 1829, at the Leipzig Fair, saw the signing of a convention between sixteen music publishers to counteract piracy.[43] The document forbade the signers to infringe either completely or partially on the property of another signer, be it in a single publication, mixed collection, or complete works. Property rights should be obtained from composers in writing, so that foreign publishers would not sell rights for publication without a composer's permission. That the property rights were owned by the publisher should be so indicated on the title page; unauthorized use of the phrase "Propriété de l'éditeur" would be punished by a fine of 50 Louis d'Or. Simultaneous publication was recognized in Article 2:

> Getheiltes Eigenthum wird vollkommen respectirt; jedoch hat der deutsche Verleger dafür zu sorgen, dass seine Ausgaben wo möglich gleichzeitig mit denen in England oder in Frankreich geschehen und auf dem Titel der im Auslande erscheinenden Exemplare seine Firma als Eigenthümer für Deutschland genannt ist. Um aber alle möglichen Collisionen zu vermeiden, so machen sich die Herren Contrahenten verbindlich, den Abdruck eines im Auslande erschienenen Werks nicht früher zu Beginnen, als bis sie im Besitz des Titels sind, und soll auch,

---

[43] The text of the convention, dated 23 May 1829, was published in summary in the Leipziger Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung, 10 March 1830, cols. 158-60, and completely in "Der Musikalien-Nachdruck in rechtlicher und staatspolitischer Beziehung," Cäcilia 13 (1831): Heft 50, pp. 96-98.

> damit alle Ungewissheit vermieden wird, der Verleger getheilten Eigenthums die bevorstehende Herausgabe in dem Allgemeinen Anzeiger der Deutschen und in der Leipziger und Berliner musikalischen Zeitung bekannt machen.[44]

Article 4 further addresses foreign publications, saying that compositions that appeared in England and France without a German publisher having bought the rights for publication in Germany could be reproduced at will; these works, however, could not bear on their title pages any indication of ownership of property rights.[45]

On 12 May 1830, the publishers, now styling themselves the Verein gegen Musikaliennachdruck, instituted an expanded set of by-laws.[46] Leipzig was established as the center of the Union, and the governing committee was to include Breitkopf & Härtel, William Härtel, Hofmeister, Peters and Probst of Leipzig, Schott of Mainz, and Haslinger of Vienna, the latter with the understanding that all Viennese publishers enlist in the Union. Hofmeister was named secretary; penalties and yearly dues of 2 Thalers were to

---

[44]"Der Musikalien-Nachdruck," p. 97.

[45]The convention was signed by C. F. Peters, Friedrich Hofmeister, J. A. Böhme, August Cranz, J. P. Spehr, F. P. Dunst, G. M. Meyer, H. A. Probst (who added the condition that notice of "divided property" could be made privately via a letter, rather than by publishing a notice in a newspaper), Breitkopf & Härtel, H. Simrock, F. Lave, C. A. Simon, A. M. Schlesinger, C. F. Whistling, Wm. Härtel (who added the same condition as Probst), and Carl Brüggemann.

[46]Printed completely in "Der Musikalien-Nachdruck," pp. 99-102; summarized in "Für Eigenthumsrecht," Leipziger Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung, 14 July 1830, cols. 461-62.

sent to him. Melody was recognized as the exclusive property of the publisher; any publication that baldly reproduced a melody owned by another would be fined, as a piracy, 50 Louis d'Or. Variations, fantasies and those works that could lay claim to having employed the composer's creative intelligence were exempted from this rule; doubtful cases were to be decided by the Leipzig committee.[47] Property rights could be divided no more than three ways, meaning England, France and Germany (in which was counted the Austrian monarchy and all remaining countries not named, including those outside of Germany). Publishers were to purchase property rights for all of Germany; in those cases where two firms cooperated in the publication of a work, both were to be listed on the title page. Members were prohibited from selling any piracy that appeared after the formation of the Union. Likewise, penalties were levied against the sale of any piracy originating in France, England or any other non-Union country. A registry office to which members were to send copies of their publications for entry in the register and storage in the archive was established in Leipzig.[48]

---

[47]On the problems that plagued Artaria in Vienna in determining whether a fantasy or potpourri on a preexistent theme constituted a piracy, see Rosemary Hilmar, Der Musikverlag Artaria & Comp.: Geschichte und Probleme der Druckproduktion (Tutzing, 1977), pp. 65-101.

[48]On 31 August 1830, the Verein decided that those who sent works to Leipzig for registry should indicate this on the title pages with the phrase "Eingetragen in das Archiv der vereinigten Musikalien-Verleger." See "Der Musikalien-Nachdruck," pp. 103-4. On the title pages of Chopin's com-

After one year, the copies would be returned to the members. Each month a list was to be sent to the members informing them of new publications. Falsification of titles, names of firms, and composer's names, as well as publication of works without a title page and the name of the firm was forbidden and punished by a fine.

The efforts of the Union were remarkable for the inclusion of publishers from all regions of Germany and Austria; by late 1830 their number had reached sixty-four.[49] But no amount of pressure from within the Union was going to prevent those publishers who refused to join from issuing piracies at will. For these recalcitrants, governmental action was needed; Prussia led the way. Between 1827 and 1829, Prussia signed agreements with thirty-three other German states (but not with Austria) stating that, concerning piracy, no difference would be made between Prussian residents and those of other states. In other words, a Prussian would enjoy the copyright protection granted by any of the thirty-three states in that state, and a subject of one of these states would be protected in Prussia.[50] The agreements were submitted to the Diet on 20 August 1829, and approved on 6 September 1832. However, because the copy-

---

positions, this phrase was normally rendered in French as "Enregistré dans les (or aux) Archives de l'Union."

[49]"Der Musikalien-Nachdruck," pp. 103-5.

[50]Gieseke, Die geschichtliche Entwicklung, pp. 146-47.

right laws of the states varied widely (some still had no injunctions against piracy) the practical effect of the resolution was limited.[51]

At the Conference of Ministers in Vienna in the summer of 1834, the situation was improved by a resolution to prohibit piracy and to protect literary property throughout the German states. The Diet approved the measure on 2 April 1835,[52] and on 9 November 1837 passed a resolution with concrete provisions proscribing unauthorized reproduction of literary works of all kinds, as well as of works of art, and setting the period of protection for the author's life or, for the author's heirs or those to whom he ceded his rights, for ten years.[53]

Property rights within Prussia had been more extensively defined in a law of 11 June 1837, which was not announced officially until after the law of 9 November 1837.[54] Enjoined were unauthorized reproductions of musical works, just as of any other literary or artistic creation (Article 19), and included in the definition of forbidden piracies were extracts, arrangements for one instrument, and

---

[51]Gieseke, Die geschichtliche Entwicklung, p. 147.

[52]Gieseke, Die geschichtliche Entwicklung, p. 148.

[53]Published as No. 1839 in the Gesetz=Sammlung für die Königliche Preussischen Staaten, 11 Dezember 1837, pp. 161-64.

[54]No. 1840, Gesetz=Sammlung, 18 Dezember 1837, pp. 165-71.

other arrangements that could not be considered proper compositions if released without the approval of the author (Article 20). In doubtful cases, the judge could draw on the expert opinion of a musical union (Article 31). Performances of dramatic and musical works, in whole or in part, were to be approved by the author or his heirs, as long as the work remained unpublished (Article 32). Protection was given for the life of the author and to his heirs for thirty years. Lastly, copyrights protection was offered to foreign works if the foreign state reciprocated with rights for Prussian subjects (Article 38).

An order of 5 July 1844 recognized that a certain amount of confusion remained from the law of 11 June 1837, and set out to clarify it.[55] If the author was alive when the law of 11 June 1837 was passed, and was still living, the period of protection was to last the remainder of his life plus thirty years after his death. In all other cases, the protection was to last thirty years from the publication of the law (Article 2). Again, it was stated that protection for foreign works was contingent on reciprocal protection being granted Prussians (Article 4). The policy of the Diet was brought into agreement with that of Prussia in a law of 19 June 1845.[56]

Simultaneous publication was recognized as a common

---

[55]No. 2479, Gesetz=Sammlung, 31 Juli 1844, pp. 261-62.

[56]Gieseke, Die geschichtliche Entwicklung, p. 155.

procedure in the world of German music publishing as early as 1829, well before the diverse provisions of copyright protection in the German-speaking states had been brought together in a unified policy. Thus the obligation to publish on the same day in Germany and abroad could not have been based on legal requirements in any of the German states--none of the articles of the publisher's union says that law compels them to issue works simultaneously with those abroad--but instead must have been forced on the Germans by publishers in France and England, where prior publication in a foreign country could endanger copyright. Financial pressures on the German publishers must have been strong, for if a Berlin or Leipzig house were to issue a work in advance of the day set for publication, he would risk the anger of his foreign contacts, and jeopardize future business with them.

Chopin and Simultaneous Publication

Viewed from Paris, the hub of the international music publishing network for Chopin,[57] the impetus to release works on the same day in three countries came primarily from decisions by the courts in France and England, and not directly from legislation by the governments. But

---

[57]Although individual firms outside of Paris (such as Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig) could claim a greater volume of business than any firm in Paris, the importance of the French capital as a clearing house for most music published cannot be denied. Chopin did not begin issuing his works internationally until he was established in Paris.

it should be noted that simultaneous publication had taken hold in the music business long before it had attained a legal basis in the courtrooms of the capitals of Europe. As early as 21 May 1796, Ignace Pleyel, writing to Artaria in Vienna, likely had simultaneous publication in mind when proposing "Dans le cas de le faire publier, nous conviendrons pour cela du jour et nous nous en préviendrons mutuellement.[58] Beethoven mentions simultaneous publication in 1804, and Muzio Clementi, in 1815, writes of it as a means of avoiding piracy.[59] By the middle of the second decade of the nineteenth century, simultaneous publication was a well-known and often-used means of disseminating musical works. What first prompted composers and publishers to publish in a manner that had not been tested legally cannot be

---

[58]Printed in Rita Benton, Ignace Pleyel: A Thematic Catalogue of his Compositions (New York, 1977), p. 221. She discusses the significance of the letter in "Bemerkungen zu einem Pleyel-Werkverzeichnis," Die Musikforschung 29 (1976): 281. But a letter written two years before from George Thomson of Edinburgh to Pleyel concerning publication of a set of piano sonatas firmly rules out simultaneous publication: ". . . ayant été informé par Messieurs Preston [the English publisher] et un Jurisconsulte célèbre que J'ai consulté la dessus, que si l'ouvrage paroit hors de ce pays [i.e., Great Britain] vers le même temps que je l'aurois publié ici, ou, si vous avertissez l'ouvrage comme votre propriété, dans l'un ou l'autre cas les vendeurs de musique ici pourroient saisir cette circonstance de le copier et le faire imprimer, sous le prétexte que ce seroit un ouvrage etrangère . . . Je suis sûr que vous verrez combien il est raisonnable et nécessaire que vous ne publiez l'ouvrage, qu'à une époque beaucoup éloignée de ma publication." See Benton, Ignace Pleyel, p. 209.

[59]The Beethoven appears in a letter to George Thomson probably dating from June, printed in Ludwig van Beethoven, The Letters of Beethoven, ed. and trans. Emily Anderson, 3

pinpointed; perhaps counsel of some sort was retained (such as was mentioned above by Thomson in his letter to Pleyel).[60] Someday the archives of publishers and law courts may yield a definitive picture of the birth and early development of simultaneous publication; however it came into being, the system had been well-oiled by more than a generation of use by the time of Chopin's first foray into international publishing.

What a surprise, then, to discover that the machinery of the system went awry for Chopin. A glance at Table 1, which reproduces the various known dates of registration (which may not necessarily coincide with the dates of publication) for the composer's works in France and England (the deposit records for Germany are lost), reveals that none of his publications can definitely be shown to have been released on the same day.[61] When the records of both the

---

vols. (London, 1961), 1: 108. (Beethoven's continuing efforts at securing simultaneous publication are traced in Tyson, Authentic English Editions, pp. 17-21.) Clementi's mention occurs in a letter of 19 December 1815 to Breitkopf & Härtel, summarized in Max Unger, "Muzio Clementi and his Relations with G. Chr. Haertel of Leipsic, as shown by Letters of Clementi," The Monthly Musical Record 38 (1908): 247.

[60]The first legal decision (in any country) to invoke the issue of the comparative dates of editions in different countries was Lahaute and Bonnemaison v. Sieber in 1810, fourteen years after the Pleyel letter. As mentioned, the legitimacy of simultaneous publication was not upheld in England until 1848 (Cocks v. Purday).

[61]The column of dates from F-Pc may conceal some simultaneous issues with England, for only the month was written across the title page when editions were received at the Conservatoire.

Dépôt légal and Stationers' Hall are extant, the closest two dates come is sixteen days (for op. 59), and some differ by as much as eight months (see ops. 55 and 56). Both France and England anticipated one another's releases equally, France publishing before England a total of 15 times, England before France 16 times (another 12 cases remain uncertain because of the vagueness of the F-Pc dates). Lest one think that the ledger is weighted because of the lack of precise dates for the French publications before 1842 (the Dépôt légal records for 1829 to 1841 are lost), for those works released after 1842, the breakdown has France ahead of England six times, and England ahead of France seven times. As we saw earlier, the English courts were more insistent that publication in England precede or coincide with that on the Continent, but in fact both the English and the French publishers were risking loss of copyright by not holding to the letter of the law. However, only if challenged in court could copyright be endangered, and no assault on the ownership of copyright in a work by Chopin ever took place. The publishers must have sensed the unlikelihood of anyone ever pirating a Chopin composition (to my knowledge, no pirate edition of a piece by Chopin has ever surfaced in France, and only for Chopin's last three publications, ops. 63-65, might there exist English piracies), else they surely would have been more exacting in the registration of his works.[62]

[62]Some of the differences in registration dates must also

At any rate, "simultaneous publication" is a misnomer when applied to multiple editions of Chopin's music; nevertheless, because the editions were at least intended to appear simultaneously, and because Chopin labored to insure their simultaneity, the term will continue to be used generically for those editions appearing in different countries within a few months of one another.

Chopin's Methods of Publication

Publishing was, for Chopin, fraught with frustration. Various publishers had to contacted, prices negotiated, dates of release set, manuscripts prepared for the engraver, and proofs corrected. Plans seldom came off with ease, and until a work reached the public (and at times even after it was released), publishers were the target of Chopin's worst invective.[63] It is these splenetic outbursts

---

have arisen from lax business habits. From an unpublished letter of 15 November 1843 to Breitkopf & Härtel (excerpts printed in sales catalogue 172 [1972] of Hans Schneider, where it is item number 33), we know that Chopin was attempting to set the date of publication for ops. 52-54 at around 15 December. The works were registered with the Dépôt légal on 14 December (indicating a small change in the original plans), but did not find their way into the Stationers' Hall ledgers until 1 March 1844. Wessel, as will be shown below, was not terribly conscientious in running his shop, and for reasons unknown, perhaps because of delays in engraving the works, he must have allowed his date of publication to lag behind the others by two-and-a-half months.

[63]As when he wrote, in reference to dealings with his publishers, "Sram na to wszystko" [Shit on all of that]; see

TABLE 1

DATES OF REGISTRATION FOR CHOPIN'S WORKS IN FRANCE AND ENGLAND

Op.	D.l.	Bibl. Fr.	F-Pc	Sta.H.
3	. . .	. . .	VI.35	. . .
4	. . .	. . .	V.51	. . .
10	. . .	. . .	"Dépôt sans date"	. . .
11	. . .	8.VI.33	. . .	. . .
13	. . .	26.IV.34	IV.34	15.IV.34
14	. . .	14.VI.34	VI.34	. . .
15	. . .	28.XII.33	. . .	. . .
17	. . .	. . .	. . .	26.VIII.34
18	. . .	28.VI.34	VI.34	30.VIII.34
19	. . .	1.XI.34	X.34	21.IV.35
20	. . .	21.II.35	II.35	. . .
21	. . .	2.IX.37	IX.36 août!	25.V.36
22	. . .	2.IX.37 16.IX.37	VII.36 VIII.36	30.V.36
23	. . .	2.IX.37 16.IX.37	VII.36 VIII.36	30.V.36
24	. . .	6.II.36	I.36	20.IV.36
25	. . .	16.XII.37	X.37	14.X.37
26	. . .	2.IX.37 16.IX.37	VII.36 VIII.36	30.V.36
27	. . .	16.IX.37	VII.36	30.V.36
28	. . .	28.IX.39	IX.39	30.VIII.39

TABLE 1--Continued

Op.	D.l.	Bibl. Fr.	F-Pc	Sta.H.
29	. . .	2.VI.38	XII.37	14.X.37
30	. . .	2.VI.38	XII.37	21.XI.37
31	. . .	2.VI.38	XII.37	21.XI.37
32	. . .	2.VI.38	XII.37	21.XI.37
33	. . .	. . .	. . .	2.XI.38
34	. . .	9.III.39	I.39	1.XII.38
35	. . .	18.VII.40	V.40	10.VI.40
36	. . .	18.VII.40	V.40	1.VI.40
37	. . .	25.VII.40 15.VIII.40	VI.40 VII.40	19.VI.40
38	. . .	26.XII.40	X.40	1.X.40
39	. . .	6.III.41	XII.40	1.X.40
40	. . .	6.III.41	XII.40	31.X.40
41	. . .	. . .	XII.40 I.41	1.XII.40
42	. . .	. . .	. . .	30.VI.40
43	. . .	1.I.42	X.41	22.X.41
44	. . .	15.I.42	. . .	20.I.42
45	. . .	. . .	. . .	20.I.42
46	. . .	15.I.42	. . .	20.I.42
47	. . .	15.I.42	. . .	20.I.42
48	. . .	15.I.42	. . .	20.I.42
49	. . .	15.I.42	. . .	20.I.42
50	14.IX.42	1.X.42	. . .	21.VII.42

TABLE 1--Continued

Op.	D.l.	Bibl. Fr.	F-Pc	Sta.H.
51	8.V.43	10.VI.43	. . .	7.IV.43
52	14.XII.43	23.III.44	. . .	1.III.44
53	14.XII.43	23.III.44	. . .	1.III.44
54	14.XII.43	23.III.44	. . .	1.III.44
55	21.VIII.44	12.X.44	. . .	22.IV.45
56	21.VIII.44	12.X.44	. . .	22.IV.45
57	23.VI.45	9.VIII.45	VI.45	22.IV.45
58	23.VI.45	9.VIII.45	VI.45	22.IV.45
59	6.IV.46	. . .	IV.46	22.IV.45
60	13.XI.46	. . .	XI.46	7.X.46
61	13.XI.46	. . .	XI.46	7.X.46
62	13.XI.46	. . .	XI.46	7.X.46
63	12.II.48 27.XI.48	4.V.48	II.48 XI.48	. . .
64	12.II.48 27.XI.48	4.V.48	II.48 XI.48	. . .
65	12.II.48	4.V.48	II.48	. . .

Key: Op. = Opus
D.l. = Dépôt légal
Bibl. Fr. = Bibliographie de la France
F-Pc = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Conservatoire
Sta.H. = London, Stationers' Hall
15.I.42 = 15 January 1842

in the composer's business correspondence that have drawn the most attention from commentators, while the discussions of publishing practice have been passed over.[64] Yet the nuts-and-bolts details found in these letters and in hitherto unpublished documents from publishers' archives contain valuable information for a study of Chopin's compositional process, evidence that helps sort out the tangle of how Chopin published his works, what kinds of sources were used to prepare given editions, and how much control Chopin had over the published text.

When Chopin entered the international market in 1832, the methods and options for dealing with music publishers in France and abroad were firmly established. Rights to publication in foreign countries could be sold directly to the foreign publisher by the composer, or they could be offered to a subject of the foreign country who would then find a publisher, or they could be tendered to a publisher in France, who would sell them in turn to an associate abroad. Monetary rewards were mostly limited to what could be garnered from the initial outright sale of rights; escalation clauses, commission arrangements, division of

---

letter of 25 April 1839 to Julian Fontana, Chopin, Korespondencja, 1: 347. Translations of this letter invariably opt for a coy rendition of the crucial word. In Fryderyk Chopin, Selected Correspondence of Fryderyk Chopin, ed. Arthur Hedley (New York-Toronto-London, 1963), p. 176, Hedley prints the passage as "to hell with it all."

[64]A notable exception is Jan Ekier, Wstęp do Wydania Narodowego Dzieł Fryderyka Chopina. Część 1: Zagadnienia Edytorskie (Cracow, 1974).

profits, short leases of copyright, and royalty payments, though all possibilities in contracts between authors and publishers in the nineteenth century,[65] were not common in the music world of Chopin's time. Dates of publication were generally established by negotiation; the lead in making arrangements could be taken by composer or by publisher. Four types of sources could be sent to foreign publishers: manuscripts in the composer's hand, manuscripts in one or more copyists' hands, printed proof sheets from the French edition (which might or might not be corrected by the composer or copyist before being sent), or, perhaps, plates from the French edition.[66] Thus Chopin's ire arose not from attempting to forge new pathways in international music publishing, but from trying to coordinate the diverse options of the existing framework so that he obtained the maximum benefit. His struggles emerge clearly upon examining his

---

[65] See Nowell-Smith, International Copyright Law, pp. 50-51. A useful discussion of the contractual options available to nineteenth-century authors is found in Robert L. Patten, Charles Dickens and his Publishers (Oxford, 1978), pp. 18-27.

[66] The suggestion that plates were shipped abroad comes in the case summary of Boosey v. Purday (4 Ex. 145) in 1849. The trial concerned infringement of copyright in the sale of airs from Bellini's La Sonnambula. In the description of the facts of the case, one reads: "On the 9th of June, 1831, Ricordi assigned the opera, by deed, to the plaintiff, who had ten airs entered at the Stationers' Hall, at 11 A.M. on the 10th of June, 1831, and copies were also deposited at the British Museum. These airs were exposed for sale on the same day, between twelve and one o'clock. They were printed from the foreign plates, the only additions thereto being the words 'Entered at Stationers' Hall,' and 'London: Boosey & Co.'" See English Reports, 154 (1915): 1160.

negotiations and publishing practice in France, the German-speaking states, and England.

France

Shortly after Chopin's debut before Parisian audiences in 1832, he was approached by Aristide Farrenc, who promptly contracted to become the composer's French publisher and representative in the international market.[67] Chopin's first experience with a Parisian publisher reveals much, both about the basic mechanics of publishing a work in Paris, and about the composer's tumultous personal relationships with his publishers. Farrenc never did issue a work by Chopin; their agreement dissolved among accusations by the publisher that the composer was "very lazy and eccentric," and that the passagework in some of his pieces was so difficult as to make them disadvantageous for a publisher to release.[68] (Chopin had, in the meantime, taken up with Maurice Schlesinger, who was to become his primary publisher in Paris.)[69] A closer look at Chopin's fledgling efforts to publish in France will set the stage for his later dealings.

---

[67]The history of Chopin's initial venture into the world of simultaneous publication is traced in Zofia Lissa, "Chopin im Lichte des Briefwechsels von Verlegern seiner Zeit gesehen," Fontes Artis Musicae 7 (1960): 46-57. Lissa bases her discussion on letters found in Richard Linnemann, Fr. Kistner 1823/1923. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Musik-Verlages (Leipzig, 1923), pp. 49-54.

[68]See letter of 21 December 1832 from Farrenc to Kistner; Lissa, "Chopin im Lichte," pp. 51-52.

[69]An excellent and detailed account of Schlesinger's career as a music publisher is Anik Devriès, "Un éditeur de

When Farrenc called on Chopin the day after his first concert in Pleyel's salon (25 February 1832), the publisher asked to see the contents of the composer's portfolio, and acquired by written deed--the decree of 19=24 July 1793 required that assignment of property rights be made formally and in writing--the copyright to five works: the Concerto in E minor (op. 11), "pour Piano, avec acc. d'orch. ou Quatour exécuté par Mr. Chopin à son concert," the Trio in G minor (op. 8), the Krakowiak (op. 14), the Fantasy on Polish Airs (op. 13), and the Concerto in F minor (op. 21), the last three works all described, like the E minor Concerto, as being accompanied by orchestra or quartet.[70] For several weeks, Farrenc mulled over his options in marketing the music of his latest acquisition, and because Chopin had earlier been contacted by Heinrich Albert Probst concerning the publication of his works in Germany, the Frenchman decided to offer Probst's succesor, Friedrich Kistner, the German rights to Chopin's compsitions.[71]

Three letters from Farrenc to Kistner (dated respectively 17 April, 4 May, and 21 December 1832) detail

---

musique 'à la tête ardente.' Maurice Schlesinger," Fontes Artis Musicae 27 (1980): 125-36.

[70]From Farrenc letter to Kistner of 17 April 1832; Lissa, "Chopin im Lichte," p. 49. Opus numbers are not mentioned in the letter, but identification of the works presents no difficulties.

[71]See letter of 17 April 1832; Lissa, "Chopin im Lichte," p. 49.

similarly the mechanics of manuscript transmission. Chopin delivers to Farrenc the autograph manuscripts of the five works, after correcting them scrupulously and adding descriptive tempo indications, metronome marks and rehearsal letters. Farrenc, with the help of his wife, first makes exact copies of these manuscripts, and then has Chopin verify the copies against the originals. The French publisher then sends the copies to Leipzig, evidently keeping the originals for his own edition. However, in his last letter, written after the rupture with the Polish composer, he claims that many of Chopin's manuscripts were inadequate in their original state, so that it was necessary for Chopin first to recopy his own manuscript before Farrenc could make a copy in turn to forward to Kistner.

Letters from Schlesinger to Kistner following Chopin's break with Farrenc paint a somewhat different picture. First, Schlesinger found the idea of publishing two concertos in close succession to be unsound fiscally, so he chose to drop on from Chopin's portfolio.[72] At the same time, he was able to acquire the rights to four other works. Thus the package he offered to Kistner contained the Fan-

---

[72]The concerto deleted from the contract was Chopin's earliest, in F minor. Thus the two concertos came to be published in reverse chronological order not because the composer lost the parts on the way to Paris, as has often been postulated (see, for example, Gastone Belotti, F. Chopin l'uomo, 3 vols. [Milan-Rome, 1974], 1: 221), but for sound business reasons: two concertos released at the same time would glut the market and harm one another's sales.

tasy, op. 13, the Krakowiak, op. 14, the E minor Concerto, op. 11, the Trio, op. 8, all of which had been previously owned by Farrenc, and the new works, the Nocturnes, op. 9, the Mazurkas, ops. 6 and 7, and the Etudes, op. 10.[73] Second, a different method of sending Chopin's music to Leipzig is proposed. After Chopin delivers the autograph manuscripts for these works to Schlesinger, the Parisian will have them engraved and, after the composer has corrected the proofs, will ship Kistner copies of them for the use of the German in the preparation of his own edition.[74]

Both Farrenc and Schlesinger, then, portray a system wherein Chopin delivers an autograph manuscript to his Parisian publisher, who in turn uses it as the basis for the French edition, either as is, or after the composer makes a clean manuscript copy of it (although Farrenc may simply have been trying to discredit Chopin further in the eyes of Kistner by denigrating the utility of his manuscripts). Each of the publishers had control over the choice of foreign countries in which to publish, the selling prices of the works, and the dates of publication. Thus at the start of his career, Chopin signed with his Parisian publishers an agreement that delivered him from any responsibility in the

---

[73] See letter of 2 November 1832; Lissa, "Chopin im Lichte," pp. 54-55.

[74] See letter of 2 February 1833; Lissa, "Chopin im Lichte," p. 55. The implications of the different modes of shipping Chopin's music to Germany are pursued below.

publication of his works beyond what was required to produce the French edition, that is, polishing his manuscript score and correcting the proofs. In his later years, when more of the burden of negotiating arrangements with publishers at home and abroad fell on him, the halcyon days of his first years in Paris must have been fondly remembered.

While Chopin's entrepreneurial duties escalated as his career blossomed, his part in the preparation of Stichvorlagen for his Parisian editions remained essentially the same. Far and away the majority of the French editions were engraved from autograph manuscripts. Occasionally, in the years when Chopin had available to him copyists whom he considered reliable (roughly 1835-41), one of their manuscripts would be delivered to the Parisian publisher (see, for example, the Fontana copies of the Mazurkas, op. 33 [number 4 of which is in US-Wc], the Tarantella, op. 43 [F-Pc], and the Allegro de Concert, op. 46[75] [US-NYpm]). But it may be safely assumed that the French editions of Chopin's music were invariably prepared from manuscript versions that were usually, but not always, in the composer's hand.[76]

---

[75] In the case of op. 46, Chopin confirms explicitly in a letter of 18 October 1841 to Fontana (Chopin, Korespondencja, 2: 44) that he wishes his friend's manuscript to be used by Schlesinger.

[76] Excepted from this rule-of-thumb are cases where one French publisher purchased the fonds of another and used the plates from the old firm in preparing the new edition. See, for example, the Rondo, op. 16, and the Mazurkas, op. 17, which were first issued by Pleyel, but then purchased by Schlesinger when the former went out of business in 1834.

Evidence and conclusions about Chopin as a proof-reader are less clear-cut. From Schlesinger's letters to Kistner emerge a strong portrait of Chopin as a meticulous corrector of proofs at the beginning of his Parisian career:

> Chopin ist nicht allein Mann von Talent sondern es liegt ihm an seinen Ruf, er feilt daher immer noch den Werken nach die längst beendet; alles was er uns verkauft ist fertig, ich habe es mehremahlen in Händen gehabt, aber es ist ein Unterschied bei ihm zwischen beendet und geliefert . . . Ich glaube, dass wir Verleger nicht böse darüber sein können, dass ein Autor so sachlich ist, das ist immer gut, denn die Werke werden dadurch stets besser als von den Schmieren deren es davon nur zu viel giebt, und die sich schnell ausschreiben, ich hoffe, das wird bey Chopin nicht der Fall sein.
>
> . . . erst heute erhielt ich von Chopin die erste Correktur der ersten sechs Etüden, angefüllt mit Fehlern; er ist so ängstlich, dass es schwer ist, von ihm etwas zu erhalten.''

That Schlesinger's description is correct is borne out by a comparison of the extant autograph sources for the works being discussed (ops. 6-11, 13, 14) with their French first editions. Numerous alterations of phrasing and articulation marks, pedalings, fingerings, dynamics, accidentals and pitch could only have come at the proof stage. Direct evidence of these sorts of changes survives in a set of proofs for the Etude, op. 10 no. 2 (F-Po Rés. 50[4]). What these corrected sheets reveal is that, in the early works, Chopin must have made further changes after he read the proofs, for

---

''See letters of 2 February and 16 April 1833; Lissa, "Chopin im Lichte," pp. 55-56.

readings appear in the first edition that are not found in the proofs.'[78] Examples include the metronome mark (♩ = 144), "poco a poco cres." (mm. 19-20; 21-23), a "forte" indication (m. 25), two left-hand slurs (mm. 29/30) and "cres." (m. 35). How these later additions were made is not clear: Schlesinger could have printed another set of proofs after Chopin returned the first, heavily corrected exemplars (although this would be unlikely given the added printing costs that Schlesinger would have to absorb), or Chopin could have communicated the changes verbally or in a now-lost letter. That Chopin would continue to alter his text after returning a first set of proof sheets demonstrates that, when Chopin began preparing texts for his editions in France, he was if anything overeager in his efforts to submit maximally refined versions of his works.

Some of this zeal must have waned, though, as he grew older. In his middle years in Paris, when the services of Fontana and other faithful copyists were available, phrases in letters testify that Chopin allowed them to correct proofs:

> Pleyel wrote to me that you were very obligeant, that you corrected the Preludes.'[79]

---

[78] See Thomas Higgins, "Tempo and Character in Chopin," The Musical Quarterly 59 (1973): 108-9.

[79] "Pleyel do mnie pisał, żeś bardzo obligeant, żeś poprawił Preludia." Letter of 8 August 1839 to Fontana; Chopin, Korespondencja, 1: 354.

> I am sending you two Nocturnes . . . Perhaps there lack still flats or sharps.[80]

> You may recollect that through the many years after my arrival in Paris in 1835, as many times as he [Chopin] published something, he asked me about looking over first the manuscripts, because he almost never wanted to take time over such minutiae himself, next about proofs.[81]

Not all of these quotations, of course, refer to proofs: the second clearly discusses the manuscripts of the two Nocturnes in op. 48, and the first could apply to the manuscript(s) of the Preludes, though this seems less likely than proofs, since the manuscripts for op. 28 had been mailed some seven months before the letter. But the sense of the three excerpts taken together is that, for a period in his life, Chopin was perfectly happy to dump the drudgery of proofreading into the hands of a copyist.

The text-critical waters quickly become turbid, however, for the composer never stopped reading proofs altogether. Chopin at times would review a copyist's manuscript before sending it to a publisher (see the composer's letter of 29 July 1841 to Schuberth of Hamburg,[82] in which he alerts the publisher to two errors in Fontana's copy); if he

---

[80] "Posyłam Ci dwa Nokturna . . . Może tam jeszcze bemolów albo krzyżków brak." Letter of 1 November 1841 to Fontana; Chopin, Korespondencja, 2: 48.

[81] "Może wspominał Pani, iż przez wiele lat od przybycia mego do Paryża w r. 1835 ile razy co drukował, prosił mnie o przeglądnie naprzód manuskryptów, bo się tymi drobiazgami prawie nigdy nie chiał zajmować, następnie o korekty druków." Letter of 2 July 1852 from Fontana to Chopin's sister Ludwika Jędrzejewicz, as printed in Ekier, Wstęp, pp. 105-6.

[82] Chopin, Korespondencja, 2: 340.

checked manuscript copies, there is equal reason to believe that he might read over copyist-corrected proofs as well. Moreover, the composer would still at times be likely to do all the proofreading himself, even if Fontana or someone else was around to assist. Jan Ekier finds evidence that the composer corrected the proofs for the Ballade, op. 38,[83] and a close look at the printed sources for the Nocturnes, op. 37 reveals another case.

It has long been thought that the sole surviving example of the proof stage in a work by Chopin was that for the Etude, op. 10 no. 2.[84] But exemplars of the Nocturnes, op. 37 (and perhaps also the Mazurkas, op. 41) conserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris preserve what must be at least a late stage of the proofreading process. Four copies of the Troupenas edition of op. 37 (plate number T. 893) are found in the library; all were originally deposited in

---

[83] Jan Ekier, Fryderyk Chopin: Ballady. Kommentarze źródłowe (Cracow, 1970), p. 31.

[84] Bertrand Jaeger, in "Quelques nouveaux noms d'élèves de Chopin," Revue de musicologie 64 (1978): 83, and in "Les manuscrits de Chopin," Schweizerische Musikzeitung/Revue musicale suisse 119 (1979): 196, claims that the Scherbatoff exemplars of the Sonata, op. 35 and the Impromptu, op. 36 are printer's proofs. In fact, the exemplars are each early states of the first edition; each was altered by Chopin shortly after publication. The autograph additions in the Scherbatoff exemplars only bring these exemplars into accordance with his later thoughts. Deposit copies identical to the Scherbatoff exemplars in their unaltered condition are found in F-Pn. Besides this bibliographical evidence, Jaeger's assumption is refuted on social grounds as well: surely the composer would not have presented a printer's proof as a gift to a countess.

accordance with copyright law. Two stem from the former collection of the Conservatoire (F-Pc), and two derive from the then Bibliothèque Royale (now F-Pn). Each exemplar has an identical mate in the other collection, so that our discussion may focus on just the exemplars in F-Pn.[85] Physically and musically, the two copies differ greatly. Looking first at physical characteristics, the paper employed in the two exemplars varies: Exemplar B, on the opening and final two folios, is printed on paper bearing the watermark "PR" and chain and laid lines; the remainder of the copy is printed on paper lacking all of these traits. Exemplar A, on the other hand, is printed entirely on non-watermark paper. But for the lack of "Op. 37" and "Prix: 6f" on Exemplar B, the title pages are printed exactly alike. Exemplar A also sports a Troupenas control stamp not found on Exemplar B. No dates are written or stamped on the F-Pn exemplars, but the deposit dates of the F-Pc copies are recorded in ink across the tops of the title pages: Ac.p. 2685 (= Exemplar A) is marked "Dépôt 1840--Juillet No. 799" and Ac.p. 2706 (= Exemplar B) carries the note "Dépôt [crossed out: 'Juin'] 1840--Juin No. 660."

Musical differences are equally numerous. The earlier copy, Exemplar B, lacks pedal signs and phrase marks

---

[85] Shelfmarks for the F-Pn exemplars are Vm⁷ 2460 and Vm⁷ 2461; in F-Pc they are catalogued as Ac.p. 2685 and Ac.p. 2706. The pairings are Vm⁷ 2460 = Ac.p. 2685, and Vm⁷ 2461 = Ac.p. 2706. Hereafter, Vm⁷ 2460 will be referred to as Exemplar A, and Vm⁷ 2461 as Exemplar B.

altogether. Written performance indications are at odds in the two editions: the later Exemplar A prints a "sostenuto" in the opening upbeat measure of the first Nocturne that is not found in Exemplar B, while the earlier copy offers a curious "presto" in measure 11 of the same work, an indication that disappears in the later version. The earlier copy prints, in measure 15 of op. 37 no. 1, grace notes without beams (i.e., as quarter notes); in the later copy, they are printed as eighth-note graces.[86] The crescendo (mm. 119-22) and "ppp" (m. 138) present in the later copy of op. 37 no. 2 are lacking in the earlier copy. Clearly Exemplar B represents a musically incomplete version, one that Troupenas never released to the public, as the absence of a price and control stamp on the title page suggests.

But why would Troupenas have deposited an unfinished version of a work? A clue comes from across the Channel. Opus 37 was registered at Stationers' Hall on 19 June 1840 (see Table 1), which must have been approximately the date for international publication agreed upon by Troupenas, Wessel and Breitkopf & Härtel (Brown, BI 119, records the publication date in Leipzig as June 1840, whereas the work was first advertised with a price on 1 July 1840).[87] Now

---

[86]The Breitkopf edition also prints the graces as quarter notes.

[87]Leipziger Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung, 1 Juli 1840, cols. 567-68. It is important to distinguish between those advertisements including the prices, indicating that a work is actually available, and those without, announcing intent

what would happen if, as this date arrived, Troupenas saw that his engraving was not complete? To fail to deposit the work would be to jeopardize his copyright in France (though, as shown above, prior publication abroad did not necessarily mean that copyright would be lost in France). Safer then to deliver to the authorities a copy of the engraved work as it stood in June, without the "final" musical alterations. Troupenas then made a second deposit in July, after the engraving was complete and the work ready to place on sale. This deposit would insure copyright protection for the precise text released to the public, where previously only the deficient earlier version had been covered.

Having determined that part of the proofreading stage is preserved in some printed copies of op. 37, can one be certain that Chopin was the proofreader? That the pedal marks and phrasing indications are totally lacking in the earlier exemplar of the first Nocturne could simply indicate that the engraver, following some preset order of working, had yet to enter these signs onto the plates when it came time to run off copies for the copyright authorities. The Troupenas Stichvorlage for op. 37 does not survive; however some help in determining what kind of text the French engraver worked from may be obtained from the copyist's manuscript of the same works used by the Breitkopf engravers

---

to publish. Thus op. 37 first was advertised in the LAMZ, along with ops. 35-41, on 5 February 1840, col. 119, but without a price.

(PL-Wn Mus. 223). In this copy, all of the pedal signs and many of the phrase marks are in the hand of the composer, as is the indication "sostenuto" at the opening of the work (though in the Breitkopf copy the word is written above the upbeat measure rather than between the staves, as is the case in the later Troupenas version). If Chopin, according to his normal practice, gave Troupenas his own manuscipt for engraving purposes, and if this autograph manuscript was the same one that served as the basis for the scribal copy (which seems very likely, as Chopin was not in the habit of making extra clean copies of a work when one would do), then the autograph used by Troupenas's engraver likely also lacked pedal marks and phrasing.[88] Although Chopin ordinarily included such signs in his autograph manuscript, some external deadline (perhaps imposed by the copyist or by Troupenas) could have forced the composer to relinquish his manuscript earlier than he would have liked, but with the knowledge that he could make whatever emendations needed after the scribe finished the copy, or after the proofs were printed. That the composer was responsible for the alterations and additions in the manuscript copy used by Breitkopf & Härtel weighs very strongly in favor of his role in making changes in the Troupenas proofs as well.

---

[88] A further argument against the state of Exemplar B reflecting only the order in which the engraver worked comes from the second Nocturne, where the earlier exemplar is filled with phrase marks (though the later copy adds more) and the one pedal mark that exists in the French edition (as opposed to the heavily pedaled German edition) is shared by both the early and late exemplars.

Chopin for the most part ceased to depend on copyists for help in the preparation of manuscripts and editions in 1841. With one or two exceptions,[89] compositions from the Mazurkas, op. 50 onwards were copied and proofread solely by the composer.[90] Add to these duties the need to negotiate prices and arrange dates of publication with publishers, and it becomes easy to understand why the composer's correspondence during times when works were being reading for press takes on a harried tone. A prime example of the kinds of problems that beset Chopin before he could publish a work comes in two letters concerning the eventual release of the Nocturnes, op. 55 and the Mazurkas, op. 56. Because these letters have never been published accurately, and because they portray directly Chopin the entrepreneur, it is worthwhile to include their full texts.

Prior to the first letter, the composer had contracted with Breitkopf & Härtel and Wessel for the publication of the two works, and had arranged the proposed dates

---

[89]The Breitkopf & Härtel Stichvorlage of the Berceuse, op. 57 (PL-Wn Mus. 231) is mainly in an unknown copyist's hand, and there is reason to believe that a manuscript for the Nocturne, op. 55 no. 1 (PL-Kj) in the same copyist's hand (both manuscripts contain entries by Chopin as well) was originally intended for use by a publisher.

[90]Explicit testimony that the composer read his own proofs comes in a letter to Franchomme of 30 August 1846 concerning ops. 60-62: "Prie aussi Brandus de m'envoyer deux épreuves, dont je pourrai garder une." Chopin, Korespondencja, 2: 398.

of release with them. (20 August 1844 is the date mentioned by Chopin; however the two works were registered with the Dépôt légal on 21 August--see Table 1). All was going well until suddenly Chopin, who according to his custom was passing the summer at Nohant at George Sand's chateau, received word that Schlesinger in Paris wanted to delay the date of publication. Chopin was frantic, for a change in the date meant not only numeous letters to Leipzig, London and Paris trying to set up a new date, but also the risk of disturbing carefully planned production schedules of the German and British houses. A sudden change of plans so late in the game could hurt the composer in future dealings with the two firms; hence Chopin was quick to dash off a letter to Auguste Franchomme in Paris:[91]

---

[91]The original of the letter is in an autograph album once belonging to August Vincent and now in F-Pn, where it carries the shelfmark W. 6, 17. The date of the letter is peculiar. As the following letter of 1 August 1844 makes clear, this letter must have been written on 31 July 1844; referring to it, Chopin writes "j'ai été bien pressé hier quand je t'ai écrit . . ." Possibly the July date, though it appears to be in Chopin's hand, is inauthentic. It is clearly written in ink over a pencil version of the same date, and the ink may be lighter than that in the body of the letter. That Chopin would first write a date in pencil when the body of the letter is in ink, and then trace over this date in ink makes little sense. Furthermore, a foreign hand has written in pencil on the verso of the letter "Juillet ou comm. d'Aout 1844." We are safe in assuming the letter was written on 31 July: letters from Nohant to Paris normally took 2 days, and Franchomme's reply to Chopin's letter is dated 2 August. Also, most of Chopin's letters from Nohant are postmarked the day after they were written, and Chopin's next letter to Franchomme bears the stamp "Le Châtre 2 Aout."

[31 July 1844]
Chateau de Nohant près La Châtre. Indre

Chérissime. Je t'envoye la lettre de Schl[esinger] et une autre pour lui. Lis les---Il veut retarder la publication et moi je ne peux pas. S'il dit non; donne mes manuscrits à Maho qu'il les fasse prendre à Mr. Meissonnier pour la même prix 600 fr.---Je crois qu'il accept-era.---J'aimerais cependant mieux que Schl[esinger] les grave.---[crossed out: Si Meysonnier ne veut pas donne les à qui tu veux. Ca pa(raître)] Cela doit paraître le 20 mais tu sais qu'il faut seulement deposer le titre ce jour là.---Je te demande pardon [illegible cross out] pour toutes ces affaires. Je t'aime et m'adresse à toi comme à mon frère.--- Embrasse tes enfants. Mes respects à Mme Franchomme.

Ton ami devoué

F. Chopin

Mme Sand te fait mille compliments.

4 Juillet 1844

Upon receipt of this letter, Franchomme acted quickly and managed to settle the affair successfully with Schlesinger. The cellist wrote back to Chopin on the same day he received the composer's letter (2 August), but in the meantime, Chopin had had second thoughts on the best way to rearrange the matter if Schlesinger remained obstinate. Thus his second letter in as many days to Franchomme:[92]

[Nohant, 1 August 1844]

Chérissime, j'ai été bien pressé hier quand je t'ai écrit de t'adresser chez Meissonnier par Maho, si Schlesinger refuse mes compostions. J'ai oublié que Henri Lemoine a acheté très cher mes études à Schlesinger--et que j'aimerais mieux que ce fut Lemoine plutôt que Meissonnier qui grave mes manuscrits. Je te donne bien de la peine Cher

[92]The original of the letter is in S-Smf.

ami--mais voici une lettre pour H. Lemoine que je t'envoie. Lis la et arrange toi avec lui. Il faut qu'il fasse paraître ou disposer le titre le 20 de ce mois (d'aout)---Ne lui demande que 300 fr. pièce--ce qui fait 600 fr. les deux. Dis lui qu'il ne me payer qu'à mon retour à Paris, s'il veut.---Donne lui même les deux pour 500 fr. si tu crois nécessaire---J'aime mieux encore que de les donner à Meissonnier pour 600 fr. comme je t'ai écrit hier sans réflechir.---Si tu as cependant arrangé déjà quelque chose avec Meissonnier--c'est different---Si non, ne les laisse pas à moins de 1,000 fr. Car Maho qui est le correspondant de Haertel (qui me paye bien) pourrait, sachant que je vends si bon marché à Paris, me faire diminuer mon Prix en Allemagne.---Je te tourmente beaucoup avec mes affaires. C'est seulement en case que Schlesinger s'obstine à ne pas vouloir paraître ce mois-ci.---Si tu pense, que Lemoine donnerait 800 fr. pour les deux ouvrages demande les---Je ne lui écr[it] pas le prix pour te laisser liber[té] complette.---Je n'ai pas de temps à perdre avant le départ du courrier. Je t'embrasse cher frère--écris moi un mot.

t. à toi

Chopin

Mes respects à Madame.---Mille baisers à les enfants.

Ch. de Nohant près La Châtre. Indre

Address: Monsieur Aug. Franchomme
Vclle du Roi
à Paris
Rue de Trevise Nro 12

Postmark: La Châtre P.P.
2
Aout

To Franchomme went the actual task of hammering out an agreement with the French publisher, but he acted only on instructions from the composer. Chopin's letters give an idea of how he would operate were he in Paris to carry on the bartering himself. What is clear is that he was able to

exert a certain amount of leverage at this stage in his career: if one publisher did not hold to an established bargain, others could be counted on to step in and take over. Thus both Meissonnier and Lemoine could be dangled in front of Schlesinger's eyes as competitors who would gladly publish the two collections if Schlesinger continued to dawdle. Of the two, Lemoine was preferable because he paid higher prices, and because such a deal would avoid the risk that Maho, who was the agent of both Meissonnier in Paris and Breitkopf in Leipzig, might tell the German firm that Chopin was selling his works for less in Paris than he was getting from Germany (Chopin had sold the rights for ops. 55 and 56 to Breitkopf for 1200 francs--twice what he eventually received from Schlesinger).[93] The composer would thus risk losing future revenue from sales to this house.

Despite his bargaining power, however, Chopin does not appear very forceful in these letters. His vacillations on which publisher to choose and on what price to demand reflect his desire to remain with Schlesinger. It is unlikely that this wish arose out of any altruistic feelings of loyalty and friendship--Chopin was all too willing to heap insults on Schlesinger in his letters--rather it likely came from a respect for the relative marketing power of

---

[93]The text of the Breitkopf receipt appears in Appendix A and in my review of Rękopisy Utworów Chopina. Katalog, by Krystyna Kobylańska; 19th Century Music 3 (1979): 166. Another Breitkopf agent's views on Chopin's prices will be aired below.

Schlesinger's firm. Not only was Schlesinger's one of the largest houses in Paris, which implied a well-established clientele and means of diffusion, but he sat at the helm of the Revue et gazette musicale de Paris as well. By publishing with Schlesinger, Chopin could count on the ready-made audience that frequented the publisher's shop at 97, rue Richelieu, and on all he good publicity that one of the two most prominent music journals in Paris could manufacture (the other journal, La France Musicale, was owned by Schlesinger's bitter competitor, Léon Escudier, and was thus less likely to print a kind word about one of his rival's composers). Chopin was undoubtedly relieved upon reading that Franchomme had successfully arranged the matter with Schlesinger.

Chopin's prominent position in the Parisian music world is reflected in another publishing practice, one alluded to in the letter of 1 August 1844 to Franchomme: the resale to a new publisher of works released earlier by a different one. The first known instance of the resale of works by Chopin occurred as early as 1834, when Schlesinger purchased the plates of the Rondo, op. 16 and the Mazurkas, op. 17 from the fonds of Ignace Pleyel & Cie,'[4] but the

---

'[4]See the list of works purchased from the fonds of Pleyel in the Gazette musicale de Paris, 29 juin 1834, p. 212. Schlesinger evidently purchased the manuscript of the Waltz, op. 18 as well. (See Anik Devriès and François Lesure, Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique français. Archives de l'édition musicale française no. 4, 2 vols. [Geneva, 1979], 1: 128. The inclusion of the Preludes, op.

practice did not begin in earnest until Chopin's name was well-established in the 1840s. Lemoine, mentioned in the letter to Franchomme as having bought some etudes from Schlesinger at a high price, purchased a number of works in 1844, including in Etudes, ops. 10 and 25, the Variations, op. 12, and the Waltz, op. 18. Chopin, having signed over the rights to his works with his original sale, had no control over the resale of his works, but in theory could have been called upon to make revisions by the new publisher (who would presumably pay the composer for the work) in order to increase the commercial value of the work. Such may have been Brandus's ploy when he announced a forthcoming publication: "Nous venons d'acquerir la propriété des PRÉLUDES de CHOPIN, dont nous préparons une nouvelle édition.'[95] However, a comparison of the original Catelin edition with the Brandus reissue reveals Brandus's advertisement to be a ruse: the only things "new" in the edition are the appearance of Brandus's name on the title page in place of Catelin's, the opus number (which did not appear at all in the original), and a new plate number on each page ("B et Cie 4594"). Oth-

---

28 in the list of works sold to Schlesinger is surely an error, for the Preludes did not exist as an entity until 1838.) Pleyel may also have owned the rights to the Bolero, op. 19, for the entry for this work in the Bibliographie de la France, 1 novembre 1834, p. 204 lists Pleyel as the publisher. Presumably Pleyel would have sold the rights to Prillip, the actual publisher of the work.

[95]Advertisement in the Revue et gazette musicale de Paris, 15 novembre 1846, p. 368.

erwise the "new edition" employs the unchanged plates of the original. Nevertheless, the input of the composer cannot automatically be discounted in those "second editions" that were released during his lifetime, for examples are known where he altered material that was already in print (though the cases known involve only the original publisher, and not one who purchased plates from the original--see the cancelled two measures in the last movement of the Sonata, op. 35 between the first and second states of the Troupenas edition, or the revised final cadence in the Schlesinger editionsof the A flat Etude from the "Trois Nouvelles Etudes").

To summarize Chopin's publishing practices in France: throughout his career, he would ordinarily give an autograph manuscript to the French publisher for use in engraving the edition; in a few instances, copyist's manuscripts were used. In his early and late years in Paris, he undertook responsibility for proofreading his works himself, often going over them more than once before allowing the work to be published. In his middle years (roughly 1835-41), copyists were allowed to read over proofs, and at least some of the time, Chopin would check over these copyist-corrected proofs before submitting them to the publisher. But during these years, Chopin did not entirely relinquish proofreading, so that the critic faces the sometimes difficult decision as to who made changes between the Stichvorlage and the first edition of a given work. As his star rose in the Parisian music world, Chopin was able to

assert himself to a greater extent in his negotiations with music publishers, safe in the knowledge that if one did not meet his demands, another would likely take the place of his competitor. Resale of earlier works to different publishers became more common in the 1840s, and the possibility exists that the composer made alterations in some works before they were released by the new publisher. Characteristic of Chopin's publishing practice in France, then, is a great degree of authorial control over all stages of the preparation and release of the musical text.

The German-speaking States

Leipzig was the center of the German music publishing world, so it is not surprising that a Leipzig firm was the German partner in Chopin's first simultaneous publication venture,[96] or that the majority of the rest of his works were issued by a Saxon house. Other cities were occasionally able to lure Chopin away, and a sprinkling of works came out in Vienna, Berlin, Mainz and Hamburg. But for the most part, Chopin's relations with German publishers were confined to Leipzig.[97]

---

[96]Chopin, of course, had issued works with Haslinger and Mechetti of Vienna prior to his first contact with Leipzig, but the Viennese works were not issued simultaneously abroad.

[97]I have not yet seen Hans-Martin Plesske, "Das Leipziger Musikverlagswesen und seine Beziehungen zu einigen namhaften Komponisten: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Muskalienhandels im 19. und zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Leipzig, 1974), which purports to

Chopin's first Leipzig publisher was Friedrich Kistner. The actual choice of this house, as shown above, seems to have been made by Farrenc, though at the composer's suggestion, for Chopin had been contacted by Kistner's predecessor, Heinrich Albert Probst, as early as 18 July 1831.'[8] After Chopin broke with Farrenc and signed with Schlesinger, the latter chose to honor the existing arrangement with Kistner. The correspondence between Farrenc and Kistner on the one hand and Schlesinger and Kistner on the other, already drawn upon for a picture of Chopin's early publishing practices in Paris, also depicts clearly the pathways used in Germany at the start of the composer's career.

Two possible modes of manuscript transmission are described in this correspondence. According to Farrenc, the publishing scenario has Chopin giving an autograph manuscript to the French publisher, who makes a copy of it by hand to send to the German publisher, having first allowed Chopin to "verify" the copy. Ideally, the French edition is engraved from the autograph and the German edition from the copy, though Farrenc indicates that Chopin's autograph was

---

examine hitherto unpublished data in the Staatsarchiv Leipzig pertaining to Breitkopf & Härtel, Peters, and Hofmeister. Plesske treats Chopin, and may well have turned up material relevant to this study. A short summary of Plesske's dissertation appears in RILM abstracts 10 (1976): 464.

'[8]Farrenc to Kistner, 17 April 1832; Lissa, "Chopin im Lichte," p. 49.

not always satisfactory for engraving purposes, so another copy might be involved. Chopin apparently made his final corrections on the autograph manuscript itself (hence part of the reason for the difficulties with Farrenc): no proof stage is indicated. Figure 1 presents a stemma of this scheme (the sign ⟷ indicates that either one route or the other might be employed).

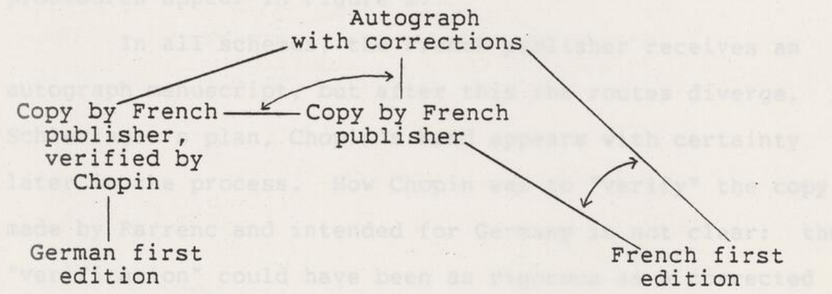


Figure 1: Farrenc publishing scenario

Schlesinger offers another tableau. Chopin presents an autograph to the French publisher, who engraves a set of proof sheets to be corrected by the composer. After laboriously completing this task, Chopin returns the corrected proofs to Schlesinger, who sends a copy of them to the German publisher. (From the correspondence, it is not clear whether Schlesinger engraved the corrections onto the existing plates to send to Germany, or Chopin marked multiple sets of proofs, which could then be sent to foreign publishers. Another alternative would have Chopin mark one

set of proofs, and the French publisher transfer the corrections by hand to a different set of proofs that would be sent to Germany. If Chopin marked multiple proofs (or if the French publisher transferred readings by hand to another set of proofs), each edition is derived from them. If the corrections were added to the plates, then each edition is derived from this same source. These three related procedures appear in Figure 2.

In all schemes, the French publisher receives an autograph manuscript, but after this the routes diverge. In Schlesinger's plan, Chopin's hand appears with certainty later in the process. How Chopin was to "verify" the copy made by Farrenc and intended for Germany is not clear: the "verification" could have been as rigorous as a corrected proof, or it could have been merely a hurried and cursory check. But under all three plans, the German publisher prepares his edition from a non-autograph source. Farrenc's manuscript copies may be of only hypothetical significance, for he ultimately was replaced as a publisher by Schlesinger. But the method described by Farrenc cannot necessarily be discarded altogether, for Chopin released works with other French publishers (Pleyel and Prillip) in his early years, and the possibility exists that Farrenc's scheme was used by them to forward the composer's music abroad.

Schlesinger's shipment of proofs to Kistner resulted in closely related editions, as, for example, in the Etudes,

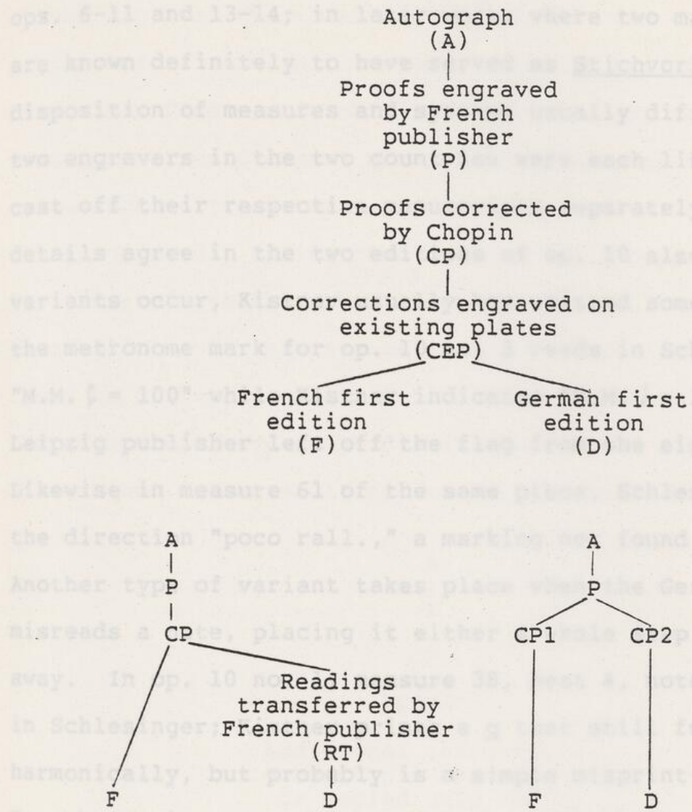


Figure 2: Schlesinger publishing alternatives

op. 10. Both editions exhibit very similar physical layouts; the number of measures per system usually agrees, and often the number of systems per page does as well (although this occurs less often owing to Kistner's smaller typeface that often admitted six systems to a page compared to Schlesinger's normal five). Similarity in physical layout characterizes the Kistner and Schlesinger editions of

ops. 6-11 and 13-14; in later works where two manuscripts are known definitely to have served as Stichvorlagen, the disposition of measures and systems usually differs, for the two engravers in the two countries were each likely to have cast off their respective manuscripts separately. Most details agree in the two editions of op. 10 also; when variants occur, Kistner usually has omitted something. Thus the metronome mark for op. 10 no. 3 reads in Schlesinger "M.M. 𝅗𝅥 = 100" while Kistner indicates "M.M. ♩ = 100"--the Leipzig publisher left off the flag from the eighth note. Likewise in measure 61 of the same piece, Schlesinger prints the direction "poco rall.," a marking not found in Kistner. Another type of variant takes place when the German engraver misreads a note, placing it either a whole step or a third away. In op. 10 no. 1, measure 38, beat 4, note 2 reads f in Schlesinger; Kistner prints a g that still functions harmonically, but probably is a simple misprint of the French version. Rare, then, are large-scale variants in the French and German editions of op. 10; Kistner's errors of omission cannot be assigned compositional intent.

In the early French editions, evidence was found for an additional proof stage not mentioned by Schlesinger in his letters to Kistner. These later changes were also communicated to Leipzig, for in the Etude, op. 10 no. 2, the same readings that are present in the Schlesinger edition but missing in the corrected proof sheets also appear in the Kistner edition. This in turn suggests that Schlesinger

either engraved Chopin's corrections onto the existing plates before sending them to Kistner, or copied them on by hand. Had Chopin made multiple copies of the corrected proofs, one would expect more variants between the French and German editions because of the temptation to "compose" while supposedly adding readings and while copying from one set of proofs to the other. In other words, one of the possibilities for the transmission of Chopin's text that could be derived from the Schlesinger - Kistner correspondence may now be dismissed, and the other two may be combined. The resulting stemma appears in Figure 3.

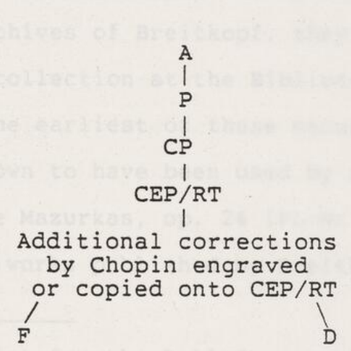


Figure 3: Schlesinger publishing scenario--1

A more detailed conception of the publication process in these early works results, one that includes compositional additions until the very moment the post took the work out of Chopin's hands, and one that demonstrates that the drive for ultimate refinement that so characterizes the composer at the zenith of his career was already present when he was a fledgling pianist fresh in town.

Once the transaction for ops. 6-11 and 13-14 was completed, and all proof sheets mailed, Chopin and his French publishers never again dealt with Kistner. For the release of his next works, the Introduction and Variations Brillantes on the Rondeau "Je vends des Scapulaires" from Hérold and Halévy's Ludovic, op. 12 and the Nocturnes, op. 15, the composer contracted with Breitkopf & Härtel, who was to become his principal publisher across the Rhine. Assessing the nature of Chopin's transactions with Breitkopf can be tricky. A large body of manuscripts used by the Leipzig firm as Stichvorlagen have come down to us; once in the Leipzig archives of Breitkopf, they now form the basis of the Chopin collection at the Biblioteka Narodowa in Warsaw. But the earliest of these manuscripts that can securely be shown to have been used by a Breitkopf engraver is that for the Mazurkas, op. 24 (PL-Wn Mus. 216).[99] What of the earlier works published by Breitkopf? Did the system

---

[99]A manuscript for the Ballade, op. 23 once existed, but now is evidently lost. See the letter of 1 February 1878 from Breitkopf to Chopin's sister, Isabel Barcińska, printed in Kobylańska, Katalog, 1: 126. A full manuscript score for the Concerto, op. 21 (PL-Wn Mus. 215) was also once in the Breitkopf archives, but it is a strange manuscript indeed, for it lacks all the telltale engraver's marks that would identify it as a Stichvorlage. But why else would it have been in the archive? Kobylańska's assertion, Katalog 1: 117, that the manuscript served as a Stichvorlage for the Schlesinger edition is plainly wrong, and results from a misreading of the information on the title page. Perhaps the manuscript, which bears signs of use, was rented out to conductors for performance. Final judgment must await a detailed study of the manuscript.

employed by Schlesinger with Kistner continue to be used with the hometown competitor of the Saxon, or was some other method of forwarding Chopin's music initiated? A little-known published collection of correspondence from Heinrich Albert Probst, Breitkopf & Härtel's representative in Paris, to his employers in Leipzig describes vividly the nature of Chopin's relationship with Breitkopf at the beginning of his career and during the years 1837-40.[100] The documents, never examined by Chopin scholars, contain numerous insights into how Chopin functioned as an entrepreneur and how his works were received in Paris; they will be quoted extensively here.

Probst's very first letter to Breitkopf describes the acquisition of two new works by Chopin, and adds a note about the popularity of the already purchased Nocturnes, op. 15:

> [Paris, 31.X.1833] Sie werden jedoch von Chopin noch durch mich erhalten 3 Masurkas u. ein schönes Rondo. Die Nocturnos Op. 15 sind göttlich u. der liebenswürdige Chopin kommt täglich mehr in Aufnahme, sogar der grosse Mann K[alkbrenner] lässt sein 1. Concert einer Schülerin Dlle. Lambert öffentlich spielen.[101]

Did the Mazurkas, op. 17 originally number three, rather than four? Probst's next letter also refers to only three:

---

[100]Wilhelm Hitzig, "'Pariser Briefe.' Ein Beitrag zur Arbeit des deutschen Musikverlags aus den Jahren 1833-1840," Der Bär: Jahrbuch von Breitkopf & Härtel 1929/30 (Leipzig, 1930), pp. 27-73.

[101]Hitzig, "Briefe," p. 33.

> [Paris, 23.XI.1833] Sie werden von Chopin gegen Neujahr 3 Mazurkas u. ein schönes Rondo erhalten, wahrscheinlich Op. 13 u. 14 zum ähnlichen Preis. Hier macht der Kleine immer mehr Epoche ob man ihn gleich nicht überall spielen kann.[102]

Likely, however, is that Probst was simply in error, since the receipt for op. 17, written four days after the above lines, states clearly "Quatre Mazurkas" (see the text in Appendix A).

The first clue as to the form in which Chopin's music was being forwarded to the Breitkopf firm comes in the next letter. Hitzig claims that the letter was written by Härtel to Probst, and, confusingly, gives three dates for the letter (Leipzig, 11 and 29 November 1833, and Paris, 21 November 1833). But the contents of the letter, which refer to recent events in Paris (among which was the latest Berlioz concert), point clearly to Probst as the author:

> [Paris, 21.XI.1833] Von Chopin Nocturnes folgt 2. Correctur, der Änderungen u. Metronom beigesetzt. Gekauft habe von ihm 4 Mazurkas Op. 17 ein Rondo op. 16.---Machen Sie gute Geschäfte mit Chopin?[103]

Not only, then, did Breitkopf set its edition from Schlesinger proofs, it received two sets of them. This suggests that some sort of agreement must have existed between the publishers to cover cases where the composer made substantial changes or additions, such as Probst mentions, after the initial proof stage. The forwarding of a second set of proofs could also account for how Kistner's edition

---

[102]Hitzig, "Briefe," p. 33.

[103]Hitzig, "Briefe," p. 34.

of op. 10 no. 2 came to include readings not present in the extant set of French proofs for the work, and thus a further refinement of the stemma for the early publication process is required (Figure 4).

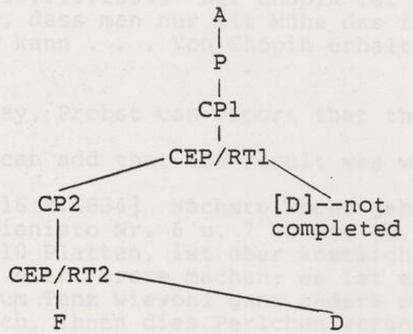


Figure 4: Schlesinger publishing scenario--2

Probst continued to ply Chopin for new works; while he is able to report to Leipzig on the likelihood of obtaining rights to the Waltz, op. 18, he adds a note that echos to a degree the sentiments expressed earlier by Farrenc:

> [Paris, 30.I.1834] Eine schwere Arbeit ist's, Chopin dieses echte Bonbon der hiesigen musikal. Damenwelt in irgend eine Ordnung zu bringen. Die Mazurkas sind sehr schön u. leicht u. ich denke, dieses Werkchen wird sich verinteressieren. Ich denke auch noch ein Heft Walzer von ihm los zumachen. Dann möcht's wohl für Sie einstweilen genug von Chopin sein. Oder wie geht's damit bei Ihnen?[104]

Any new artist on the Parisian musical scene would be dis-

---

[104]Hitzig, "Briefe," p. 35.

tracted from his work, but Chopin's lack of attention to his business affairs continued to frustrate his publishers. Three months later Probst had still to receive the works in question, and remarks in his report to the home office:

> [Paris, 20.III.1834] Der Chopin ist so nachlässig in Allem, dass man nur mit Mühe das fehlende erhalten kann . . . Von Chopin erhalte ich was ich will.[105]

Finally, in May, Probst can report that the Waltz will soon be sent, and can add that the result was worth the wait:

> [Paris, 16.V.1834] Nächste Woche geht Chopin Op. 18 u. Pianisto Nr. 6 u. 7 an Sie ab. Der Walzer hat ca. 10 Platten, ist aber köstlich und wird dort wie hier Furore machen; es ist eine Aufforderung zum Tanz wiewohl ganz anders zugeschnitten. Freue mich, Ihnen dies Perlchen verschafft zu haben.[106]

The Breitkopf firm, when it began issuing the works of a composer, wished to be his sole representative in Germany. If another publisher released a work by the composer, Breitkopf worried both that potential profits were going to the other house from the sale of the work and that the other house might woo the composer away from the Breitkopf fold. Brows in Leipzig were furrowed, then, upon receipt of the following news from Probst:

> [Paris, 15.IX.1834] Chopin's neustes Werk, einen Boleros hat Peters mit 500 Fs. gekauft durch Keller. Mir schien das Ding nicht wichtig genug um es noch mehr hinaufzutreiben . . . Chopin wird

---

[105] Hitzig, "Briefe," p. 36.

[106] Hitzig, "Briefe," pp. 37-38.

> nächstens wieder an uns kommen, habe Keller das Handwerk gelegt, auch wird Kistner für 500 Fs. nicht sehr erbaut sein.[107]

Despite Probst's effort to reassure his employer, Härtel was dismayed enough to write directly back to Paris:

> [Leipzig, 24.IX.1834] Ihre Nachrichten über das dortige Treiben von Komponisten ect. haben mich der Unruhe in die mich Peter's Anzeige von der Herausgabe eines Chopin'schen Werks versetzt hatte, enthoben. Da Sie früher mit so vieler Sicherheit geschrieben, dass Ihnen von Chopin nicht so leicht etwas entgehen könne, so kam uns jene Peters'sche Anzeige sehr unerwartet und fast vermuteten wir schon, die kaum begonnene Verbindung mit Chopin wieder abgebrochen zu sehen.[108]

Probst's reaction was to demonstrate that he still had Chopin's ear by describing the composer's latest works that were for sale:

> [Paris, 2.X.1834] Würden Sie das 2. und 3. Concert v. Chopin stechen? Es würde à 800-1000 Fs. kosten, vieleicht auch nur 600. Sagen Sie mir ihre Meinung, ich habe nur die Hand im Spiele, kann lassen oder nehmen.[109]

The second concerto was, of course, the F minor, published eventually as op. 21. References to a third concerto crop up as early as 1830, when Chopin mentions he is at work on a concerto for two pianos,[110] and the composer's father asks twice around the time of Probst's note if his son has com-

---

[107] Hitzig, "Briefe," p. 40.

[108] Hitzig, "Briefe," p. 40.

[109] Hitzig, "Briefe," p. 41.

[110] Letter of 22 December 1830 to his family; Chopin, Korespondencja z Rodziną, p. 67.

pleted his third concerto.[111] Most scholars have assumed that the work was never completed and that the first movement only later surfaced as the Allegro de Concert, op. 46 (published in 1841), though no documentary evidence to support this notion has ever been cited. That Probst boasted he could obtain the work in 1834 might bely the notion that the concerto was never completed; at the very least, it suggests that the composition had developed to a point beyond that previously thought.

Before Probst's letter reached Leipzig, Härtel sent another missive to Paris, urging that his representative buy whatever he could from Chopin to stave off the bad effects of the Chopin - Peters association:

> [Leipzig, 8.X.1834] Was treibt Chopin? Ich möchte der Peters'schen Anzeige von Op. 19 gern bald eine von uns folgen lassen. Sollte er nichts fertig im Kopf haben? Und wäre's nur die kleinste Kleinigkeit, nur ein neues Opus müsste sie führen.[112]

Probst, in his next letter, tried to ease his employer's anxiety by remarking that the Bolero was far too costly and that Chopin was sure to resume his relations with Breitkopf:

> [Paris, 15.X.1834] Es ist mir lieb, dass Sie sich auch in der Entfernung nicht irre machen lassen, und von der Wahrheit überzeugt sind, dass ich ihr Interesse auf's Wärmste im Auge habe. Also das Werk op. 19 von Chopin hat Ihnen Unruhe gemacht. Lassen Sie's prüfen und sagen, dass der alte

---

[111] Letters of [1834] and 11 April 1835 from Nicholas to Fryderyk; Chopin, Korespondencja z Rodziną, pp. 96, 104.

[112] Hitzig, "Briefe," pp. 41-42.

> Praktikus Probst recht hat. Es kostet Peters 500 Fs . . . Vorrat hat er nicht, Chopin muss mir wieder kommen, ist mir lieb, dass er sich zu Ihrer Zufriedenheit anlässt.[113]

Härtel must have been reassured, and, in fact, Probst was correct: Chopin returned to the Breitkopf firm to publish not only his next works, but the majority of the works he was to issue during the remainder of his career as well. Before leaving these negotiations, however, I should note Härtel's response to the offer of two piano concertos:

> [Leipzig, 16.X.1834] Sie sprechen vom Chopin'schen Conzert Nr. 2 u. 3. Wir sind geneigt eins davon zu stechen, wenn Sie es für 5-600 Fs. losmachen können. Sie kennen wohl beide und haben die Wahl; beide zugleich möchte ich nicht, wenigstens das 3. erst zum Winter.[114]

Härtel's reasoning was precisely that of Schlesinger when the latter was faced with the option of publishing both the E minor and F minor concertos. Two concertos by the same composer issued simultaneously would simply undermine one another's sales: at least several months must separate their appearance.

A gap in the correspondence occurs here, and the next surviving note from Probst to Leipzig dates from April 1837. Before considering this later batch of letters, other types of evidence concerning publication methods in the early works should be considered. Only one set of works, the Nocturnes, op. 15, is cited by Probst as having been set

---

[113]Hitzig, "Briefe," p. 42.

[114]Hitzig, "Briefe," p. 43.

from proofs. The presumption that other works from the period also derived from proofs can be tested by comparing the Breitkopf - Schlesinger pairs of editions to see if they share similar physical formats, as did the Kistner - Schlesinger editions. In the first of the works issued in tandem by Breitkopf and Schlesinger, the Variations, op. 12, the texts of the editions match closely. Physical layouts of the pages are usually alike, though more frequent divergences occur between the op. 12 pair than were found in the editions of op. 10. Orthographical differences arise occasionally, but in the main the note pictures are alike. When a musical variant occurs, it fits into one of two types: 1) where the Breitkopf version lacks or regularizes an element found in Schlesinger's text, and 2) the opposite. Variants of the first sort predominate, but enough of the second kind occur to confound a simple explanation of source transmission.[115] But a clue to the common parentage of the two

---

[115]Examples of the first type of variant occur in measure 17, beat 4, where the rhythm in the French edition on the first two notes is notated with a dotted sixteenth and a thirty-second note, while that in the German shows simply two sixteenth notes; measure 30/31, where Breitkopf lacks the slur in the right hand, and measure 134, fifth beat, where Schlesinger prints a db" that is regularized to an e" in the German version. Variants of the second type occur in measure 33, where the French edition lacks a "pp" found in the German (Schlesinger's edition also lacks the title "Ronde de Ludovic" found above this measure in the Breitkopf edition), and measure 128, last beat, where the French version omits the eighth-note rest. Consistent differences are found in the staccato signs used; Schlesinger employs wedges, Breitkopf dots. Metronome markings differ as well (see the opening, notated ♩ = 116 in Schlesinger versus ♩ = 118 in Breitkopf); Schlesinger often omits the dots after

editions comes in the preservation in each exemplar of an unusual and possibly corrupt abbreviation. In measures 50, 75, and 101, both editions print the short form of "forzando" as "zf," rather than the correct "fz."[116] Normal practice for both publishers was to print the more common "fz;" the "zf" may stem from a slip by Chopin or from a reversal of letters by an engraver. Whatever the cause of the odd abbreviation, that it would occur independently in two editions in different countries is unlikely.

Editions of the Waltz, op. 18 likewise have a similar disposition of measures within systems and systems on the page. When variants occur, most feature a reading absent in Breitkopf that is present in Schlesinger. Thus in measure 259, the French edition prints a "p" not found in the German edition, and in an extreme case, measure 304, a bar of rest in Schlesinger, is omitted entirely by Breitkopf, who proceeds directly from measure 303 to measure 305.

The Grande Polonaise Brillante précédée d'un Andante spianato, op. 22 appears in nearly identical French and German editions. Not only do the physical layouts agree exactly throughout, but within measures, the placement of dynamics, slurs, tempo and character indications, accents

---

notes, changing them into quarter notes rather than the proper dotted quarters.

[116] In measure 78, the "zf" in Schlesinger appears as "rf" in Breitkopf.

and pedal markings shows a precise alignment seldom found in Chopin's publications. Like op. 18, different readings do crop up occasionally, but nearly all represent omissions on Breitkopf's part, as in measure 94 of the Polonaise, where the German lacks the ties in the bass on the first beat, or in measure 96, where Breitkopf wants the "calando" printed by Schlesinger.

Matching physical layouts and a similarity in types of variants thus characterize the Breitkopf - Schlesinger pairs, and similar findings obtain from comparisons of editions released by other publishers in the early years. In the Bolero, op. 19, issued by Prillip in France and Peters in Leipzig, systems and measures are laid out exactly alike on all but two pages. Each edition reproduces precisely the same fingerings in sixteenth note passages. Pedal markings are absent on occasion in the Peters version (see mm. 76, 77, 79); once, at the end of the piece, the situation is reversed, and Peters prints a pedal release not present in Prillip (here Prillip is probably correct, for Chopin often omitted the final pedal release in a work). Rarely pitches do not agree; in measure 146, beat 3, Prillip reads b" as opposed to the a#" in Peters.

Bibliographical evidence, then, would lead us to believe that for all of Chopin's works through op. 22, the method of publication for German works was something very like that used by Schlesinger and Kistner, for the physical pictures of the Breitkopf - Schlesinger editions (and the

Prillip - Peters duo) resemble what was found in the composer's first foray into simultaneous publication. But still other documents exist that may contain further hints at what kinds of sources Breitkopf (and by implication the other German publishers) employed to produce editions of Chopin's works, and these must be considered before conclusions are reached.

The archives of the Chopin Society in Warsaw contain a number of photographs of receipts for the sale of the composer's music to Breitkopf & Härtel. Although these photographs have been in the collection of the Chopin Society for at least a generation, they have been virtually ignored by Chopin scholars.[117] Not exciting reading by any means, it is easy to understand their neglect. However, a careful perusal of the information in the receipts reveals much about the kinds of arrangements Chopin made with the Saxon firm, including what kinds of sources the composer sent

---

[117]Lissa, "Chopin im Lichte," pp. 46-47, alludes briefly to these receipts, Ekier misinterprets the receipt of 9 January 1836 (for op. 23) in Ballady, p. 12, and a few have been included in publications of Chopin's correspondence (see the appropriate citations in Appendix A). I have published two of them in my review of Kobylańska, Katalog, pp. 165-66. No mention of them is found in Oskar von Hase, Breitkopf & Härtel, 5. Auflage, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1968), vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 139-42 (the section on Chopin). The current location of the receipts themselves is something of a puzzle. The records of the Chopin Society state that the documents are in the Breitkopf archives in Wiesbaden, but two letters to me from Gerd Sievers, the director of the archive, state firmly that the receipts are not housed there. VEB Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig has not answered my letters to them, so it is still possible that the receipts may turn up in the DDR.

eastward. Complete transcriptions of the receipts may be found in Appendix A; Table 2 distills the salient features of the notes.

Of immediate interest is the central block of works whose receipts record the sale of a "manuscrit." Covering almost every piece Chopin published with Breitkopf from late 1835 to early 1840 (lacking only the Mazurkas, op. 24 and the Waltzes, op. 34), these receipts are flanked above and below by other ones that sell "ouvrages" or a "composition." What does this change in terminology tell us about the forms in which Chopin's music was sent to Leipzig? About the meaning of "manuscrit" there can be little doubt: although it is not always clear whether described is an autograph or a copyist's manuscript,[118] "manuscrit" can only refer to a handwritten source of some kind. Do "ouvrages" and "composition" by analogy indicate only printed sources? Obviously not: manuscripts used by Breitkopf as Stichvorlagen are extant for compositions included in the later group of receipts using this terminology. But for the earlier group of receipts, no Breitkopf Stichvorlagen are known (with the possible exception of the manuscript of the Concerto in F minor, op. 21--see note above), and the change in wording from "ouvrages" to "manuscrit" likely signifies a change in publishing practice as well. That "ouvrages" could at once

---

[118] A similar problem exists when Chopin in letters uses the word "manuscrit." See Ekier, Wstęp, pp. 95-96.

TABLE 2

PROVISIONS OF BREITKOPF & HÄRTEL RECEIPTS

Receipt date	Works	Copyright domain	Type of document sold	Amount paid (Francs)	Comments
28.X.33	12, 15	D	Ouvrages		Written on Schlesinger stationery
18.XI.33	12, 15	D		300	Paid to Schlesinger, who signed receipt. Verso has handwritten version of title pages, and note "Publié le 4 Decbr."
27.XI.33	16, 17	D+ ≠ F, GB	Ouvrages	200	
13.V.34	18	D+ ≠ F, GB	Composition	200	In German
3.VII.35	20, 21	D+ ≠ F, GB	Ouvrages	1000	
14.XI.35	27	D+ ≠ F, GB	Manuscrit	300	
26.XI.35	22	D+ ≠ F, GB	Manuscrit	500	
9.I.36	23	D+ ≠ F, GB	Manuscrit	400	
29.I.36	26	D+ ≠ F, GB	Manuscrit	300	
9.IV.36	27	D+ ≠ F, GB	Manuscrit	300	"Duplicat"
28.II.37	25	D+ ≠ F, GB	Manuscrit	1000	
11.IX.37	29, 30, 31	D+ ≠ F, GB	Trois Manuscrits	1000	"Trois" written over "Un"
21.VI.38	33	D+ ≠ F, GB	Manuscrit	300	
22.I.39	28	D		1000	Addressed to Probst

Receipt date	Works	Copyright domain	Type of document sold	Amount paid (Francs)	Comments
15.I.40	35 - 41	D+ ≠ F, GB	Sept Manuscrits	2500	Opus numbers jumbled
31.X.43	52 - 54	All countries ≠ F, GB	Compositionen		In German
16.XII.43	12, 15, 16 - 18 20 - 31 33 - 42 46 - 49 52 - 54	All countries ≠ F, GB	Ouvrages		"Quittance spéciale" listed for honorarium
16.VII.44	55, 56	All countries ≠ F, GB	Ouvrages		"Quittance spéciale" listed for honorarium
16.VII.44	55, 56	D		1200	The "Quittance spéciale" for the above receipt
21.XII.44	57, 58	All countries ≠ F, GB	Ouvrages		"Quittance spéciale listed for honorarium. Opus numbers reversed by Chopin.
19.XI.46	60 - 62	All countries including Russia ≠ F, GB	Ouvrages		"Quittance spéciale" listed for honorarium
30.VI.47	63 - 65	All countries ≠ F, GB	Ouvrages		"Quittance spéciale" listed for honorarium

Key: D = Germany
D+ = Germany and all countries
F = France
GB = Great Britain
≠ = excluding

mean "manuscripts of works" in the late compositions and exclude the use of manuscripts in the earlier works does not necessarily create a paradox, for the two groups of receipts were prepared by different agents of Breitkopf. For the works through op. 41, Probst acted as the intermediary between Chopin and Breitkopf. Sometime after April 1840, Probst's role as middleman was taken over by J. Maho, who was responsible for the remainder of the receipts. Thus one man, Probst, changed "ouvrages" to "manuscrit" in the earlier receipts, and that he never returned to the earlier usage after making the alteration can only mean that he was compelled to do so by a shift in the kinds of materials he was forwarding to Leipzig.

The possibility exists also that Chopin himself was responsible for the change in practice, for he visited Leipzig in person in late September 1835, that is, two months after the last Probst receipt to use "ouvrages" (for ops. 20-21) and six weeks before the first receipt to employ "manuscrit." Chopin did take advantage of his trips abroad to call on pubishers and deliver manuscripts--another instance will be discussed in the section on England--and he may well have initiated the practice of providing the German publishers of his works with manuscripts on his 1835 journey.

If Probst's change in terminology mirrors a switch in the publication method for Germany, another dilemna arises. The reader will recall that the Breitkopf edition

of op. 22 was singled out as being remarkably similar in both physical layout and musical text to the French issue, which was taken to suggest that the two editions were set from a common engraved source. But the receipt for op. 22 states resolutely that a manuscript was sold to the Leipzig house. Either the supposition that physical characteristics provide firm evidence about the nature of a Stichvorlage for a given edition is incorrect here, or the receipt errs in using the word "manuscrit." To refute the evidence of the physical picture of the editions one would have to posit a remarkable coincidence of events, whereby two engravers, working in different cities at different times with separate manuscripts, first cast off the measures on their respective manuscripts exactly alike, and then struck onto their respective plates in exactly the same location such things as accents, slurs, fingerings and pedal marks. Such a coincidence approaches the impossible, particularly when stretched over twenty plus plates. Yet it must be added that the evidence drawn from the editions may not be totally reliable; the Schlesinger edition I consulted (US-Cu) is a later issue that employs the original Schlesinger plates, but was released sometime between 1851 and 1854, and the Breitkopf edition (US-Cu) could also be of later vintage. But even if there had been some alteration of the plates of either edition prior to their issue, it is still unlikely that the two would independently reach their nearly identical states.

Probst's use of "manuscrit" cannot be taken at face

value for op. 22. Possibly the composer had delivered proofs for the work during his visit to Leipzig in September, and merely neglected to inform Probst of the fact upon signing the receipt in Paris. Another possibility is that no music of any kind for op. 22 was delivered during the Leipzig journey, the composer instead promising the eventual shipment of a manuscript score. Upon return to Paris, a receipt was signed on this information, but ultimately proofs were sent in place of a manuscript. Such an account, which presumes that something did not go according to plan in the preparation of the score, might explain why nearly three-quarters of a year passed before the work was published (it was not released until July - August 1836), and seems more likely than the composer giving an inaccurate picture of what was proffered in Leipzig.

With the exception of the quirky op. 22, the evidence of the sales slips confirms the story pieced together from bibliographical clues and Probst's testimony. Until mid-1835, Chopin's German editions were engraved from printed proofs originating in France. From late 1835 through the remainder of his career, manuscripts were as a rule sent eastward. As in France, the years 1835 to 1841 saw copyist's manuscripts employed along with autographs; in fact, most of the extant scribal Stichvorlagen were used by a German house (see, for example, the Fontana copy of the Scherzo, op. 31 [PL-Wn Mus. 220], the copy of the Sonata, op. 35, tentatively ascribed to Adolf Gutmann [PL-Wn Mus.

222], and that of the Nocturnes, op. 37, in the hand of an unknown scribe [PL-Wn Mus. 223]). Most of the manuscripts were reviewed by Chopin prior to being forwarded to Leipzig, the composer adding such things as pedal markings, slurs, tempo and character indications and dynamics. The steady flow of scribal copies towards Germany and Austria stopped with the Fontana manuscripts of op. 48 in late 1841, and while Chopin did once send another non-autograph copy of a work to Leipzig (for the publication of the Berceuse, op. 57), commencing in 1842 most of the manuscripts sent to German publishers were in the composer's hand.

For a closer look at how Chopin's relationship with Breitkopf & Härtel developed from 1837 to 1840, we turn once again to the Probst - Härtel correspondence. By 1837 Chopin had become a fixture on the Parisian musical scene, but as Probst reports in regards to the Etudes, op. 25, publishers still regarded the composer's production as being hampered by the disorderly lifestyle that marked his early years in town:

> [Paris, 12.IV.1837] . . . Chopin brustkrank im Bett, habe jedoch schriftl. an seine Etudes erinnert und denke, die Krankheit wird ihn arbeiten machen und Ordnung in sein Leben bringen.[119]

Probst's concern over the whereabouts of the Etudes was understandable: the receipt for op. 25 was signed and payment made in February (see Table 2). Breitkopf evidently

---

[119]Hitzig, "Briefe," p. 44.

also worried that Chopin's lifestyle might lead to financial risks for them, for in the next letter to mention Chopin, Probst hastened to reassure his employers otherwise, though at the same time admitting that the composer was in debt to him:

> [Paris, 16.VI.37] Chopin lässt sich nicht treiben, sein grosses Talent sichert Ihnen immer die Kosten. Ich möchte selbst gern mit ihm in Ordnung sein, da er bereits 600 Fs. vorschuss seit 7 Monaten von mir hat.[120]

Only in July did Chopin deliver the manuscript, at the same time offering Probst the German rights to ops. 29-31. Chopin found that his latest works were in high demand by several publishers, and thus felt justified in increasing the honorarium requested from Breitkopf. The composer's strong bargaining position clearly irked Probst:

> [Paris, 9.VII.37] Beifolgd. Chopin Etudes u. Thompsons Clichés. Chopin hat noch 3 Werke fertig, wird aber mit jedem theurer, da ihn die deutsch. Verleger von allen Seiten um Manuscripte betteln. Ich habe noch gekauft Impromptu Op. 29, Scherzo Op. 30 [sic] 4 Mazurkas Ops. 31 [sic] für--erschrecken Sie nicht 1000 Frs. Er pressierte mich u. ich wollte es nicht gerade darauf ankommen lassen. Er verlangte hart u. fest 1200 Fs. Nun sagen Sir mir offen, ob Sie ferner zu solch unverschämten Bedingungen fortkaufen wollen oder ob Sie ihn in anderen Händen auf eine Weile wissen wollen. Beinahe rate ich dazu . . . Schicken Sie an das Haus Pleyel & Co. für meine Rechnung 1500 Fs., denn Chopin wird Geld brauchen. Pleyel geht eben mit ihm nach London.[121]

Chopin's demands, "exorbitant" or not, must have

---

[120]Hitzig, "Briefe," p. 45.

[121]Hitzig, "Briefe," p. 45.

given Breitkopf pause, for the composer was not paid until four months later (see Table 2). Further testimony to the intense competition among German publishers for Chopin's works comes in Probst's next report to Leipzig:

> [Paris, 26.X.1837] Liebe Freunde, Ihr System, alles von einem Autor zu kaufen, führt bei jetziger Concurrenz u. Hinaufschrauberei von der Sie keine Idee haben, zu nichts . . . Schlesinger in Berlin giebt (da Sie keins geben) ein Album heraus und der Sohn hier schafft ihm die Manuscripte. Er hat mir mit seinem Zeitungs-Einfluss ein gutes Werk Polonaise Op. 141 v. Kalkbr. und 2 Nocturnes von Chopin Op. 53 [sic] weggeschnappt, was kann ich machen. Die Autoren sagen: car tel est notre plaisir.[122]

Roughly six months passed before any substantial news about Chopin could be sent to Leipzig (Probst did note in passing on 9 January 1838 that "Chopins Etudes machen viel Aufsehen").[123] When Probst does report to Breitkopf, it is with a major deal still in the making:

> [Paris, 21.IV.1838] Von Chopin soll ich Anfang July für ca. 2000 Fs. Manuscripte erhalten, und da ich ohnedem bereits etwas im Vorschuss bin, so bitte ich gelegentlich um ca. 3000 fs. Rimesse.[124]

His next letter clarifies the nature of the proposed bargain:

> [Paris, 2.V.1838] Chopins 24 Preludes 1000 fs. Seconde Ballade 500 fs., 4 Mazurkas 300 fs. sind als behandelt zu betrachten. Ueber Chopin habe ich ganz vorteilhafte Ansichten, denn er wird lange als neuer Genius vorleuchten.[125]

---

[122]Hitzig, "Briefe," p. 46.

[123]Hitzig, "Briefe," p. 48.

[124]Hitzig, "Briefe," p. 52.

[125]Hitzig, "Briefe," p. 53.

Two of the three works Chopin was offering for sale would not be completed for some time: the Preludes and the Ballade (see the dates of the sales receipts in Table 2). The Mazurkas, op. 33, on the other hand, were nearly ready, Breitkopf intending them for publication in an album:

> [Paris, 31.V.1838] Von Chopin u. Meyerb. erhalten Sie noch vor m. Abreise die Beiträge zum Album.[126]

Chopin in fact delivered the manuscript in June:

> [Paris, 11.VI.1838] Bis Ausgang ds. Mts. will Chopin bestimmt liefern . . .[127]

> [Paris, 27.VI.1838] Von Chopin habe 4 Mazurkas erhalten Op. 33.[128]

It is November before Probst returns to the subject of the Preludes, only to report that they are still to be completed. But he adds word of another purchase:

> [Paris, 3.XI.1838] Chopin ist ganz leidend mit seiner Geliebten--Mad. la Baronne Dudevant (Georges [sic] Sand) nach Spanien gegangen um vollends unter den Sand zu kommen. Seine Präludien will er dort vollenden. Einstweilen habe ich 3 Walzer in der Art wie der erste in es, den Schlesinger abgelockt hat, freilich für 1000 fs alle 3 u. Sie erhalten demnächst die Epreuven.[129]

Though manuscripts were the preferred means of transmitting Chopin's music to Germany after late 1835, the system of his early days in Paris saw use once again for op.

---

[126] Hitzig, "Briefe," p. 53.

[127] Hitzig, "Briefe," p. 55.

[128] Hitzig, "Briefe," p. 55.

[129] Hitzig, "Briefe," p. 56.

34. Only one other instance of proofs being used in Germany after 1835 is known: for the first and only time in his career, Chopin arranged to publish one of his works with the Parisian firm of Pacini, and it was likely this unique circumstance along with a rapidly approaching deadline that induced Chopin to recommend the following procedure to Breitkopf:

> M. Pacini publiant le 30 du courant une Valse de moi dans Les-cent-et-un, je crois bien faire de vous en envoyer une épreuve. J'espère que la publication ne souffrira pas de difficultés--le prix restant proportionné à nos derniers arrrangements.[130]

When Probst did receive the proofs for op. 34, he found them overpriced:

> [Paris, 9.XI.1838] Heute sandte ich p. Schles. 1 Paket ab, enthält die leider sehr theuren, schrecklich gedehnten u. nur fürs Reisegeld geschmierten 3 Walzer Chopins & Burgmüllers Op. 22, 23, 24 . . . Chopin ist nach Palma auf der Insel Majiorka gegangen.[131]

Probst is still grumbling at the end of the month about the price paid for the Waltzes:

> [Paris, 27.XI.1838] Auf ein Album von 12 Romances von Panseron giebt Ihnen Schles. Eigenthum um Sie für die Theuerung Chopins zu entschädigen. Wollten Sie lieber die Walzer in den Händen von Schles. in Berlin sehen? Es war nichts anderes zu machen, als in den Apfel zu beissen, da Chopin nun einmal ein Mensch ohne alle Rücksicht ist. Ich hoffe, die Präludien sollen Sie entschädigen.[132]

---

[130]Letter of 18 June 1840, Chopin, Korespondencja, 2: 333.

[131]Hitzig, "Briefe," p. 57.

[132]Hitzig, "Briefe," p. 59.

Chopin's increasingly higher prices troubled Probst more and more, and began to affect the Breitkopf representative's views on the quality of the composer's output. We see this clearly in his letter to Härtel announcing the shipment of the manuscript of the Preludes:

> [Paris, 10.III.1839] Die Cracovienne macht hier durch die Elsler Furore. Janet hat p. Diligence an Sie 500 Abdrücke versandt, beigelegt Chopin Preludes Mscrpt. Nebst Quittung über 1000 Fs., ferner Documente von Panofka, Osborne, u. Rechng. v. Delieuil, Pertheaux, Laurent u. de Berny. Die Préludes von Chopin habe ich op. 28 getauft (es ist in Ihrem früheren Contract mit ihm für eine 4/m Sonate bestimmt, die vielleicht garnicht kommt). Chopin will mit Schlesg. nichts mehr zu thun haben u. Camille Pleyel, der ohnedies noch nicht genug zu thun hat, mengt sich aus Liebe für Chopin in die Herausgabe seiner Werke. Mir ist dieser für mich sehr zugängliche Pleyel natürlich viel lieber als Schles. Jetzt aber wird Chopin zum Danke gegen Pleyel noch unverschämter u. verlangt Preise über alle Vernunft à la Herz. Dergl. habe ich rund abgeschlagen, mir Rath einholen zu müssen vorgeschützt u. frage nun bei Ihnen an, wie Sie das 3. Scherzo (8-10 Platten), eine Ballade des Pèlerins (12 Platt.) u. 2 Polonaisen (14 Platten) bezahlen wollen. Ich habe mir merken lassen, dass Sie höchstens für alles zusammen 1000 fs geben könnten u. würden, jedoch ohne Obligo. Hier ist die Chopins Musik durch Thalberg, Henselt, Schubert, Bertini, Liszt etwas im Hintergrunde. Man spielt sie seltener, in Concerten garnicht mehr, da sie keinen Effect macht. Ich glaube, Chopin kommt aus dem Regen in die Traufe.[133]

Only ten months earlier, Probst had written about the same composer "Ueber Chopin habe ich ganz vorteilhafte Ansichten, denn er wird lange als neuer Genius vorleuchten" (letter of

---

[133] Hitzig, "Briefe," p. 65.

2 May 1838, above). Geniuses evidently did not demand the kinds of prices Chopin did.

Many interesting details pepper the above letter. It has long been known that the opus number of the Preludes was assigned out of sequence; more recently Chopin's offer of a four-hand sonata "op. 28" has been uncovered and discussed.[134] Now we know securely that Probst appropriated the old number for use with the Preludes (that Probst was responsible might explain why no opus number appeared on the first French edition). Still more tantalizing is Probst's passing reference to op. 38 as "eine Ballade des Pèlerins." Several attempts have been made to associate Chopin's Ballades with Ballades by the Polish poet and dramatist Adam Mickiewicz, but none of these have drawn on any evidence from the composer. Nor, for that matter, do any of the poems suggested have anything to do with pilgrims. What can Probst's description mean? Does it derive from Chopin himself? In September 1838, Félicien Mallefille published an open letter to Chopin lauding a performance of the composer's "Ballade polonaise."[135] Could this be our "Ballade

---

[134] See Chopin's letter of 30 June 1835 to Breitkopf, printed in facsimile in Maria Mirska and Władysław Hordyński, Chopin na obczyźnie (Cracow, 1965), p. 174, and published in Gastone Belotti, "Il problema delle date dei Preludi di Chopin," Rivista Italiana di Musicologica 5 (1970): 165.

[135] See Félicien Mallefille, "À M.F. Chopin, sur sa Ballade Polonaise," Revue et gazette musicale de Paris, 9 September 1838, pp. 362-64.

des Pèlerins?" Whatever its source, since it does not affect the nature of the composer's dealings with his publishers, it cannot be dwelt on here. Yet it is worth mentioning that, in the 1830s, the theme of the pilgrim was heard often in the Polish emigré community in Paris: one of the newspapers bore the name Pielgrzyma Polskiego [The Polish Pilgrim], and one of the chief contributors to the newspaper, Mickiewicz, returned to the motif often, as in his prose pamphlet Księgi pielgrzymstwa polskiego [The Books of the Polish Pilgrims] and in an unpublished poem "Te rozkwitłe świeżo drzewa" [These freshly blooming trees] which concludes with the lines "Nie przeminie żal pielgrzyma,/Bo on wdowiec i sierota" [The pilgrim's sorrow will not pass,/For he is a widower and an orphan]. Did Chopin wish to contribute musically to the laments expressed by his fellow emigrés? A thorough investigation is warranted.

In his next letter to Leipzig, Probst urges speed in the engraving of op. 28, and corrects a detail in the dedication:

> [Paris, 15.III.1839] Chopins Préludes wollen Sie sogleich stechen lassen, weil Wessel in London es schon im May herausgeben will, obgleich er kaum 300 fs dafür bezahlt, pressirt er doch wie unsinnig. Die Dedication soll nicht Kessler seyn sondern heissen: 24 Préludes pour le Piano dédiés à Mr. Camille Pleyel par son ami Fred. Chopin."[136]

Breitkopf never did alter the dedication, and it appeared in Germany with Kessler's name on the title page. Wessel's

---

[136]Hitzig, "Briefe," p. 65.

plans to issue the work in May ran afoul; Table 1 shows that the work was not entered in Stationers' Hall until 30 August. (Probst later states that the Preludes would be released on 30 June in Paris; this too proved premature--see his letter of 25 April 1839).[137]

Chopin's prices continued to trouble Probst in his communiqués to Härtel:

> [Paris, 24.III.1839] Chopin ist in Marseille, ich erwarte mit Schmerzen Ihre Antwort wegen seiner neuen Werke. Die Ballade u. 2 Polonaisen sind bereits hier, aber alle Verleger müssen die neuen, horrenden Forderungen zurückweisen. Pleyel zieht sich auch zurück, weil er sein Geld doch nicht offenbar verlieren will.[138]
>
> [Paris, 29.IV.1839] Chopin wird wohl bald hierherkommen u. seine Werke selbst verkaufen. Vedremo.[139]

Probst finally met with Chopin in December, and the encounter triggered a long outburst to Härtel:

> [Paris, 2.XII.1839] Gestern hatte ich endlich Rendez-vous mit Chopin, er hat 7 Mscrpt. fertig, nemlich Grande sonate, Seconde Ballade, Deux Nocturnes, Troisième Scherzo, Quatre Mazurka, Deux Polonaises, Un Impromptu. u. verlangt dafür 3500 fs. Meine Vorstellung, dass er die Annahme durch solch horrenten Preis unmöglich mache, war vergebens, ich sollte Ihnen nur schreiben, er wolle es sonst selbst thun, er sey gewiss, Sie nähmen die Werke um jeden Preis. Nach meiner Berechnung kämen die Werke auf die bisherige hohe Taxe etwa 2500 fs höchstens, also man könnte lt. Ihrer Instruktion bis 2000 fs bieten, allein dies habe ich nicht gethan. Er war zu aufgeblasen, sagt, er sey krank, sieht auch schrecklich aus, da er keine

---

[137]Hitzig, "Briefe," p. 67.

[138]Hitzig, "Briefe," p. 66.

[139]Hitzig, "Briefe," p. 67.

Stunden geben könne, so müssten ihm seine Werke den Unterhalt geben. Das klingt sehr gut, wenn nur das Publikum, welches kauft, darauf Rücksicht nähme. Die Werke selbst, von denen er mir manches vorspielte, sind noch düsterer als die früheren u. werden noch weniger Beifall finden, da sie durchaus nicht dankbar zu spielen sind. Die Sonate ist geistvoll, aber durchaus trübe u. barock. Das Übrige sind auf die bekannte Art hingeworfene Bischen, wie Sie schon bessere haben. Mein Rath ist, ihn laufen zu lassen, ohne ein sorgsames Augenmerk auf ihn zu verlieren, denn er hat doch immer viel Geist u. Geltung. Er findet nicht so leicht macht wie Sie. Auch sagte er, Geld müsse er sogleich haben, die Manichaer waren alle parat, er brauche es nöthig. Ich schlug ihm vor, doch nur 3000 fs zu verlangen. Nein, sagte er, 3500 fs oder nichts. Da er nun von mehreren Verlegern aus Deutschld. bearbeitet wird, ohne dass die Leute wissen, was er kostet, so ist es durchaus nöthig, ihn eine Weile seinem Schicksal zu überlassen, sonst fordert er das nächste Mal noch unverschämter. Wenn er etwas Gutes hat oder Gangbares, ein Anderer weiss, denn Chopin hat die Gewohnheit, seine Werke jahrelang vorher zu spielen, ehe er sie aufschreibt. Wessel zahlt ihm eine Guinee für 4 Seiten u. Schlesgr. auch sehr schlecht. Pleyel hat die Préludes bis an dem Hals satt u. lässt sich nicht mehr mit ihm ein.[140]

Ops. 35-41 have received many judgments, but when recorded as "gloomy" and "scribbled-down morsels of the sort that [Breitkopf] already has better," one can only assume that Probst's vision was completely clouded by Chopin's high prices. Probst refused to pay the 3500 francs demanded, but was worried that other publishers, who did not realize that a year often passed before a work was delivered (a telling observation for a study of Chopin's compositional habits), might poach on Breitkopf's domain. Still, Probst felt that Breitkopf paid too handsomely for Chopin's music; we saw

---

[140] Hitzig, "Briefe," pp. 68-69.

earlier, in Chopin's letters to Franchomme concerning ops. 55 and 56, that the composer was very aware of the high honorariums he was able to command from Breitkopf. The Leipzig firm must have enjoyed brisk sales of Chopin's works in order to continue to pay the composer more than he received from his publishers in France and England.[141]

Probst continued to refuse to yield to Chopin's prices, and the composer demanded to write directly to Leipzig:

> [Paris, 20.XII.1839] Noch vor Empfang Ihres Brf. v. 12. ct. war Chopin bei mir u. pressierte um Entscheidung. Ich hielt mich an Ihre Ordre u. sagte ihm, dass Sie die neuen Preise seiner Werke auf keinen Fall annehmen würden. Er wünschte jedoch mit ihrem Haus (wegen der prompten Zahlung) nicht abzubrechen u. hat Ihnen direct geschrieben. Gestern theilte ich ihm Ihre Entscheidung v. 12. ct. mit ohne jedoch die Summe auszusprechen. Er wartet auf Ihre Antwort u. so bitte ich, ihm Ihr Gebot zu thun Rue Tronchet Nr. 5.[142]

Chopin's letter, dated 14 December 1839, survives, and in it he states that the price of 500 francs for each of the 7 manuscripts is one below which he will never go.[143] But as both the next letter and Table 2 show, he did come down 1000

---

[141]Heller recounted to Niecks that Breitkopf & Härtel wrote to their Paris agent (Probst) that they would continue to publish Chopin's works even though, given his by no means large sales, he charged too much. (See Frederick Niecks, Frererick Chopin as a Man and Musician, 2 vols. [London, 1902; reprint ed., New York, 1973], 2: 116-17.) But that Breitkopf continued to pay these prices argues against low sales.

[142]Hitzig, "Briefe," p. 70.

[143]Chopin, Korespondencja, 1: 454.

francs when the deal was finally concluded:

> [Paris, 10.I.1840] Chopin war heute bei mir u. willigte endlich mit 2500 fs ein, die ich ihm sogleich zahlen muss. Die 7 Mscrpt. folgen p. diligence . . .[144]

The last letter from Probst to Leipzig to mention Chopin makes the comment:

> [Paris, 25.III.1840] Chopin hat an Troupenas die 7 Werke verkauft für 2100 fs.[145]

In other words, Troupenas bought the works for 400 francs less than Breitkopf, Probst once again implying that his employers paid too dearly for Chopin's music.

What these letters from Probst to Härtel reveal most strongly is Chopin's strong position as a commodity in the music publishing world. His bargaining power was earlier demonstrated with respect to the sale of French rights to ops. 55 and 56 in 1844, but already in 1837-40, Chopin could command and receive high prices (though not always as high as he would like). For Chopin, it was definitely a seller's market, and Probst readily confirms that if Breitkopf would not buy the composer's works, another German publisher gladly would.

Returning to the mechanics of the publication of Chopin's works, while the composer in his early years and once or twice later sent proofs of his music to Germany to serve as engraver's copy, no case is known where he

---

[144]Hitzig, "Briefe," p. 71.

[145]Hitzig, "Briefe," p. 72.

corrected proof sheets engraved by one of his German publishers.[146] Once his music in whatever form--proof, scribal copy, or autograph--left his hands for Leipzig, Vienna, or another German publishing center, Chopin's ability to oversee the musical text ceased. This then marks the main difference in Chopin's publishing methods in Germany and France, for in Paris, he normally was able to emend his text until the moment of publication, and even after, as seen above in some of the later issues of his French editions.

That the composer did not correct proofs for his German publishers does not mean, however, that the published edition unfailingly reproduces what was found in the manuscript. Engravers did of course misinterpret or omit readings, but more importantly, a close examination of the manuscripts sent to Leipzig reveals that occasionaly passages were revised to bring Chopin's notation into accord with what must have been Breitkopf's "house policy." Most of these changes are on the order of reversing the direction of a series of stems in a melodic line, but occasionally the emendations made by the Breitkopf "editor" called for some interpretation, particularly where accidentals were added to "clarify" pitches that seemed vague in the manuscript. One such instance occurs in the manuscript for the Mazurka, op.

---

[146]Chopin did however see proofs of his early Sonata in C minor that the Viennese publisher Haslinger sent him with the hope that the composer would correct them and approve their publication. See letter of August 1845 to his family; Chopin, Korespondencja z Rodziną, p. 147.

30 no. 2 (PL-Wn Mus. 219), where, among other places, editorial accidentals are found in the right hand in measures 5, beat 3, 22, beat 1, and 39, beat 1 (in the grace note). Traces of the "editor" (who may be synonymous with the engraver) turn up in the manuscripts in the form of additions made in light lead or red pencil.

Later issues of German editions occur, as they did in France, but there is no indication that Chopin played any part in the preparation of them. Students need pay special attention to the date of a particular German edition, for often later states retain the plate number of the original, but print radically different texts. A telling example occurs in the Waltz, op. 34 no. 2 The Breitkopf edition, plate number 6033, first appeared in December 1838; the later issue, bearing the same plate number, was released sometime after 1 January 1841.[147] Comparison of the two shows differences in phrasing, pedal marks, articulation, and, occasionally, pitch. Characteristic of the variants in the later state is that they regularize what was asymmetric in the early print. One of the hallmarks of Chopin's style is that written-out repetitions of musical passages almost never appear in exacly the same guise as their predecessors

---

[147]A copy of the earlier state is housed in the Joseph Regenstein Library of the University of Chicago. A facsimile of the later state appears in Jan Bogdan Drath, comp. and ed., Waltzes of Fryderyk Chopin: Sources. Volume I: Waltzes Published During Chopin's Lifetime (Kingsville, 1979), pp. 120-27.

(when he wants an exact repeat, he usually notates it with repeat signs or, in his manuscript, with numbers marking off the measures to be played over); that the changes in the later state contradict this trait points very strongly to a foreign hand being responsible.

Another look at Table 2 reveals something of the kinds of agreements Chopin was signing with Breitkopf, business arrangements that were particularly significant for the distribution of the composer's music throughout those parts of Europe not covered by the three partners in simultaneous publication. Nearly all of the receipts contain a clause stating that Chopin will cede his rights for Germany and all other countries, with the exception of France and England. Breitkopf & Härtel likely attached special importance to this clause, for, as one of the largest (and perhaps the largest) music publishers in Europe, they had a firmly established network of sale associates throughout the continent, reaching such far-flung locales as Milan, Stockholm, and Moscow.[148] Letters from Chopin's family testify to the availability of his works in Warsaw; likely these were shipped from Leipzig for sale in one of the Warsaw music shops.[149] For distribution in Italy, another scheme may have

---

[148] See the discussion of "Vertrieb" in von Hase, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1: 193-202. The figures cited in these pages are for a period roughly ten to fiftenn years before the peak of Chopin's career; if anything, Breitkopf's size and scope only increased in the 1830s and 1840s.

[149] See, for example, Nicholas Chopin to Fryderyk, 13

been used. A large number of contemporary Italian editions of Chopin's music is known, but in only one case (for the Tarantella, op. 43) can one demonstrate that the edition was released at roughly the same time as those in France, Germany, and England.[150] All of the others must have been either pirated from one of the three authorized publishers, or purchased from a firm that had been assigned the legal right to Chopin's music in Italy. Breitkopf is the most likely candidate to have sold rights to Italy, given its connections in Milan (most of the Italian editions emanated from Milanese firms like Lucca or Ricordi), though some of the composer's agreements with French firms also provided rights for "tous les pays," and thus Schlesinger or another Parisian house may have negotiated with an Italian firm as well.[151] But because Breitkopf's operation was more

---

April 1833, in Chopin, Korespondencja z Rodziną, p. 88.

[150]Italian editions of Chopin's music are treated in Gastone Belotti, "La fortuna in Italia dell'opera di Chopin durante la vita del compositore," Saggi sull'arte e sull'opera di F. Chopin (Bologna, 1977), pp. 419-451. The essay originally appeared in Quadrivium 27 (1976): 69-101.

[151]See the set of receipts for the three Etudes published in the Méthode des Méthodes. Two are published in Chopin, Korespondencja, 1: 453 (19 November 1839) and 1: 454 (1 December 1839). The latter prints incorrectly "Cinq cents francs" for the proper "Deux cents francs." The third receipt, dated 6 December 1839, is mentioned in Thomas Higgins, "Whose Chopin?," 19th Century Music 5 (1981): 69. Belotti, "La fortuna in Italia," pp. 435-51, finds several instances of Italian editions appearing to derive from French editions, among them the Lucca print of the Preludes, op. 28 and the Pasquale Artaria edition of the Waltz, op. 18. He adds, though, that is often difficult to ascertain precisely which edition served as basis, because the Italian

extensive than Schlesinger's, and because trade routes were more accessible to the Saxon than to the Frenchman (Milan being at the time part of the Austrian monarchy), the Leipzig firm probably was more influential in the production of Chopin's music in Italy. The same may be said for the rest of Europe and Russia. Whatever music of Chopin that was played outside of France and England during the composer's lifetime largely stemmed either directly or indirectly from a German edition.

Chopin's relationships with his German publishers, then, take on great importance for the distribution and reception of his works throughout Europe. In his early years, Chopin provided his German publishers with proof sheets from the French edition; in late 1835, shortly after the composer's visit to Leipzig, he switched to sending manuscripts, a practice maintained almost without interruption for the remainder of his career. Until 1842, many of these manuscripts sent across the Rhine were in the hands of copyists; afterwards, they were mostly written out by the composer himself. While the proofs and copyists' manuscripts were often carefully checked over and emended by the composer before being posted, after a work left his hands Chopin had no more control over what was printed in Germany. Thus Chopin probably never saw the minor "editorial" touch-

---

edition often contains additional "editorial" emendations not found in either the French or German editions.

ups added by someone at the Breitkopf house, nor was he aware of the wholesale changes that sometimes occurred in later states of his German editions. But in assigning Breitkopf wide latitude in the distribution of his music, Chopin took his most important step in assuring the spread of his music throughout the western world.

England

Just how Chopin published his works in England has been one of the major puzzles plaguing those who study the composer's music. For years researchers have drawn a blank on Chopin's dealings with Christian Rudolph Wessel, who published almost all of the composer's music that appeared in England. Documentation on this aspect of the dissemination of Chopin's music has been woefully lacking: Brown, in a 1958 article on the subject,[152] relied mainly on what little information he could garner from advertisements in periodicals and journals and from the title pages of the Wessel editions in the British Library. In the second edition of his Index, he managed to add some (but not all) dates of publication that were entered in the Stationers' Hall registers. Only in the last few years has the first known letter from Chopin to Wessel surfaced, and still no manuscripts that were used by Wessel can be located.[153] Little surprise

---

[152]Maurice J. E. Brown, "Chopin and his English Publisher," Music & Letters 39 (1958): 363-71.

[153]See Hedley, "Some Observations," p. 476.

that until recently the English editions of Chopin's music were generally passed over by editors and critics.

The discovery of a number of documents in the archives of Wessel's modern-day successor, Edwin Ashdown Limited, is thus of no small import, for much of the structure of Chopin's business relations with Wessel may now be fleshed out.[154] Forming the bulk of this cache are Chopin's contracts with the English publisher, but also providing key information are letters from contemporaries of Chopin. Most of what can be learned about the composer's dealings across the Channel comes from these new papers; some clues may be sifted from a close reading of published correspondence with family, friends, and publishers. It is to this latter source we turn for the first signs that Chopin had contracted with an English publisher.

In the autumn of 1832, Nicholas Chopin received a letter from his son in which he depicted his entry into the world of Parisian musical culture. Nicholas, in his response, remarked about Fryderyk's fledgling publication ventures:

> Le parti que tu as pris de faire paraître tes ouvrages est très nécessaire, car bien des personnes entendent parler de toi, sans pouvoir connaître tes compositions et, à dire vrai, elles doivent devancer ton arrivée partout où tu voudras

---

[154] I would like to thank Mr. S. E. Ashdown, Managing Director of Edwin Ashdown Ltd., for first corresponding with me concerning the state of the Wessel archives, and later, during my stay in London, for allowing me access to the documents stored there.

> aller. En outre, le produit que tu en retireras te fera un petit fonds, qui pourra réaliser ton projet d'aller au printemps prochain en Angleterre, où tes ouvrages seront déjà parvenus.[155]

The elder Chopin's words in the last sentence may be read in two ways. Either he was making a general comment on the advisability of publishing one's works--a major benefit being that they could act as a sort of calling card when one travelled to a different country--or he was referring to a specific comment by his son that arrangements had been made to issue his compositions in England. Now if the latter were the case, the date of the letter would correspond with other known events in the composer's life, for it was just at this time that Chopin successfully negotiated his first agreement with a Parisian publisher, who in turn was contacting possible partners in Germany. If Nicholas was alluding to a fait accompli, then we may presume that at the same time Schlesinger was looking eastward for a publishing arrangement, he was also inquiring in England. Arguing against such an interpretation of Nicholas's lines, however, is the absence of contracts between Frydyeryk and Wessel for the earliest of the works issued in tandem with France and Leipzig (ops. 6-11; see Table 3 below), the lack of an entry for a work by Chopin in Stationers' Hall prior to that for op. 13 (15 April 1834; see Table 1), and the absence of Wessel's name on the list of publishing partners printed on

---

[155]Letter of November 1832; Chopin, Korespondencja z Rodziną, p. 215.

Schlesinger's title pages for ops. 6-11. Yet the dates of publication for these works in England as listed by Brown in the Index (where they were probably derived from contemporary advertisements) are very close to the dates of publication on the Continent. Also the contracts for ops. 6-11 could simply be lost, or may never have existed: a ledger of copyright assignments maintained by the Wessel firm contains no mention of any agreement prior to that for ops. 13-17. Nicholas's letter is equivocal, then, as to whether by the autumn of 1832 Chopin was already in contact with Wessel. But even if this date is premature, the actual date when the two signed a business agreement for the first time could not have fallen much later.

By late 1833, if not sooner, Chopin was firmly entrenched with Wessel. Confirmation of this comes not only from the earliest contracts (which, though filled out in 1836, are backdated to November 1833) and advertisements in journals, but also from a hitherto unpublished letter from Johann Nepomuk Hummel to Wessel. Because this letter is only the second known missive from Hummel to an English publisher,[156] it is printed here in its entirety:[157]

---

[156]The other is an undated note to Novello, published in Dieter Zimmerschied, "Die Kammermusik Johann Nepomuk Hummels" (Innaugural-Dissertation, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, Mainz, 1966), p. 521.

[157]The letter, in the Wessel archives, tumbled out of a ledger of copyright assignments while I was visiting the Ashdown offices.

Weimar, den 3ten Dec. 1833

Lieber freund

Während ein brief von mir an Sie unterwegs ist, erhalte ich den Ihrigen vom 26ten Novber.

Das Rondo schon im Januar herauszugeben ist platterdings nicht möglich, weil es Haslinger und auch der Pariser Verleger, vieler anderer unter den Presse habenden Gegenstanden wegen, nicht liefern können. Übrigens unter den Solo spielern in London von denen Sie in Ihrem Brief erwähnt haben, ist gewiss Mrs. Anderson diejenige Oben an, die es zu Ihrem Benefice im May vorher zu studiren wünscht; und da liesse sich ja helfen, wenn Sie ihr blos die Solostimme zu diesem behuf voraus zum studiren geben wollten.---Früher also im Monat April geht es nicht an.---

Sie irren wenn Sie glauben dass Sie den höchsten Preis zahlen, dieses ist bei mir stets der Verleger in Deutschland, was auch ganz natürlich ist.---

Was die Zahlungstermine anbelangt, so kann ich mich nicht darauf einlassen, weil es einmal mein festgestelltes Prinzip ist, das Honorar für meine Compositionen gleich zu beziehen. Dieses wissen alle meine Geschäftsfreunde und sind damit einverstanden.---

Sie schrieben mir vor circa 3 Jahren zwar etwas der gleichen, noch am Tage vor meiner Abreise, worauf ich Ihnen die Zusage das Rondo zwar machte, aber mich nicht zu diesen Punkt verstand; auch wieder sollte ich es Ihnen bei meiner Letzten Anwesenheit mündlich, dass ich meine Werke nur gegen baren bezahlung verabfolge, weil ich nicht von meinem Grundsatze abweichen kann.

Die herren Chopin & Pixis können sich eine andere Übereinkunft und spätere Zahlung eher gefallen lassen und werden es gewiss auch; allein ich kann dieses nicht annehmen.---Alles was ich thun kann, ist: dass Ihnen 5 Guinean dafür bezahlen, die ich bei Abgang das Manuscript auf Sie ziehe, zahlbar 1 Monat nach Dato, welches gegen Ende Januar 1824 [sic] fallen wird. Die Versendung werde ich (wie Sie verlangen) durch Ihren herrn bruder in Bremen machen und Ihnen auch eine Abschrift in Partitur beilegen.

Ich erwarte umgehend das Resultat und die Genehmigung von Ihnen, weil ich sonst anderweitige Dispositionen damit machen müsste, und die Sache als aufgelöst betrachten wünschte.---

Auch soll Ihnen die Eigenthums Acte mich

geleisteter Zahlung durch meinen Schwager Herrn Röckel in London unfehlbar behändiget werden.
In freundschaft.

Ihr ergebener

J.N. Hummel

Address:	Postmarks:
single	Weimar 4 Dec 1833
Mr. Ch.R. Wessel & Co Importer of foreign Music, Frith Street Soho London	FPO De 11 1833
	T.T.
	PP

Hummel is discussing his Rondo for Piano and Orchestra, op. 127, the sole work that he published with Wessel.[158] But more relevant than the Kapellmeister's machinations over the publication date and the payment for his Rondo is the revelation that, by November 1833, Chopin was sufficiently established with Wessel to be held up as an example to Hummel of how another Continental composer received payment from London. Hummel found delayed payment unacceptable, but Chopin evidently had no firm objections to it, for, as we will see, he continued to receive his honorarium in deferred installments from Wessel at various times throughout his career.

What of the transmission of Chopin's music to

---

[158] See Dieter Zimmerschied, Thematisches Verzeichnis der Werke von Johann Nepomuk Hummel (Hofheim am Taunus, 1971), p. 188.

England? From the composer himself, the earliest inkling as to what kinds of materials he was forwarding to England comes only in a letter to Fontana of 20 or 27 June 1841, in which the composer tells his factotum to prepare a copy of the Tarantella, op. 43 for Wessel's use.[159] Two years later, on 15 October 1843, Chopin sends a letter to Auguste Léo, and includes "mes manuscrits pour Londres."[160] After this date, there is little doubt that Chopin continued to ship manuscripts to England, for three more letters, two to Léo (who acted as Chopin's intermediary with London) and one to Franchomme, allude to manuscripts for Wessel.[161] And from the last letter, to Franchomme, one can ascertain that Chopin was sending manuscripts in his own hand, for, in reference to possible delays by the French and German parties in the publication of ops. 60-62, he writes "je ne voudrais pas maintenant que cette affaire traîne en longueur, ayant envoyé ma copie à Londres en même temps qu'à toi.[162]

Before June 1841, however, Chopin had published more than thirty opuses with Wessel, and the main body of evidence for the composer's methods of publication in these

---

[159] Chopin, Korespondencja, 2: 21-23.

[160] Chopin, Korespondencja, 2: 361.

[161] Letters of 9 October 1845 and 30 August 1846 to Léo, and 13 September 1846 to Franchomme; see Chopin, Korespondencja, 2: 391, 398, 401.

[162] Chopin, Korespondencja, 2: 401.

works survives not in his correspondence, but in eighteen contracts between the Wessel firm and Chopin. Only one of these contracts, for ops. 60-62, was previously known to musicologists,[163] its seventeen companions having passed an untold number of years behind a file cabinet in the Edwin Ashdown offices, where they evidently sustained the water damage that now mars them. According to Mr. S. E. Ashdown, the contracts were only recovered when he was overseeing the redistribution of some furniture in the office. Fortuity thus allows the reproduction of the contracts in Appendix B; an overview of them is found in Table 3.

Immediately catching the eye are the three contracts dated 20 July 1837, whose works (ops. 25, 29-32) are all described as being in "M.S." More direct testimony as to what was used by Wessel as Stichvorlagen for these works could not be desired, but accepting the information sketched into the printed contracts at once raises questions about the particular circumstances of their signing and whether what is written in them reflects in any way on what is present (or better, not present) in the contracts on either side of the ones in question.

Special events did attend the drawing up of the contracts for ops. 25 and 29-32: Chopin, on his first journey to England between 10 and 25 July 1837, signed them in person. Traveling with Chopin was Camille Pleyel, who

---

[163] See Brown, "Chopin and his English Publisher," p. 369.

TABLE 3

AN OVERVIEW OF THE WESSEL CONTRACTS

Receipt date & place	Contract date	Works	Copyright domain	Amount paid (pounds)	Witness	Comments
5.IV.36 Paris	5.IV.36	26, 27	GB	8	Fontana	
6.IV.36 Paris	XI.33	13 - 17	GB	20	Fontana	Op. 17: "Trois [sic] Mazurkas." Receipt date written over "Nov 1833"
6.IV.36 Paris	XI.33	18 - 24	GB	28	Fontana	Ops. 21 and 24 originally reversed
20.VII.37 London	20.VII.37	25	GB	16	C. Pleyel	Described as "(M.S.) compositions." To be published on 14.X.37. Blank dedication
20.VII.37 London	20.VII.37	[29],30	GB	10	C. Pleyel	Both in "M.S." Op. 29 called "Op. 28," to be published 14.(15 in a second listing).X.37. Dedicated to D'Agoult. Op. 30 with blank date of publication
20.VII.37 London	20.VII.37	31, 32	GB	10	C. Pleyel	Both in "M.S." and both with blank date of publication. Op. 31 with changes in dedication and title
4.IV.38 Paris	4.IV.38	29, 33, 34	GB, Ireland	15	Stapleton	With correct number for op. 29
1.VIII.39 Paris	1.VIII.39	28	GB, Ireland	15	Leo	
31.X.39 Paris	31.X.39	38 - 40	GB, Ireland	24	Ludlow	Receipt "received by bill £24 at 3 months date."
III.40 Paris	III.40	41, 42	GB, Ireland	16	Ludlow	Incipits in contract
V.40 Paris	V.40	35 - 37	GB, Ireland	24	Ludlow	
1.VIII.41 London	1.VIII.41	43	GB, Ireland	6	Schlesinger	
14.I.42 London	14.I.42	44 - 50	GB, Ireland	36	Schlesinger	

Receipt date & place	Contract date	Works	Copyright domain	Amount paid (pounds)	Witness	Comments
VIII.43 Paris	. . .	52 - 56	GB, Ireland	19:19:--	Leo	Incipits in contract
16.V.45 Paris	2.V.45	57, 58	GB, Ireland	20	Leo	Incipits in contract
VI.45 Paris	. . .	43 - 47	GB, Ireland	?	Leo, Brandus	Incipits in contract. "July 1842" in left margin of receipt. Amount paid entered variously as £47, £40, £40:7:--, and £47
VIII.45 Paris	VIII.45	59	GB, Ireland	10	Leo, Brandus	Incipit of no. 1 in contract
20.IX.46 Paris	13.VIII.46	60 - 62	GB, Ireland	30	Leo, Brandus	Incipits in contract

Key: GB = Great Britain

witnessed the signing. In only two other instances were the printed "London" indications on the receipt portions of the contracts left unchanged (rather than being replaced by a handwritten "Paris"); as we shall see, these contracts also herald unusual circumstances. Not a great deal is known about the itinerary of Chopin's first London sojourn; he evidently wished to maintain a low profile.[164] Planning ahead in Paris, however, Chopin must have counted on transacting business, for in his luggage, he included manuscripts for five works, which he delivered into Wessel's hands when he called on his shop on 20 July. Just as with his German receipts then, the first mention of a manuscript in connection with the English firm is linked to a personal visit by the composer.

In the Breitkopf & Härtel receipts, the absence of the word "manuscrit" prior to late 1835 was taken as evidence that those works published before this date were in fact done so without employing manuscripts. Does the lack of "M.S." in the Wessel contracts signed either before or after 20 July 1837 provide clues in the search for Stichvorlagen? Two different groups of engraver's sources are being sought: those for the early set of works, or ops. 13-24, and 26-27, and those immediately following the 1837 contracts, or ops. 28 and 33-42 (ops. 44-50 will be accounted

---

[164] On the London trip, see Belotti, F. Chopin l'uomo, 1: 590-93.

for below by a different type of documentary evidence). Considering the later group first, the failure to note whether works were in "M.S." cannot by itself demonstrate what was used to engrave the editions. In other (late) works, as we have seen, Chopin testifies himself that autographs or copyist's manuscripts were sent to London, and in none of the contracts for these works does there appear the notation "in M.S." Conversely, one cannot automatically assume that the visit of July 1837 triggered a flow of manuscripts towards England that went unmentioned in the contracts. For example, Chopin writes to Fontana about ops. 35-41:

> I am sending you a letter from Wessel, certainly about my old business. Troupenas purchased my 7 compositions and will conduct business directly with Wessel, so you do not have to trouble yourself.[165]

By "conduct business" does Chopin mean that Troupenas will also forward the music for the works (in proofs?) to London, or is the composer referring only to the negotiation of prices and dates of publication? If the former, then the texts printed by Wessel should bear a familial resemblance to those issued by Troupenas, and in fact Ekier finds just such a relationship in his examination of the extant sources

---

[165] "Posyłam Ci list od Wessla, zapewne za moim dawnym interesem. Troupenas kupił moje 7 kompozycji i z Wesslem interesa prowadzić będzie, więc Ty się nie troszcz." Letter of 23 April 1840, Chopin; Korespondencja, 2: 8.

for the Ballade, op. 38.[166] The English and French editions share readings not found in the German sources and sometimes not present in the French Stichvorlagen, which indicates that the French and English editions were set from a common set of engraved and corrected proof sheets. Thus both manuscripts and proofs of Chopin's music must have crossed the Channel after the appearance of "M.S." in the contracts.

The three contracts that predate the ones signed in London pose their own set of problems. One of the three, for ops. 13-17, clearly was drawn up well after the works were published, and the first three works in the contract for ops. 18-24 had also been released over a year before the date of the receipt. For these works there is little doubt that proof sheets served as the basis for the English editions; not only had Chopin still to commence employing copyists, his French publishers were also forwarding proofs to Germany. That proofs were mailed to England as well is borne out by a comparison of the Parisian and London editions of the time. In the Bolero, op. 19, for example, a few pages of the Prillip and Wessel editions have slightly different layouts, but by and large the two agree precisely. Readings match throughout; on occasion Wessel will print fingerings not present in Prillip, however in cases where Prillip does have fingerings, Wessel always reproduces exactly those printed by his Parisian cohort (note that the actual numbers used are not the same, for Wessel employs the

---

[166]Ekier, Ballady, pp. 27, 30-31.

system where the thumb is represented by "+" and the remaining fingers are numbered 1 through 4, whereas Prillip simply notates them 1 through 5). Other cases turn up where Wessel publishes a reading not found in Prillip (for example, the "p" found in measures 206 and 240); we will see a further (and more dramatic) indication of "editorial" emendations of Chopin's works in England.

With the remaining works in the early contracts (ops. 21-24, and 26-27), we enter the period in Chopin's career during which he made frequent use of copyists; it is with these same compositions, it will be recalled, that manuscripts began to be sent to Germany. Here again, the common characteristics of the editions published in England and France suggest that manuscripts were still not being sent to London. In the Nocturnes, op. 27, a pattern of variants very similar to that found in op. 19 develops: readings are in the main alike, and where they differ, the French version simply lacks what is present in the English. Thus a crescendo sign in measure 23-24 of the Wessel version of the first Nocturne does not appear in Schlesinger; likewise in measures 29 and 92 of the same piece, Wessel prints "pp" where Schlesinger has nothing. Each edition, it should be noted, is laid out in exactly the same fashion.

Bibliographical data would seem to support the notion that the absence of "M.S." in the early contracts accurately reflects the fashion in which the works were readied for publication. To be certain, however, we should

compare the English and French editions for the works in the London contracts to see if substantially different patterns of variants obtain. A look at the Schlesinger and Wessel editions of the Impromptu, op. 29, reveals a majority of variants of the sort seen in the earlier works (crescendo and decrescendo signs and pedal marks present in measures 7-8 of Wessel but absent in Schlesinger; "pp" in measure 69 of Wessel lacking in Schlesinger). However, enough of a different type of variant occurs to paint a different picture from that seen earlier. In measure 55, the ab' in the middle voice is written as a whole note in the English edition and a half note in the French. In measure 115, the French edition carries the indication "sotto voce," while Wessel prints "p" and "legatissimo." And in the penultimate measure of the piece, Wessel notates the two chords as quarter notes separated by quarter rests, whereas Schlesinger prints them as half notes. After the first few pages, the layouts of the two editions diverge completely. The case for two different (but related) manuscripts being used to set the two editions seems airtight.[167]

But life for Chopin scholars is seldom so simple. The French and English editions of the two Nocturnes, op. 32, share, with minor exceptions on two pages, precisely the

---

[167]Jan Ekier, in the notes to his edition of the Impromptus, also concludes that the English and French editions were engraved from separate manuscript Stichvorlagen. See Frédéric Chopin, Impromptus, ed. Jan Ekier (Vienna, 1977), pp. xvii-xviii.

same physical formats, and one is hard pressed to find even a single significant variant between the two. What divergent readings do exist follow the by now predictable pattern in which the French version lacks an accidental, pedal release, or other detail printed in Wessel. Thus in measure 30 of the first Nocturne, Schlesinger wants the sharp printed before the g' in the English edition, clearly an error in the French edition, for the accidental is needed to cancel the double-sharp earlier in the measure. Likewise in measure 39, Wessel adds a pedal release at the end of the bar, where Schlesinger has no release at all (though here Wessel, if he added the release, may have erred, for "open pedals," or pedal signs without releases, occur commonly in Chopin's music--I have discussed one example at the end of the Bolero, op. 19--and appear to have been meant to give the performer a certain amount of leeway in the amount of damper to employ). Just as in the Breitkopf edition of op. 22, the bibliographical evidence of the English and French editions of op. 32 apparently contradicts what is stated explicitly in the Wessel contract.[168]

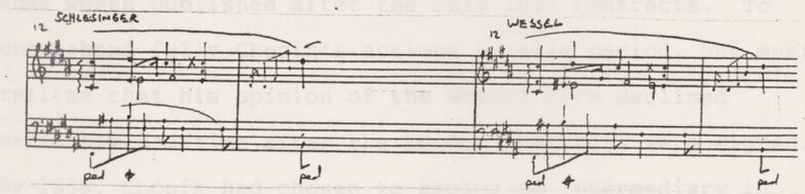
However, two small variants could provide a glimmer of hope in this murky tangle. In measure 12 of the first Nocturne, the two editions print different versions in the

---

[168]Ekier postulates, without offering proof, that the Wessel edition of the Scherzo, op. 31, was set from French proofs. See Frédéric Chopin, Scherzi, ed. Jan Ekier (Vienna, 1977), pp. xxiii-xxiv.

alto voice on beat 2 (Example 1). That Wessel (or whoever might have reviewed whatever was used to engrave the edition) could have taken it upon himself to make a chromatic alteration seems highly unlikely, particularly when the change makes the passage more dissonant. The other variants also would probably not have been instigated by Wessel or his "editor": in measure 24 of the second Nocturne, Schlesinger notates the trill on beat 4 with "tr" plus a wavy line, while the English edition prints it with a simple, short mordant. Elsewhere (for example, measure 72, beats 3 and 4) the two notate the trills exactly the same, using "tr" plus a wavy line. Why would Wessel have chosen only one measure to deviate from the usage in Schlesinger? One may argue, of course, that both of these variants are the sorts that could have arisen if proof sheets had been sent to London, and, after they were mailed, changes made by the composer in the French version only. If one accepts the information in the contract at face value, though, could not an equally plausible account of the appearance of the editions be that the manuscript of the Nocturnes employed by Wessel was an extremely faithful copy of that used by Schlesinger, differing only in a few accidentals and notational quirks? And as unlikely as it is that two engravers working apart would cast off two manuscripts identically, the chances of this occurring, though small, are far greater in an edition containing eight plates (two of which, it will be recalled, differ slightly from one another) than in one

numbering around twenty (as is the case with the French and German editions of op. 22). Given that the contract was signed in London by Chopin himself, it strains credibility to presume that Wessel simply erred when noting that he was receiving "(M.S.) Compositions." True, to uphold what is written in the contract, it is necessary to posit two unlikely events--one, that a nearly exact copy of the original manuscript was made for London, and two, that the Paris and London engravers each reached essentially the same conclusions about the layout of the plates--but as improbable as this may be, that the contract is simply wrong is even less likely.



Example 1: Schlesinger vs. Wessel, op. 32, no. 1, m. 12

That the manuscript submitted for op. 32 in England was so faithful to that given to Schlesinger can only mean that Chopin did not write out the copy himself, for it was utterly out of character for him to make an exact (or even nearly exact) copy of anything--the temptation to revise instead of copy was too great. Fontana is a strong candidate for copyist, though Chopin had already begun using others in addition to Fontana by July 1837 (see the

Breitkopf Stichvorlage for the Etudes, op. 25 [PL-Wn Mus. 217], in which the hands of Chopin and Fontana appear together with a third hand, tentatively identified by Kobylańska as that of Adolf Gutmann). Incidentally, both publishers are equally likely on circumstantial grounds to have received the autograph version, Schlesinger because the French publisher was the normal recipient of the composer's own manuscript, Wessel because Chopin, calling personally at the shop on Frith Street, might want to favor him with autograph manuscripts.

Gaps still remain in the survey of the types of source materials Chopin sent to England, particularly for some works published after the July 1837 contracts. To comprehend fully Chopin's actions in this period, one must realize that his opinion of the Wessel firm declined seriously sometime after the London contracts were signed. By 1839, Chopin had chosen to employ an intermediary in dealing with England, and in fact sold his English rights to the Preludes, op. 28 to Camille Pleyel, who, as the following hitherto unpublished receipt from the Wessel archive confirms, sold them in turn to Wessel:

[1 August 1839]

> Ce soussigné reconnais avoir cédé à Messrs Wessel & Cie éditeurs de Musique, à Londres, le droit exclusif+ [marginal note: +exclusif C.P.] de graver, publier et Vendre en Angleterre, Irlande et Ecosse un ouvrage de Monsr Frédéric Chopin intitulé: vingt quatre préludes pour le Piano-forté dédiés à Son ami Camille Pleyel, et dont Mr Frédéric Chopin m'a transmis la propriété pour la france et pour l'Angleterre---La dite cession à

Messrs Wessel & Cie est faite moyennant la somme de Trois cent francs qu'ils m'ont reglées et dont quittance pour Solde à Paris le ler aout 1839.

Camille Pleyel
rue de rochechouart
No 20--

approuvé la vente ci-dessus

Frédéric Chopin

[Timbre royal for 35 centimes in upper-left corner]

In his letters to acquaintances in 1839, Chopin never states firmly what led him to want to break with Wessel, though in later years, it becomes clear that one reason was his unhappiness with the descriptive titles the London publisher added to most of Chopin's works.[169] Chopin's reticence on the subject may have stemmed from vacillating feelings about rupturing his business relationship with Wessel. Pondering such a break would have troubled him on three counts: the potential loss of revenue from the sale of his works in England, the difficulty of reaching a new agreement with a different English publisher, and the possibility that, wanting a solid relationship with a London house, his works would become easy prey for English pirates. By late 1839, Chopin had evidently decided that he would be risking too much, for in a letter of 25 September to Fontana, he asks his amanuensis to inform Wessel that he had several works (ops. 35-41) for sale at 300 francs apiece.[170] But

---

[169]See the letter of 18 September 1841 to Fontana; Chopin, Korespondencja, 2: 37.

[170]Chopin, Korespondencja, 1: 357.

again he evidently changed his mind, for as we saw in the excerpt from the letter of 23 April 1840 printed above, Troupenas ultimately handled the negotiations with Wessel for these works.

The underlying causes of Chopin's dissatisfaction with Wessel remained, even though direct contact with the firm was kept to a minimum: trouble was bound to arise in the future. It did not take long. In March 1841, Chopin sent to Wessel the following letter concerning his two most recently published works, the Mazurkas, op. 41, and the Waltz, op. 42:[171]

[Paris, 16 March 1841]

Monsieur

Mes deux dernières compositions ont paru il ya a deux mois et demi--et je n'ai pas vu Mr Ludlow---- Ayez la complaisance de m'envoyer le plutôt possible le montant.---et écrivez moi si Vous voulez continuer de m'éditer. Bien des compliments à toute Votre maison.

F. Chopin

Although Ludlow (an associate of Wessel) did arrive in Paris soon after this letter (see the contract of III.40 in Table

---

[171]The letter is published in Hanna Wróblewska-Straus, "'Za miesiąc z Paryża więcej Wam napiszę'," Ruch Muzyczny, 17 December 1978, p. 17. Wróblewska-Straus maintains that the letter "doubtless" refers to op. 41 and the "Trois nouvelles Etudes." However the Wessel contracts prove that Chopin could only be writing of ops. 41 and 42--see the contract of III.40. In any case, the Etudes should not have entered into the question, for they were published not by Wessel, but by Chappell.

3), Chopin again began to entertain serious thoughts of severing contact with Wessel.

Matters quickly fell apart upon trying to market the rights for ops. 44-49. In September 1841, Chopin received a letter from Wessel that aroused his ire; once again the titles added by Wessel were immediately responsible, but there must have been some residual frustration over his earlier problems in receiving payment as well. As in 1839, Chopin expressed his dismay by not selling his English rights directly to Wessel, instead offering them to Schlesinger along with the French rights, and at a very low rate (only 100 francs for op. 45), explaining that he wished to have no more to do with Wessel.[172] But he tried yet again to patch things up with the English house, for he asks Fontana in a letter of 6 and 7 October if he has heard from Wessel yet.[173] Fontana had, and what was in the Wessel response touched off a heated outburst from Chopin:

> Now concerning Wessel, he is an ass and a cheater. Do what you want, answer, but say I have no thought of ceding my rights to the Tarantella because he did not send it back in time, and that if he has lost on my compositions, it is doubtless due to the stupid titles he has given them in spite of my prohibition and in spite of my repeated railings at Mr. Stapleton; that if I listened to the voice of my soul, I would never have sent him anything more after those titles. Rant, as only you may.[174]

---

[172] See letters of 18 September 1841 to Fontana and 5 October 1841 to Schlesinger; Chopin, Korespondencja, 2: 37, 342.

[173] Chopin, Korespondencja, 2: 41.

[174] "Co się teraz Wessla tycze, to cymbał, oszukaniec. Co

The descriptive titles rankled the composer severely, and, combined with the English firm's shoddy business habits, stretched Chopin's patience to the limit. But in asking Fontana to respond to Wessel, Chopin allowed the firm a last chance, and on 18 October, he was still awaiting word from London before deciding how to market his compositions in England.[175] What response Chopin received could not have pleased him, for in acknowledging the payment made by Breitkopf & Härtel for ops. 46-49, the composer wrote "je ne vous envoye pas l'adresse de Londres, car je suis forcé d'abandonner Wessel et je n'ai encore pris d'arrangement définitif avec personne---".[176] Chopin ultimately sold the English rights to Schlesinger, who in turn vended them to Wessel, a deal in which the French publisher probably came out ahead, for the composer had let him have the English rates at a bargain rate, and he received in return some 900 francs (at roughly £1 = 25 FF) from London.

Schlesinger cemented the deal personally in London

---

chcesz, odpisz, ale powiedz, ja nie myslę ustąpić mojego prawa do Tarantelli, ponieważ jej na czas nie odeslal, i że jeżeli on potraciŁ na moich kompozycjach, to zapewne dla głupich tytułów, jakie podawaŁ mimo mojego zakazu i mimo zekpania kilkakrotnego pana Stapletona; że gdybym byŁ mojego głosu duszy słuchaŁ, to bym mu byŁ nic więcej nie posyłaŁ po owych tytulach. Zekpaj, jak tylko możesz." From a letter of 9 October 1841; Chopin, Korespondencja, 2: 42.

[175]Chopin, Korespondencja, 2: 45.

[176]Letter of 3 December 1841; Chopin, Korespondencja, 2: 343.

in January 1842, the date of the contract for ops. 44-50.[177] Something of the business end of this trip and a surprising revelation about a facet of the publication practice in England come in an unpublished letter from Ignaz Moscheles to his friend and publisher Maurice Schlesinger:[178]

London den 2ten Nov. 1842

Lieber Schlesinger

Obschon ich die vorige Woche einige Zeilen und einen Abdruck meiner fantasia Op. 106 durch Hrn. Leo geschickt habe, so schreibe ich dir doch heute wieder um eine bitte zu widerrufen wegen dem neuen finger apparat. Seitdem führte der Richault Sohn, den Erfinder desselben Mr. Casimir Martin bey mir ein, zeigte mir den apparat, und ersuchte mich um ein Zeugnis für ihn darüber, welches ich gern gab, obschon ich nur ein mechanisches Mittel zur Ausbildung meiner finger angewendet habe und auch meine Schüler nur mit Anwendung solcher Mittel ausbilden werde. Wie er sagt wird er sein Patent für England an Beale verkaufen.

Statt mir aber diesen Apparat zu schicken bitte ich dich mit nächster sicherer Gelegenheit folgende Werke von Chopin für meine Emily, die seine Compositionen sehr liebt, zu schicken. Sie will sich eben diese die sie bereits besitzt

---

[177] It is interesting to note that op. 50 was included in this contract, even though it could not have been ready for publication in January 1842. The other six works, ops. 44-49, were registered in Stationers' Hall just six days after the signing of the contract, or on 20 January 1842, whereas op. 50 was not entered until 21 July 1842 (and not until 14 September 1842 in the Dépôt légal).

[178] The letter forms part of the collection of Moscheles correspondence in F-Pn, where it is housed as item number 8 in Envelope 1. A few editorial commas have been added to clarify the sense; capitalization follows the inconsistent use in the original. In the list of works requested by Moscheles's daughter, someone at the Schlesinger firm marked off for shipment ops. 1-3, 6-17, 24-30, and "von hier alle folgende."

completiren um sie zusammen binden zu lassen.

Op.	1	Rondeau
--	2	Var. "la ci darem"
--	3	Introd. et Polonaise
--	4	?
--	5	Rondeau à la Mazurka
--	6	Mazurkas
--	7	--------
--	8	?
--	9	Notturnos
--	11	Premier Concerto
--	15	Notturnos
--	16	Rondo
--	17	Mazurkas
--	19	Bolero
--	24	Mazurkas
--	26	Deux Polonaises
--	27	Notturnos
--	29	Impromptu
--	30	Mazurkas
--	37	Notturnos
--	38	Ballade
--	39	Scherzo
--	40	2 Polonaises
--	41	Mazurkas

Von hier alle folgenden

Ich hätte mich hier an Wessel & Co. gewendet wegen der Chopinschen Sachen aber ich habe wegen ihrer Schmutzigkeit im handeln schon lange nichts mit ihm zu thun, und Chopins letzte Sachen sind obendrein die Ursache warum ich ganz mit ihm gebrochen habe.

Du wirst dich zu erinnern wissen dass die 6 Werke von Chopin die du nach London gebracht und an Wessel verkauft hattest von mir vorher corrigirt worden sind mit der Bedingung dass mir W. 6 Exempl. für jedes geben soll. Du sagtest mir dass diese Forderung gestattet sey. Als ich kürzlich W dannach fragte sagte er mir unverschämterweise er sey mir dafür nichts schuldig, du habest meine correctionen benützt, und ihm erst nachträglich corrigirte Abdrücke zum stecher geschickt. Ist dem so?

Ein bericht aus Brüssel in deiner Gazette musicale hat meine Stellung in London sehr bis ins lächerliche extravagirt. Ich habe Fetis deswegen geschrieben und ihn ersucht wo möglich die Sache ein wenig zu widerlegen. Lebe wohl für heute, schliesse in Eile.

dein Freund
I. Moscheles

Bitte schicke mir die
obigen Musikalien bald.

Address:	Postmarks:	
Monsieur M. Schlesinger Editeur de Musique Rue Richelieu No. 97 Paris	I 2 NO 2 1842	Angl. 4 Nov 42 Calais

Filing note:

1842
Londres
Moscheles

"You will recall that the 6 works by Chopin that you brought to London and sold to Wessel would be corrected by me in advance . . ."; here then is direct testimony of non-authorial revisions in Chopin's English publications. Moreover, Moscheles's "corrections," as opposed to those of others who proofread the composer's music, could not have been made with the prior permission of Chopin. Moscheles and Chopin were more than casual acquaintances--the two had played a four-hand recital before Louis-Phillipe in 1839, and were kept abreast of one another's fortunes through their common friend Auguste Léo--but Moscheles did not number among the Pole's close friends, and it is inconceivable that Chopin would consent to "corrections" by someone who was not an intimate without insisting that he see them before they were handed over to the publisher. Schlesinger alone was responsible for pressing Moscheles into service to proofread what were presumably manuscript versions of ops. 44-49.

But did Moscheles's labors actually show in the English edition? When he went to Wessel's shop to claim his six copies of the works he had proofread, Wessel "impudently" told him that in fact Schlesinger had used the "corrections," and that Wessel instead gave his engraver corrected proofs which the French publisher sent him. Schlesinger's response to Moscheles's query is lost, but as curious as Wessel's statement sounds, he could well have been telling the truth, for in at least one instance in the works concerned, the French and English editions show telltale signs of deriving from a common printed source. Jan Ekier reports that the Wessel edition of op. 47 repeats all of the variants of the Schlesinger edition, and is able to find only two minor instances where the English text deviates from the French.[17] If Wessel had used Chopin's text with Moscheles's additions, such a close agreement could not likely have occurred. Corrected proofs sent by Schlesinger must have formed the basis of the Wessel edition.

That Wessel employed proofs provided by Schlesinger still does not tell us whether Moscheles's emendations appeared in the English edition. In fact, the account given

---

[17] Ekier, Ballady, p. 54. The variants appear in measures 35 and 97. Ekier cites as other Wessel variants the printing of grace notes as ♪ rather than the ♪ in Schlesinger. But all Wessel editions print the grace notes thusly; here we have an example of house policy rather than of textual variance.

by Wessel (as reported by Moscheles) could describe the following scenario: Schlesinger travels in January 1842 to London, carrying with him manuscript versions of Chopin's ops. 44-49. Schlesinger sells the manuscripts to Wessel, but has Moscheles proofread them prior to publication. Before Wessel can have the works engraved, however, Schlesinger decides for whatever reason he wants to have his edition engraved from the manuscripts, and asks that they be returned to him. The French edition is then set from these manuscripts, which include Moscheles's "corrections." Schlesinger submits the proofs of these works to Chopin for corrections in France. Chopin, confronted with the proofs by themselves, may have noted Moscheles's alterations (and perhaps then struck them from the proofs), or they may have escaped his attention in part or altogether. Schlesinger receives the proofs back from Chopin, and forwards a copy of them to Wessel, who sets his edition from them. By such a circuitous route, Moscheles's emendations could have appeared in the English edition, if Chopin overlooked in the proofs the changes made in London. At the same time, this complicated scheme would explain how the two editions came to resemble one another so closely.

Only the composer's unflagging desire to oversee the texts of his works published in France and abroad could have led to such a torturous path to publication. Before Schlesinger's trip to England, when Chopin was giving Fontana instructions on the preparation of manuscripts for ops.

46-49, he wrote specfically about the Allegro de Concert, op. 46, and by implication about the other three works "Copy it. Yours remaining in Paris."[180] No mention of more than one copy of the manuscripts is made, and since Chopin personally sent his own autographs to Breitkopf & Härtel,[181] it must have been these Fontana copies that Schlesinger carried with him to England. By leaving the Fontana manuscripts with Wessel, Schlesinger upset Chopin's carefully laid plans for the publication of the works. The composer, upon discovering what Schlesinger had done, must have insisted that he retrieve the manuscripts from London, and send instead the proofsheets from the eventual French edition. Only in this way could Chopin guarantee that the music printed in London would meet his standards; even though his relationship with Wessel had reached its nadir, Chopin still wished that England see his music in the best light possible.

Chopin was concerned about the text sent to England for a reason; just as in Germany, once a work reached the London engraver's hands, the composer ceased to have any control over the text printed. He seemed somewhat more aware of what was appearing before the public in England than in Germany, but only as regards the titles that Wessel persisted in adding, and this information likely came to

---

[180] "Przepisz. Twoje zostanie w Paryżu." Letter of 18 October 1841; Chopin, Korespondencja, 2: 44.

[181] See letter of 12 November 1841; Chopin, Korespondencja, 2: 342-43.

Chopin not through the printed editions themselves, but from what was entered into his contracts with the London publisher (see the facsimiles in Appendix B).

Later issues of Chopin's music did appear in London during the composer's lifetime. These are easy to spot, for from late 1841 Wessel issued Chopin editions using a passe-partout title page containing a running list of the composer's works published to that date. Thus, if the title page of an edition of the Waltz, op. 18 lists Chopin compositions through op. 55, then that edition was released in the latter part of 1845 or the early part of 1846. The textual significance of these later issues may be minimal, for in the few cases where I have compared early and later issues of Wessel editions, no differences were evident.

Two further documents from the Wessel archives deserve citation, though they shed no special light on Chopin's method of publication. The first is a curious memorandum written by an unidentified hand in English and signed by Chopin:

> Memorandum. In case of my Compositions Op. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 should be engraved by another house in London, I engage to let Messrs Wessel and Co. have other new Compositions of mine for them at the rate of Four pounds each.
>
> Paris 5 April 1836
>
> Witness
>
> FFChopin

Given that the works listed had been released by Wessel already in 1834 and 1835 (see Table 1), the sense of this

note is a bit hazy. It predates by one day the contracts for the works; Chopin clearly had entered into the publishing arrangement with Wessel without a formal contract. Perhaps this note reflects an attempt by Chopin to take advantage of the lack of a contract for the earlier works by reselling them to another house (or perhaps this was just a ploy to scare Wessel into higher fees). Wessel, properly worried at the potential loss of sales, extracted from Chopin the above note, which would presumaby ensure him further profits to make up the loss.

The second document duplicates information contained in the contract of 31 October 1839 (see Table 3):

Gvt assignment No 158 Paris 31st Oct 1839

Messrs Wessel & Co, London
to Mr. Fred. Chopin

Copyrights for England
of Chopin

	2nd Ballade dedicated to Mr. Robert Schuman	Op. 38	£8.00
"	3rd Scherzo dedicated to Mr. Adolphe Gutmann	Op. 39	£8.00
"	2nd set of 2 Polonaises dedicated to Mr. Jules Fontana	Op. 40	£8.00
			£24.00

Settled by bill at three months
date

Frédéric Chopin
31.Oct.1839 Paris

The note is signed by Chopin, and appears to be the Wessel copy of the receipt for payment of ops. 38-40.

In the course of his career, Chopin's methods of publication in England followed a zigzaging path. After mid-1843, autograph manuscripts likely served as the basis

for all Wessel editions, but before, proofs, copyists' manuscripts and autographs were shipped across the Channel. Through mid-1837, proofs were the sole means of transmitting his music westward. A trip to London in July 1837 saw manuscripts included in the baggage, but these manuscripts did not herald a total change in publishing method, for proofs continued to be sent to London upon the composer's return. A Fontana copy made its way to London as early as 1841, and several others were carried over by Schlesinger only to be snatched out of the English engraver's waiting hands and exchanged for, once again, proof sheets. By 1841, Chopin's opinion of Wessel's aesthetic sense and business habits was as low as it could be, and he evidently broke off relations with the London house. Still, the composer took great pains to insure that, as much as possible, his English editions reflected accurately what he had written, even when he was not in direct contact with London.

CHAPTER II

ON THE NATURE OF CHOPIN'S MANUSCRIPTS

Musical manuscripts preserve many of the clues we have on how Chopin composed. A successful exploration of his creative process thus requires a solid grasp of the nature and function of these manuscripts. Though these premises seem readily apparent, studies of Chopin's manuscripts nevertheless suffer from a plethora of diversely and inadequately defined descriptive handles. More than a taxonomical quibble is at stake; musical judgments based on classifications of manuscripts borrowed indiscriminately from other composers may well topple on closer inspection. For critical arguments to rest on more solid footing, care must be taken that the nomenclature adopted for use reflects the ways in which Chopin himself thought of his manuscripts.

Terms for the discussion of Chopin's manuscripts have emerged gradually over the past quarter century, and only recently have writers paused to consider the significance of the descriptive modes used. Characteristic of earlier efforts are two articles that appeared in 1949, one a general treatment of several manuscripts, the other a study of the evolution of a specific work. Peter Wackernagel, in "Handschriften Chopins" discusses manuscripts of the Etudes op. 10 nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, and 10, the Impromptu, op.

29, and the Nocturnes, op. 48.[1] The author cites several "errors" that appear in the manuscripts when they are compared with the first editions, and assigns the manuscripts to two categories: those of the Etudes are "erste Niederschriften," those of the Impromptu and Nocturnes represent "Druckvorlagen." Problems in Wackernagel's article begin on an elementary level: the manuscript of the Nocturnes, op. 48 is certainly not in Chopin's hand (it is a Fontana copy), and those for the Etudes op. 10 nos. 1 and 2 were probably not written by the composer. Furthermore, all the manuscripts, save those for the first two Etudes, served as the basis for first editions, hence Wackernagel's parceling into categories of "Druckvorlagen" and "erste Niederschriften" does not hold water. But more serious is the nature of the categories themselves, and the assumptions they make about Chopin's working habits. The unspoken premise is that the composer made a draft of a work that in turn served only as the basis for the copy presented to the engraver. Wackernagel drew this conclusion by comparing the relative disarray of the manuscripts of the Etudes to the neater Impromptus and Nocturnes, arguing that engravers needed to have a clean manuscript from which to set the text.[2] Yet the manuscripts of the Etudes clearly contain marks made by the engraver; neatness cannot have counted for much in nineteenth-century

---

[1] Chopin-Almanach (Leipzig, 1949), pp. 125-33.

[2] Wackernagel, "Handschriften," p. 127.

Parisian publishing circles. Wackernagel fails to ask what musical purpose his category of "erste Niederschriften" would have served, or whether Chopin would have ordinarily have found such an intermediate step necessary.

More subtly flawed is Alicja Simon's "Przyczynek genetyczny do Grande Valse Brillante op. 34 no. 1 Fryderyka Chopina,"[3] one of the earliest careful surveys of variants between Chopin's manuscripts and his printed editions.[4] The article focuses on a manuscript version of the Waltz entered into the autograph album of the Countess J. Thun-Hohenstein in 1835, and compares it to the French first edition of the work released by Schlesinger in January 1839. Simon's thesis is that the manuscript represents Chopin's "first inspiration"[5] and the published edition his ultimate one. To demonstrate the changes, she prints an extensive measure-by-measure table listing variants between the two sources. No attempt, however, is made to analyze the variants for their compositional meaning.

One troublesome point weakens Simon's argument. Simon assumes a lineal relationship between the Thun manuscript and the French first edition, as the use of "genetic"

---

[3][A genetic contribution to Fryderyk Chopin's Grande Valse Brillante op. 34 no. 1], Kwartalnik Muzyczny 7 (1949): 48-94.

[4]Saint-Saëns, "A Chopin M.S.," examines a number of variants within a single manuscript, but does not go on to treat first editions.

[5]Simon, "Op. 34 no. 1," p. 50.

in her title implies. Yet the two sources served different functions: one was a private copy intended for at most a handful of people, and the other was a widely available edition meant for the general public. Little is known about the function of music preserved in autograph albums in general, and the relationship between works of Chopin found both in Stammbücher and in published versions in particular. (We will examine in detail one such work in Chapter IV.) Can we automatically assume that there is direct growth from the earlier version to the later, or might Chopin have tailored specifically a version for the Countess Thun that had relatively little to do, in the composer's mind, with the ultimate piece as it was projected to be published?

Codification of a large body of Chopin's manuscripts, for better or worse, came only in 1960 with the publication in London of Maurice J. E. Brown's Chopin: An Index of his Works in Chronological Order. Brown's Index was instrumental in spawning an era of more solidly-grounded research into the problems of Chopin's music, but frequently his choice of terms to describe specific manuscripts creates problems for the student of the compositional process. Like Wackernagel and Simon, Brown often fails to ask what purpose a manuscript would have served the composer. Thus he is able to refer to manuscripts of the Ballade, op. 52 (BI 146), the Polonaise-Fantasy, op. 61 (BI 159) and the Berceuse, op. 57 (BI 154) as "sketches," when a glance at them shows that the three must have served very different

functions. The Ballade manuscript (now in a private collection in New York) contains a carefully written, incomplete version of the work, notated in 6/4 rather than the ultimate 6/8. Neatness also characterizes the manuscript of the Polonaise-Fantasy (PL-Wn Mus. 233), but it is complete, and was used as the Stichvorlage for the Breitkopf & Härtel edition. Only the Berceuse manuscript (current owner unknown) bears witness to the large-scale working out of ideas, hurried notation, and messy ink scrawls that characterize a Chopin sketch. Add to this lack of consistency in descriptive terminology citations of non-existent manuscripts, incorrect provenance of manuscripts, omission of extant manuscripts, incomplete data on publication of first editions, and the frequent absence of crucial bibliographical data, and it becomes clear that the Index, even in the revised edition of 1972, can only be used with extreme caution.

In the same year that saw publication of the revised edition of Brown's Index, a conference on the current state of Chopin studies was held at the Chopin Society in Warsaw. One of the participants, Wojciech Nowik, read a paper entitled "Receptywno-informacyjna rola autografów Fryderyka Chopina,"[6] and in so doing became the first person to consider seriously methods of classifying Chopin's autographs.

---

[6]Translated awkwardly into English as "The Receptive-Informational Role of Chopin's Musical Autographs," and published in Studies in Chopin (Warsaw, 1973), pp. 77-89.

Nowik's contribution drew in part on an earlier study of Chopin's autographs,[7] and he expanded upon his ideas later in his doctoral dissertation for the University of Warsaw.[8] Semiotic analysis and psychological theory lie at the heart of Nowik's investigations: manuscripts are regarded as collections of complex signs that, when decoded, reveal tangible manifestations of the progression of Chopin's compositional thought. Nowik proposes classification by two main sets of criteria: "graphic-spatial" and "semiotic-musical."[9] Included in the former are clarity and economy of notation, and handwriting characteristics, and among the latter are types of signs and codes, degree of inadequacy in defining the musical structures, functions and interrelationships of structures within particular codes, and phases of conventionalization of messages. After applying these criteria to Chopin's manuscripts, Nowik distinguishes the following categories: sketches, rough copies, fair copies with corrections, fair copies, composer's copies, non-composer's copies with Chopin's corrections, authorized copies, and autographs functioning as transitions between the above.[10] In the remainder of the paper, Nowik discusses the

---

[7] "Autografy muzyczny jako podstawo badań źródłowych w Chopinologii" [Musical autographs as a basis for source research in Chopin studies], Muzyka 16 (1971): 65-84.

[8] "Proces twórczy," pp. 81-106.

[9] Nowik, "Receptive-Informational Role," pp. 80-81.

[10] Nowik, "Receptive-Informational Role," p. 81.

nature of his criteria, mentioning among other things Chopin's use of idiosyncratic signs and unconventional notation while sketching.

Fuller descriptions of the manuscript types proposed in the 1972 paper came six years later in his dissertation.[11] Sketches represent the introductory stage of the compositional process, and present the micro- and macrostructure of the text in an indeterminate way. Said another way, both local details and larger formal structures may be incompletely realized in sketches. Idiosyncratic signs, which Chopin used as abbreviations, abound. Rough copies, while still containing some uncertain elements at the microstructural level, offer sufficient material for the work to be clearly discerned as a whole. Some idiosyncratic signs are still present. Fair copies are often difficult to distinguish from rough copies, as the former may also contain some of the idiosyncratic signs, but generally not as many as rough copies. Composer's copies contain only recognized musical symbols, as do the remainder of the categories. Nowik concludes the section on manuscript types by observing that his categories may be further partitioned, and offers as an example that of "composer's copies," which could be subdivided according to their destination, that is, for publishers, for autograph albums, and so on.

Nowik's criteria show careful thought, but prove

---

[11]Nowik, "Proces twórczy," pp. 103-6.

more useful for a study of Chopin's manuscripts as semiotic systems and as examples of the mechanics of composition than for an investigation into the musical logic in the act of composition. Musical symbols employed by the composer do in fact undergo a transformation from the individual to the general as manuscripts change from personal to public artifacts, but classifications according to such standards reveal little about how Chopin conceived of the different stages in the composition of a work. In other words, what purpose would each of these manuscripts have served Chopin? Furthermore, Nowik's nomenclature suffers certain ambiguities. How, for example, does a "fair copy" differ from a "composer's copy" (and if there is a real difference, why would Chopin have needed this extra step between sketch and public autograph)? How, for that matter, does a "fair copy with corrections" differ from a "fair copy" or a "composer's copy"? Still, one cannot quibble with the general nature of Nowik's system; his work on the changes in Chopin's hand through the course of work on a composition proved useful for this study.

Shortly after Nowik published his views on the semiotic value of Chopin's manuscripts, Jan Ekier examined the autographs from the viewpoint of their worth to an editor of a critical edition.[12] Ekier divides autographs of works published during Chopin's lifetime into five groups:

---

[12] Wstęp, pp. 74-80, 126-38, 166-68.

1) sketches, which, while not of immediate use to an editor, might exert some influence on the final text (and, in fact, in some works not published by Chopin, provide the sole source for the derivation of the text--see the Mazurka, op. 68 no. 4), 2) fair copies in which the music has not yet attained its "final" shape, which, Ekier claims, are of similar textual value as sketches, 3) fair copies submitted for publication, highly important to an editor, 4) fragments or complete works given as gifts to friends, which sometimes are helpful in forming an edition, and 5) incipits in an index of his works prepared towards the end of his life. Most of these categories, Ekier warns, are not meant to be applied rigorously; a certain amount of overlapping may occur. Ekier goes on to discuss copyists of works by Chopin, and devotes a few pages to why he feels the term "authorized copy" to be useless.

Function governs Ekier's categories: the purpose a given manuscript served Chopin weighs heavily in its relative value to a modern editor. An emphasis on how Chopin himself viewed his manuscripts makes as much sense for a study of the compositional process as it does for a critical edition. When one considers the different sorts of decisions Chopin faced at various stages in the evolution of a piece, the composer's own conception of the progression of his thought is of obvious relevance, and provides the most logical framework for discussion of the musical changes. If Chopin, for example, felt that sketching was complete and

work could begin on a fair copy, we will be interested to discover how the musical problems faced in the earlier type of manuscript differ from those in the later. Some objections may be raised to Ekier's criteria--he does not clearly define what exactly constitutes a sketch, or a fair copy in an unfinished state--and one of his groups, incipits, proves of little value to students of the compositional process. But the functional categories advanced by Ekier are of capital importance to an examination of Chopin's compositional thought, and need only to be further developed here.

The most recent classification of manuscripts of Chopin's works is Krystyna Kobylańska's Rekopisy utworów Chopina. Katalog,[13] which has also appeared in a somewhat different German version entitled Frédéric Chopin: Thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis.[14] Kobylańska, like Brown, attempted to categorize the entire known corpus of Chopin's manuscripts. While her descriptions are in every way superior to and more numerous than those of Brown, she fails, as did Brown, to define her terms, and occasionally problems result. Troublesome, for instance, is her term "autograf roboczy" (literally "working autograph"), which she applies at times to manuscripts whose functions clearly differ. Compare, for example, the leaf containing drafts

---

[13] 2 vols. (Cracow, 1977).

[14] Edited by Ernst Herttrich, translated by Helmut Stolze (Munich, 1979).

for the Mazurkas op. 7 no. 4 and op. 17 no. 2 (PL-Kj 1961:16), the manuscript of the Etude op. 10 no. 3 dated 25 August 1832 (US-NYpm) and that of the Ballade, op. 38 (F-Pc Ms. 107). Presumably, physical characteristics governed Kobylańska's classifications; all contain either numerous corrections or other evidence of the working out of ideas. Yet the Ballade manuscript was given over to Troupenas for use as a Stichvorlage, and the leaf containing the Mazurkas evidences a far less finished state than the Etude. Without knowing her criteria for categorization, it is difficult to understand why the differences in function in these manuscripts were ignored.[15] Such occasional flaws pale, however, against the overall accomplishment of the Katalog, which brings to light many sources unknown to or ignored by previous scholars. All studies of Chopin's music incur a major debt to Kobylańska.

Looking at the manuscripts from Chopin's later years according to the functions they must have served the composer and according to their physical appearance, four broad categories emerge: sketches, rejected public manuscripts, engraver's manuscripts, and presentation copies. (These

[15]Further troubles arise in the German translation of Kobylańska's terms, again "autograf roboczy" proved difficult. The translator renders it variously as "Skizze," "erste Niederschrift," and "Reinschrift," again, without defining his use of these terms. See my review of the Werkverzeichnis in the Journal of the American Musicological Society 34 (1981): 357-65.

categories are essentially equivalent to the first four put forward by Ekier.) From these divisions, one can reconstruct an archetypical model for Chopin's working methods prior to the publication of a given work. At each step, both the physical characteristics of the manuscripts and the ways in which Chopin used them may be defined. Although the musical problems Chopin grappled with in sketches are by-and-large passed over in this study, enough confusion exists in the Chopin literature over exactly what constitutes a sketch that comments on this part of the archetype are necessary as well. Any discussion of the evolution of compositional thought depends on an accurate reconstuction of the order of events, and it is the groundwork for such a reconstuction that the model proposed here establishes. As with all archetypes, it is in some ways artificial, and may not correspond in every particular to the procedure followed in any one work by Chopin. Likewise, a certain fluidity in the divisions between the manuscript categories must be admitted: we will see several instances of manuscripts that began life as autographs destined for someone other than himself only to degenerate rapidly into sketches. Yet the model serves to organize the discussion of the musical problems faced in the manuscripts of his works.[16] Imagine

---

[16] In researching this dissertation, I have carried out extensive studies of Chopin's paper. Though watermark and rastrological evidence prove not to be particularly helpful in sorting out the musical issues discussed in this dissertation, I include in Appendix C an account of and data on Chopin's paper from his late period.

ourselves, then, as observers one summer in Chopin's studio at Nohant.[17] The composer's Pleyel stands against the wall; music paper, poetry and Cherubini's treatise on counterpoint lie on his desk; carnations scent the air.[18] The archetype begins not with Chopin lifting his music pen, but with him placing his hands on the keyboard.

Stage One: at the Piano

Although sketches contain the earliest written manifestation of Chopin's compositional thought, the essential creative act for most pieces was completed beforehand at the keyboard. By the time pen was set to paper, larger notions of structure and melody were likely shaped in his fingers and mind.

That Chopin should map out his ideas at the keyboard is entirely natural given that his whole musical life as composer, performer and pedagogue was linked to the piano. Chopin himself testifies to the necessity of having a piano to compose in letters written during his stay on Majorca. A piano sent by Pleyel from Paris was late in arriving, and

---

[17] Chopin tells us himself, in a letter to his sister dated 1 August 1845, that "w zimie komponować nie mogę" (in the winter I cannot compose). Presumably the duties of teaching and the busy pace of life in Paris kept him from composing. See Chopin, Korespondencja z Rodziną, p. 147.

[18] See the description of his room in a letter to his family dated 18-20 July, 1845, in Chopin, Korespondencja z Rodziną, p. 141.

Chopin gave vent to his vexation over not having a good instrument at hand:

> Mon piano n'est pas encore arrivé.--Comment l'avez vous envoyé? par Marseille ou par Perpignan. Je rêve musique mais je n'en fais pas--parce que ici on n'a pas de pianos . . . c'est un pays sauvage sous ce rapport.[19]

> Only today I received news that on 1 December the piano was loaded onto a merchant ship in Marseilles. The letter was 14 days en route from Marseilles. I expect that the piano will spend the winter in port or at anchor (for nothing stirs here as soon as it rains) and that I will only obtain it upon my departure, which delights me greatly, for besides 500 francs duty I will have the pleasure to pack it back myself.--In the meantime my manuscripts sleep, while I cannot sleep, only cough.[20]

Further evidence of a sort comes from the most famous description of Chopin at work, that found in George Sand's memoires:

> Sa création était spontanée, miraculeuse. Il la trouvait sans la chercher, sans la prévoir. Elle venait sur son piano soudaine, complète, sublime, ou elle se chantait dans sa tête pendant une promenade, et il avait hâte de se la faire entendre à lui-même en la jetant sur l'instrument. Mais alors commençait le labeur le plus navrant auquel j'aie jamais assisté. C'était une suite d'efforts, d'irrésolutions et d'impatiences pour ressaisir certains détails du thème de son

---

[19] See letter of 21 November 1838 to Camille Pleyel; Chopin, Korespondencja, 1: 443.

[20] "Dziś dopiero odebrałem wiadomości, że 1 Dezemb. w Marsylii fortepian wŀadowali na okręt kupiecki. 14 dni szedł list z Marsylii. Mam nadzieję, że fortepian przezimuje w porcie albo na kotwicy (bo tutaj nikt się nie rusza, jak deszcz) i że go dopiero na wyjezdnym dostanę, co mię bardzo cieszy, bo prócz 500 franków cła będę miał przyjemność sam go zapakować nazad.--Tymczasem moje manuskrypta śpią, a ja spać nie mogę, tylko kaszlę." See letter of 14 December 1838 to Julian Fontana in Chopin, Korespondencja, 1: 332.

> audition: ce qu'il avait conçu tout d'une pièce, il l'analysait trop en voulant l'écrire, et son regret de ne pas le retrouver net, selon lui, le jetait dans une sorte de désespoir. Il s'enfermait dans sa chambre des journées entières, pleurant, marchant, brisant ses plumes, répétant et changeant cent fois une mesure, l'écrivant et l'effaçant autant de fois, et recommençant le lendemain avec une persévérance minutieuse et désespérée. Il passait six semaines sur une page pour en revenir à l'écrire telle qu'il avait tracée du premier jet.[21]

The key phrase here is "[Invention] came to his piano sudden, complete, sublime, or it sang in his head during a walk and he hastened to play it to himself, tossing it off on his instrument" (my emphasis). Sand's portrait embellishes that painted by the composer: the keyboard was where the initial inspiration struck, where the shape of the piece was molded, and later where troublesome passages were thrashed out. Sand, however, was not the most accurate reporter on Chopin's life, and beyond these simple facts, one hesitates to accept her every word at face value. What she has recorded is essentially an aural recollection, one of events heard but not seen: Sand herself states that Chopin would "shut himself up in his room entire days" while composing. Though the manuscript pages she must have seen about the house at Nohant bear witness to much striking out and revision, little in them demonstrates the sort of

---

[21]George Sand, Oeuvres autobiographiques, ed. Georges Lubin, 2 vols. (Paris, 1978); Vol. 2: Histoire de ma vie, p. 446. The chapter on Chopin dates from August or September 1854 (see Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger, "Le prélude 'de la goutte d'eau' de Chopin. État de la question et essai d'interpretation," Revue de Musicologie, 56 [1975]: 71).

massive vacillation that she describes. That some tinkering occurred at the piano seems beyond doubt, and that Chopin had difficulty in composing in his later years cannot be disputed, but Sand's vision of completely constipated creativity likely derives from one of her many flights of imagination. Her point in this passage is not so much to describe Chopin as an artist, but to depict his ill humor in the later years at Nohant, a peevish attitude that persisted despite her unceasing (and self-laudatory) efforts to cajole him out of them. (She goes on in the next paragraph to describe how she had for a long time enough influence to persuade Chopin to trust his first inspiration--surely untrue--and recalls a case where, by her efforts to divert him during a particularly agonizing stretch of work, Chopin was able to find the sought-after solution.) Sand was not above bending evidence in order to make herself appear blameless; how much better her argument looks if she first claims that Chopin returned to his first inspiration only after epochal ruminations so that she can then show how she attempted angelically--in the face of his churlish responses--to steer him towards what she knew was the obvious solution.[22]

---

[22]Sand's description appears to receive confirmation in a letter from Joseph Filtsch (a young and phenomenal piano student of Chopin) to his parents, dated 8 March 1842, and printed in Chopin, Selected Correspondence, pp. 216-17. However the authenticity of these letters has been recently questioned by Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger in Chopin vu par ses élèves, 2nd ed. (Neuchatel, 1979), pp. 202-3. No autograph of any of the Filtsch letters published by Hedley has been printed in facsimile, and the tone of the letters in Hed-

Stage Two: Sketches

What were Chopin's habits upon commencing the paper-and-pen work for a piece? His first gesture was to reach for a pre-cut bifolio of music paper (with staves--normally twelve or fourteen to the page--already added by the manufacturer or merchant) in oblong format. Sketchbooks, either store-bought or homemade, were not used by Chopin; any collection of drafts for a given work are found simply on a group of loose bifolios or individual leaves (a problem to be discussed below).[23] Lifting his music pen,[24] he would begin to write, filling only adjacent pages of the bifolio (either 1v and 2r or 1r and 2v), leaving their versos, for the time being at least, blank. Evidence for such a succession of events comes from the few remaining sketches on bifolios in their original joined form, as in the drafts for the Etude, op. 10 no. 9 (US-NYpm), the Mazurka, op. 59

---

ley's collection generally does not agree with those published by Marie Klein, "Karl Filtsch," Ostland 2 (Hermannstadt, 1920): 604-8; 638-44; 663-71. Worse, troubling similarities in details between the Filtsch letters and various other known texts on Chopin strongly raise the possibility of forgery.

[23] One possible exception may be the sketch for the "Piosnka litweska," op. 74 no. 16, preserved in Paris, Bibliothèque Polonaise; Musée Mickiewicz, 1108. The paper of the sketch is uniquely small, and its format might be of the sort found in small, pre-made music notebooks.

[24] The vast majority of the extant sketches are in ink, but pencil does appear occasionally, as in the second layer of the draft for the Waltz, op. 64 no. 3 (F-Po Rés. 50[1]) and in the entire sketch for the song "Doÿna Vallacha" (PL-Wtifc M/603).

no. 2,[25] and the Waltzes op. 64 nos. 2 and 3 (both F-Po Rés. 50[1]). Further proof comes both from sketches on single leaves, the large majority of which are written on only one side, and from the few leaves written on both recto and verso, on which the music tends not to be continuous from one side to the other.[26] Thus some amount of time generally separated the entries on the internal pages from those on the external sides. When a work was sufficiently brief, Chopin might use only one page of a bifolio, leaving the remainder blank.[27]

The physical picture of a Chopin sketch contrasts vividly with that for his other manuscripts. He was never overly concerned with providing a spotless manuscript for a publisher (see, for example, the frequent cancellations in the Stichvorlagen for the French editions of the Ballade, op. 38 [F-Pc Ms. 107] and the Nocturne op. 62 no. 1 [US-Cn

---

[25] Both the Brown Index (BI 157) and Kobylańska Katalog (no. 796) for this Mazurka wrongly combine two distinct manuscripts under one heading, Brown's simply "manuscript," and Kobylańska's "autograf roboczy." What is actually present is a complete sketch for the Mazurka, and a complete "rejected public manuscript" (on this term, see below) deriving from the sketch. Kobylánska, Werkverzeichnis, p. 118, correctly identifies two separate manuscripts.

[26] See, for example, f. 5 (in the latest foliation) of the sketches for the Violoncello Sonata, op. 65 (PL-Wtifc M/232), which have sketches for the fourth movement on one side and for the first on the other.

[27] See the sketch for the Mazurka op. 56 no. 2 (GB-Lbl Add. 47861A). The leaves of this bifolio are now separated, but it is clear that they once were joined.

Albrecht Ms. 550]),[28] but his sketches, as private documents, exceed all boundaries of presentability. Characteristically they are blemished with inkmarks that have nothing to do with the process of correction and cancellation common in Chopin manuscripts. Instead, the composer appears to have used sketch leaves as a sort of blotter on which to daub off excess ink from his pen, both while sketching and while preparing autographs for others; such flyspecks do not occur on pages intended for publishers or acquaintances. Sometimes Chopin sketched on paper with large hunks torn away; never do his public manuscripts show signs of dismemberment (by the composer, at least).

Chopin's musical notation manifests even more clearly the private nature of the sketches.[29] Haste characterizes the script found on sketch leaves; pitch location may be vague, noteheads often are not distinguished from their stems, and personal abbreviations abound. Chopin in effect evolved a kind of notational shorthand for places in which the musical meaning was self-evident to him. Omitted signs are most common: Chopin often leaves out clefs at the beginning of systems, internal changes of clef (particularly in the cello line of the sketches for op. 65), key

---

[28] On the other hand, his Stichvorlagen could be extremely neat, as in that for the German edition of op. 62 no. 1 (PL-Wn Mus. 234).

[29] Wojciech Nowik has discussed this aspect of Chopin's sketches in "Autografy muzyczne," pp. 65-84; "The Receptive-Informational Role," pp. 77-89; and "Proces twórczy," pp. 81-106.

signatures (writing the key instead in words, for example "Des dur," or "F moll"--Polish key terminology is identical to German), time signatures, accidentals, key changes, and exact repetitions of phrases and large sections. Other symbols condense information found elsewhere. Thus Chopin indicates the exact repetition of a chord through a series of vertical slashes, in which, like lute tablature, a change in rhythm may be denoted by adding flags to the slashes. Repetitions of groups of measures may be spelled out in various ways: by using a curved line resembling a slur, under which may sometimes but not always be written "bis;" by marking off the requisite number of measures to be repeated, but leaving them blank (Chopin however often miscounts the number of blank measures needed); by adding written directions such as "Da capo;" or by placing "x"s on either side of the phrase to be repeated.

Chopin occasionally scatters verbal annotations on his sketches; many of these are in the nature of shorthand notes as well. Generally they are written in Polish. When, for instance, the accompanimental harmony for a melodic line is altered at its second or third repetition, Chopin might notate all versions of the accompaniment directly beneath the first instance of the tune, marking the second versions "drugi" or "2gi" and "trzeci" or "3ci;" that is, "second" or "2nd" and "third" or "3rd." Similarly, to indicate a transposition, he might write "wyżej," meaning "higher."

While the meaning of these signs, both musical and

verbal, must have been clear to Chopin, they are not always so to the researcher. Potentially problematic are the composer's various ways of notating insertions. Chopin often omits the complementary connective sign of what should have been a pair; that is, he marks where an insertion is to be made, but fails to note what is to be inserted, or vice versa. Still more vague are the thin lines he draws to show insertion of a passage into an already drafted phrase. Sometimes the meaning of these lines is clear, but more often the beginning and/or end of the line trails off before it reaches its destination, leaving what is to be inserted and/or where it is to be inserted uncertain.

Chopin nearly always sketches in piano score; the only exception of note being the op. 65 drafts, which add a cello line above the piano part. Even when he actually writes down only one line, he still marks off measures in two-stave units. If the accompaniment is omitted, it is because its repetition from previous measures is presumed, because it is so obvious as not to require notation, or because Chopin simply has not decided on details of harmony.

Ordinarily the composer fills in the staves of the sketch page beginning at the top and writing continuously from the left margin to the right; at times though, he adopts a different format that better reflects the structure of the piece. The first page of the sketches for the Berceuse, op. 57, demonstrates this clearly.[30] Practically the

---

[30]Contrary to Kobylańska, Katalog, no. 774, the current

entire Berceuse is built over an accompanimental ostinato in which tonic and dominant chords in D flat major alternate every half measure. Over the ostinato is laid a four-measure melody that undergoes elaborate figural variation, always in four-measure units. In the sketch, Chopin lays out the first six "variations" (Chopin originally referred to op. 57 simply as "mes variantes")[31] vertically down the left-hand side of the page, the measures of each variation aligned with those above and below, and the harmony notated completely only in the first measure. Chopin numbered these variations 1 through 6. On the right-hand side of the page, he began aligning the subsequent variations in a similar way, but then ran into some difficulty with the shape of the figuration and the order of the variations, and was forced to abandon the strict correspondence between structure and notation.

Chopin does occasionally jot ideas of one or two measures length, but on the whole his extant sketches survey larger portions of a piece. Superficially most resemble what Beethoven scholars call "continuity drafts,"[32] but

---

whereabouts of these sketches are unknown. They have, however, been published in facsimile, in Alfred Cortot and Édouard Ganche, eds., Trois manuscrits de Chopin (Paris, 1932), and in Kobylańska, Katalog, 2: 89-90.

[31]See letter probably dating from late 1843 or early 1844 in Chopin, Korespondencja, 2: 384.

[32]On the use of this term, see Lewis Lockwood, "On Beethoven's Sketches and Autographs: Some Problems of Definition and Interpretation," Acta Musicologica 42 (1970): 32-47.

closer examination reveals that essential problems of continuity were worked out before most sketches were committed to paper. Seldom, if ever, do the lengthy and repeated drafts common, say, in a Beethoven sketch of a transitional passage appear in a Chopin sketch.

Chopin sketches are mostly bereft of anything beyond the bare notes of a piece. Now and then, however, he will mark a pedal sign or a slur. Most common of the performance indications in sketches, though still infrequent, are fingerings, usually entered into particularly troublesome figural passages. Rarely, however, are any of these performance indications important structurally; they appear instead to have served only to jog Chopin's memory when it came time to write out the piece neatly.

The distinction between the imprecise notation of a Chopin sketch and the carefully laid out music of a public autograph does not always hold, for there exist several Chopin manuscripts which were begun with great confidence and flawless notation, only to degenerate progressively into an intensely personal script, replete with abbreviations and omissions. (See, for example, the sketch for the C minor Nocturne, op. post., PL-Wtifc M/300.) Such a physical state may reflect a secure conception of the beginning of a piece, brought about by the fleshing out of the thematic profile beforehand at the piano, or it may evidence a more advanced stage of the compositional process, in which Chopin mistakenly thought himself ready to begin writing out a fair copy of a work.

Stage Three: Autographs for a Public

With sketches complete, Chopin proceeded directly to the preparation of a manuscript suitable for public eyes.[33] Since sketching followed what must have been significant composition at the keyboard, Chopin was sufficiently confident of the shape and details of a sketched work to prepare a Stichvorlage or presentation manuscript without first copying it out in a neater version than that found in the sketch. By and large his confidence was well placed, but at times after beginning a manuscript, he realized significant structural work still remained to be done, and he was forced to abandon the manuscript as unfit for anyone but himself. In most cases, however, work on a manuscript that followed a sketch was undertaken with the assumption that it would ultimately suffice for public use.

That Chopin did not intentionally resort to an intermediate rough draft may be deduced from instances in which both the sketch (either for the entire work or a substantial portion of it) and the earliest in a chain of public manuscripts are extant. The sketch for the A flat major middle section of the Nocturne, op. 62 no. 1 (current

---

[33] "Public" here refers simply to the person or persons to whom Chopin intended a manuscript be given, usually a publisher, engraver, or acquaintance. I do not of course mean to imply that Chopin wished his manuscripts to be viewed by the general populace.

whereabouts unknown),[34] while varying in several details from the version entered into the manuscript used by the Brandus engravers to set their edition (US-Cn Albrecht Ms. 550), portrays the broader sense of the section accurately enough for it to have served as the basis for the Brandus manuscript. When it came to alterations of detail, Chopin was perfectly willing to enter them into the engraver's manuscript: the original layers of several corrected passages in the middle section of the Brandus manuscript agree with the versions present in the sketch.

Had manuscript evidence not been available, one still might suspect that Chopin would ordinarily wish to go directly from sketch to Stichvorlage, for the composer displayed in his correspondence an utter distaste for the task of writing out his music. He writes to Julian Fontana in reference to the manuscript of his Allegro de Concert, op. 46:

> For God's sake, take care of my manuscript, and do not crumple or smudge it, or tear it (all of which you do not have the knack of doing, but I write [anyway], for I love my written tedium ["nudy pisane," a pun on "nuty pisane"--"written music"]) . . . If you find it tiresome to copy, do it for the absolution of your great sins, for I would not like to give this spider's web to some coarse copyist. Once more I enjoin you, for if in the future I had to write these 18 pages once more, I would go mad. But do not crush it!!![35]

---

[34] I wish to thank Ferdinand Gajewski for sending me a photocopy of his photograph of this manuscript, which he was able to obtain before it disappeared from view.

[35] "Na Boga Cię proszę, szanuj mój manuskrypt i nie gnieć

Chopin's humorous tone does not for a moment disguise his real dislike for copying over his music. It is difficult to imagine the author of these words taking the time to notate carefully a work in order that it serve only as a go-between from sketch to public autograph when the sketch itself could function as well as such a draft. Both the psyche of the composer and the evidence of extant manuscripts speak against an intentional intermediate stage in the archetypical model.

Chopin's intentions, however, did not always jibe with the results. Several extant manuscripts appear to have begun life as potential Stichvorlagen or presentation copies, only to be discarded because of grave musical defects. As stated above, so severely at times did Chopin misconstrue the readiness of a work that he might begin it in an ordered and careful hand, only by the end of the page to fall into the sloppy and hasty hand he normally reserved for sketches (see, for example, the leaf from the first movement of the Sonata for Cello and Piano, op. 65; F-Pc Ms. 116). Though such manuscripts do occupy an intermediate position between sketch and public autograph, it is only

---

mi ani smól, ani drzej (wszystko to, czego Ty nie umiesz, ale ja piszę, bo tak kocham moje nudy pisane) . . . Jeżeli Cię nudzi przepisywać, to zrób to dla odpuszczenia grzechów wielkich Twoich, bo nie chciałbym tej pajęczyny żadnemu grubemu kopiście dawać. Jeszcze raz Ci polecam, bo gdyby mi przyszło jeszcze raz te 18 stron pisać, owariowałbym. Ale nie pomiętoś!!!" See letter of 18 October 1841, Chopin, Korespondencja, 2: 44.

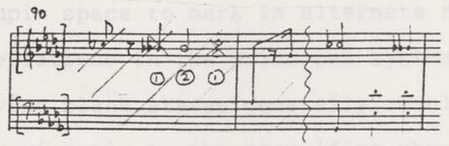
because the composer miscalculated the progress of his thought on a piece. Since these manuscripts were originally intended to function as public manuscripts, they tend on one level to exhibit similar sorts of compositional corrections, and hence belong in the archetype as a subset of truly public manuscripts.

Before going on to describe the individual features of the various types of manuscripts one may encounter at this stage of the compositional process, it will be useful to describe Chopin's notational habits when preparing manuscripts destined, at least initially, for a public. All of the categories of manuscripts exhibit at least some of the features outlined below. However, expression marks, which were entered into manuscripts only after the notes, often lack in the manuscripts abandoned for public use, and for obvious reasons: by the time the music was notated, the composer realized that the manuscript was not going to leave his hands, and that he need not bother with pedal or phrase marks, tempo indications, and the like. Some presentation manuscripts also lack expresssion marks; Chopin may have omitted them when the work was given to someone who was not likely to perform from the manuscript.

Public manuscripts, like sketches, began as clean, pre-cut bifolios of twelve- or fourteen-stave music paper in oblong format. When a work would not fit onto a single bifolio, or when the manuscript contained several works under one opus number, the composer would simply continue

onto another bifolio, adding as many as needed for completion. Ultimately a bifolio wrapper would enclose all of the loose bifolios on which the music was written, the wrapper then serving as a title page. Thus the gathering structure for a public manuscript from Chopin's later years takes as a basic unit the bifolio (for earlier manuscripts one finds varying structures).

Pen in hand, Chopin began writing in the music, first entering the braces and clefs at the start of a system. (Key signatures were marked only at the beginning of each page.) Chopin would then start filling in the music, generally setting down the music on the upper staff before that for the lower, often notating several measures before returning to fill in the bottom staff. Cancelled passages most clearly show evidence for such a pattern, as in the Mazurka, op. 24 no. 4 (PL-Wn Mus. 216), measures 90-91, where the composer experimented with two different rhythmic patterns before crossing out the whole passage and entering a third version immediately to the right (Example 2).



Example 2: Mazurka, op. 24 no. 4, mm. 90-91

Unlike the personal notation of his sketches, that found in public manuscripts carefully distinguishes stem from notehead. Problems in deciphering pitch crop up only when a notehead marked on a ledger line blends into it, but the context generally resolves any questions. Chopin's stems nearly always ascend or descend from the right side of a notehead. Stems not conforming to this rule generally bisect noteheads; rarely does one find a stem emanating from the left side of a notehead. This notational peculiarity is the simplest means by which to distinguish manuscript copies of Julian Fontana from those by Chopin. Fontana, ever the good copyist, drew his stems in the same way our modern convention asserts: descending stems on the left, ascending on the right.

Since public manuscripts were by definition to be viewed by others, Chopin took care to ensure their clarity. After completely filling a system with notes, Chopin would generally leave a blank staff before starting the next system. The blank staves at once allowed more room to enter performance indications above and below the notated systems, and gave Chopin space to mark in alternate readings if the web of cancellations in the principal system became too thick. Leaving blank staves generally resulted in four or five systems of music to the page (five when the music is written on fourteen-stave paper). Exceptions occur primarily in presentation manuscripts, particularly those that lack expression marks, or in rare cases where Chopin

wanted to avoid finishing a work at the beginning of a new bifolio, and consequently squeezed in as many systems on a page as possible (see the manuscript of the Mazurka, op. 50 no. 3 [US-NYpm]).

Contrary to his practice in sketches, Chopin wrote on all sides of bifolios in public manuscripts. Furthermore he used the sides in normal front-to-back order, though occasionally he began writing a piece on the verso of the first leaf, or even on the recto of the second leaf.

That the manuscripts at this stage of the compositional process needed to be written in a conventional and clear manner did not preclude Chopin's taking notational shortcuts. Literal repetitions of phrases and larger musical sections were particularly likely to be abbreviated. In Stichvorlagen, Chopin indicated repetitions of material by numbering from 1 to n the measures to be repeated, marking off the required number of blank measures at the place where the repeat was to occur, and writing the numbers in the blank measures. Presentation manuscripts usually saw literal repeats indicated with "Dal segno" or "Da capo al fine."

Notes written, Chopin turned to performance indications. From the spacing on the page and from cancelled passages, one can reconstruct the general order in which Chopin went about adding such signs. Phrase marks, hairpins, dynamics, staccati and accents appear to have been among the earliest added. Written indications of tempo and

character came next, and Chopin generally concluded by adding the pedal marks.

Rejected Public Manuscripts

Chopin emphatically disliked writing out his music. For him to discard an autograph intended for a publisher or an acquaintance required a flaw so great that its remedy in the manuscript at hand would render the document useless. Sometimes the need for a major structural change was foreshadowed by a number of smaller alterations; the dense thicket of cancellations resulting from these more detailed corrections contributed to the decision to abandon the manuscript (see, for example, the rejected autograph of the Mazurka, op. 59 no. 2; F-Po Rés. 50[1]). Other times the manuscript may be practically free of corrections, the reason for its rejection being notational (see the manuscript of the Ballade, op. 52 in the private collection of Rudolph Kallir, New York, in which the work is notated in 6/4 rather than the ultimate 6/8).

Some of the manuscripts were put aside because of a decision to interpolate several measures. An early manuscript of the Mazurka, op. 50 no. 3 (PL-Kj) lacks thirty-two measures present in the published version of the piece. Less dramatic, but still crucial, are the two missing measures (mm. 95-96 of the final) in the rejected manuscript of the Nocturne, op. 55 no. 1 (F-Pc Ms. 109) and the four absent measures (mm. 88-91) in an otherwise carefully pre-

pared manuscript of the Mazurka, op. 63 no. 1 (F-Pc Ms. 112). In the latter two instances, the number of measures missing was not great, but Chopin was prevented from inserting the needed measures with the use of connective signs or other similar means by pages that were already filled with music. (So crowded was one page of op. 55 no. 1 that a correction needed to be entered on a hand-drawn staff in the lower margin.) Chopin left himself little or no room for insertions.

Conversely, an autograph of the Mazurka, op 59 no. 2 (F-Po Rés. 50[1]), was rejected because Chopin chose to cancel several measures. Three separate endings to the piece were essayed. By the time the composer settled on the third, the number of crossed-out measures had grown so great that the manuscript was deemed unsuitable for engraving,[36] more so since Chopin, prior to the end of the piece, had already scattered a large number of corrections through the Mazurka.

Though many of the rejected autographs lack expression and performance indications, some are quite carefully marked. Since Chopin normally wrote out all of the music before entering performance indications, their presence in a rejected manuscript generally points to its having been

---

[36] That Chopin while preparing this manuscript thought of it as a Stichvorlage is borne out by the heading "Nro 2" that he placed at the top of the first page of music. Such headings are common only in manuscripts intended for engravers.

discarded at a late stage. One such manuscript is that for the Mazurka, op. 63 no. 1, in which Chopin added all dynamics, expression marks and pedals before he decided to insert four more measures.

Some manuscripts that lack performance indications may also be shown to have been put aside fairly late in the compositional process. In the case of the Nocturne, op. 55 no. 1, the very bareness of the written pages tells us something about the original function of the manuscript, namely, that it was meant to serve as a model for scribal copies. Though Chopin's heavy dependence on copyists essentially ceased after Fontana left his service in 1841 (as we saw in Chapter I), the composer did on occasion in his later years enlist the help of professional scribes. There exists, for example, a copyist's manuscript of the Berceuse, op. 57 that served as the basis for the Breitkopf & Härtel edition (PL-Wn Mus. 231). Chopin's habit in these years when giving over a text to be copied was to omit pedal and expression marks. The copyist would return both the original manuscript and his copy to Chopin, who would check the copyist's work and add the missing performance indications in both manuscripts. Such was the procedure for the Nocturne. Chopin presented his manuscript (now in F-Pc), free of performance marks, to the same scribe that prepared the Berceuse Stichvorlage. This unidentified scribe dutifully copied the work as it was and turned it back to the composer (the copy is now housed in PL-Kj). Only when Chopin checked

the copy did he decide to add two measures (these can be seen in the PL-Kj copy, written in "petites notes," as Chopin's autograph note on the copy attests). In the end, neither manuscript was deemed suitable for public use, and Chopin went on to make at least one more copy, which served as the Breitkopf & Härtel Stichvorlage (PL-Wn Mus. 229).

What was the fate of a manuscript once it had been decided unfit for engraving? Some, it is clear, lay in Chopin's discard pile until his death, after which they were parceled out to relatives and friends. Such was the case with the manuscript of the Ballade, op. 52, notated in 6/4, which still carries Auguste Franchomme's note "p[our] Mr. Dessauer" at the top of the first page.[37] Other manuscripts were apparently given away as souvenirs by Chopin himself, as suggests the signatures found on several of the rejected documents.[38]

---

[37] That Franchomme was responsible for distributing some of Chopin's manuscripts after his death is evident in a letter of 29 October 1849 from Ernst Meumann to Ferdinand Hiller, which reports that Franchomme would send Hiller the "souvenir" he requested (this "souvenir" turned out to be the G minor version of the Mazurka, op. 59 no. 3). See Reinhold Sietz, Aus Ferdinand Hillers Briefwechsel (1826-1861), Beiträge zur Rheinischen Musikgeschichte, Heft 28 (Cologne, 1958), p. 79. I wish to thank Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger for bringing this letter to my attention. Both Kobylańska, Katalog, 1: 294, and Ekier, Ballady, p. 78 fail to notice that the inscription on the Ballade manuscript is not in Chopin's hand. Ekier's error is all the more unfortunate, for he goes on to date the manuscript to 1841, reasoning that this was the year in which Dessauer was visiting Paris, and hence in closest contact with Chopin.

[38] See the manuscripts of the Mazurka, op. 50 no. 3, the Nocturne, op. 55 no. 1, and the Mazurka, op. 63 no. 1. It

Two manuscripts classified by Kobylańska as "autograf roboczy" pose special problems. The first is a very carefully notated version of the Berceuse, op. 57 (F-Pc Ms. 115). Several parallels exist between the Berceuse autograph and that for the Nocturne, op. 55 no. 1: each served as the basis for a copy by the same scribe; each contains little beyond the notes of the piece, and each is written on the same variety of paper. Furthermore, in each instance, Chopin chose, after the scribal copy was made, to tack on two additional measures, in the Berceuse the opening bars of solo left-hand accompaniment. He entered them into the scribal copy of the Berceuse, and made a number of other changes in this copy, but did not do the same to his original manuscript, even though there seems to be enough room for most, if not all, of the corrections to have been written. Does this indicate that Chopin meant all along for his manuscript to remain with him, thus forming a truly intermediate stage between sketch and public autograph? Again, his aversion to writing out his music argues against this notion. Three other explanations are possible:

1) Though Chopin was able to squeeze in the additional two opening measures in the scribal copy, this was only because the copyist had indented from the left margin the original

---

was not Chopin's custom to sign fully either his Stichvorlagen or those manuscripts he intended to keep, though he did initial some of the former after their final measures.

opening of the work. On his own copy, Chopin began the work flush against the left margin, and thus did not leave enough space to cram in the extra measures. As a result he was forced to abandon the manuscript for publishing. 2) Chopin's signature at the conclusion of the piece might indicate that from the start he intended the manuscript as a gift to a recipient who would likely not perform from it. Hence he could omit the performance indications, and need not bother about changes made later in the scribal copy. 3) Perhaps most likely is a combination of explanations (1) and (2), or, that after Chopin rejected the manuscript because he could not fit in the extra two measures, he gave it as a souvenir without making any changes or adding expression marks.

The second problematic manuscript is the first of two "autograf roboczy" listed by Kobylańska for the Violoncello Sonata, op. 65. Both are evidently in private collections; only the first has been microfilmed (in which form I have studied it).[39] That two "working autographs" of the Sonata are claimed to exist could indicate the archetype for the progression of Chopin's working methods is flawed. However, the nature and function of the two manuscripts have heretofore not been carefully considered. (Not having seen the second manuscript, my comments on it are obviously

---

[39] Kobylańska, Katalog 1: 352, errs when she says the filmed manuscript is owned by descendants of Franchomme--its current whereabouts are unknown.

speculative.) A close perusal of the first autograph (designated "A" by Kobylańska) reveals that parts of it exist in various states of completion. The Finale, though it contains multiple cancellations and corrections, is quite carefully written in a script consistent with a fairly advanced state of thought. Quite the opposite is the appearance of the third movement; not only is it written in a hasty sketch hand throughout, but it begins in E flat major rather than the ultimate B flat major. The Scherzo falls between these two poles, beginning in a fairly careful hand, but by the Trio dissolving into a thoroughly sketch-like script. Confusion has always reigned over the exact make-up of the extant manuscript material for the Violoncello Sonata, particularly since the mid-1950s when the original owner of a large majority of the documents, a descendant of Auguste Franchomme, dispersed her collection. For example, in a large collection of leaves classified as "sketches" (PL-Wtifc M/232) there is at least one leaf (fol. 19) which began as part of a projected public manuscript. Kobylańska admits that she was unable to compare her "working autographs" A and B (she was given only a few hours to see B) and that the microfilm of A may actually contain material that belongs to B.[40] Given the diverse nature of A (according to the film), that the contents of A and B have been confused seems a distinct possibility. What might well

---

[40] See Kobylańska, Werkverzeichnis, p. 143.

result if we weeded out the duplicated material in Kobylańska's autographs A and B would be a number of leaves properly described as sketches, and only one complete "autograf roboczy."

Even if autograph B is the the only actual "working autograph," the archetype still faces a challenge, for Kobylańska states definitely that this manuscript did not serve as a Stichvorlage. (I assume here that she is correct in identifying the nature of the hand in autograph B, and that it is not actually a sketch.) We are left with one complete manuscript of a published work that evidently neither passed before public eyes nor functioned as a sketch. But a clue to the nature of this exceptional manuscript comes in the Finale of our autograph A (which may be identical to the Finale in autograph B) in the form of annotations in pencil. For example, at measure 53, Chopin marks "8va" and some passage work, and at measure 64 he adds "ritenuto." Such additions in pencil point to the manuscript having been used in performance. Unlike the vast majority of his works, Chopin, while writing the Violoncello Sonata, was dependent on another instrumentalist to help realize the piece. Chopin refers to such a run-through in a letter to his family: "With Franchomme I tried a bit of my Sonata with violoncello and [it was] good. I do not know if I will have time this year to publish it."[41] Moreover, Chopin's student Camille

---

[41] "Spróbowałem z Franchommem trochę mojej Sonaty z wiol-

Dubois recounted to Niecks that Chopin tried out the Sonata for friends before presenting it to the public.[42] In other words, the Sonata was performed in some fashion before it was published, and more to the point, performed in tandem with a second player. Chopin thus could not rely upon his memory and was forced to write down the work in a fashion suitable for reading at the piano (Franchomme would have read from a separate cello part). Writing for the cello wrenched Chopin out of his usual compositional habits: the existence of an intermediate "rough autograph" for op. 65 marks Chopin's response to the exceptional needs of the work.[43]

Manuscripts Prepared for Publishers

Stichvorlagen present few problems in classification. In nearly every case, they are immediately identifiable from the annotations added by the engravers. Most of these marks, generally in lead or colored pencil, establish the layout of the systems on the printed page, a process

---

onczelą i dobrze. Nie wiem, czy będę miał czas tego roku ją drukować." See letter of 12-26 December 1845, Chopin, Korespondencja z Rodziną, p. 152. Chopin also mentions performances of the Sonata in letters to his family of 28 March-19 April 1847 and 8 June 1847; ibid., pp. 160, 169.

[42] Niecks, Frederick Chopin, 2: 207.

[43] If there do in fact exist two rough autographs for op. 65, presumably both were used for performances prior to publication. The Sonata underwent a particularly long period of gestation, and it may have been necessary to prepare two separate manuscripts for rehearsals of the work at different times.

known as "casting off."[44] Commonly the engravers would indicate breaks in systems with a series of even numbers commencing with "2" (thus the engraver would mark the projected end of the first system with a "2," the second with a "4," and so on). Some engravers began numbering anew with each turn of the printed page; to indicate such changes, say from page 5 to page 6, they might enter a figure like "5/6." Often Stichvorlagen will bear on the title page the plate number of the edition, and occasionally one finds notes about the format and projected number of pages of the edition.

Though Chopin intended that his manuscripts prove legible to others, he had no hesitations about crossing-out heavily in Stichvorlagen. If the tesselated grid of a cancellation grew too dense, Chopin would write the alternate reading on the staff above or below the deleted version. If two manuscripts of the same work exist, and if both were given over to publishers, the later one tends to display fewer visible cross-outs and insertions. That the later manuscript seems freer of corrections does not however rule out changes having occurred between manuscripts. Chopin, when copying the music from one engraver's manuscript to another, could decide a change was necessary before entering the old version into the later manuscript. (Often in such

---

[44]On "casting off," see William Gamble, Music Engraving and Printing (London, 1923), p. 113.

cases Chopin fails to make the same change in the earlier manuscript--I will discuss one such instance in Chapter IV.)

Belonging to the same class as Stichvorlagen are those manuscripts which Chopin gave to a copyist and from which three copies were made. One copy went to each publisher, and Chopin's original autograph remained in his hands. Such manuscripts are rare: only autographs of the Tarantella, op. 43 and, in the period of this study, the Impromptu. op. 51 may be assigned to this sub-species of Stichvorlagen. For the Tarantella, we have proof in a letter from the composer to Fontana that the autograph did not directly serve a publisher.[45] For the Impromptu, evidence comes from the lack of any engravers marks on the autograph. Given the absence of these signs, it is unlikely, as Ekier maintains,[46] that the Impromptu autograph served as the basis for the German edition. True, the autograph shares many readings with the Hofmeister edition, but the two differ at times as well (see, for example, the meter of the middle section, which the autograph gives as cut time, and which Hofmeister prints as common time). An intermediate scribal copy with changes in it by Chopin would best account for such discrepancies.

---

[45] See Chopin, Korespondencja, 2: 22.

[46] Frédéric Chopin, Impromptus, ed. Jan Ekier (Vienna, 1977), p. xx.

Presentation Manuscripts

The difficulties presentation manuscripts create for the researcher are as much sociological as musical. Though the physical characteristics of manuscripts given as gifts may be readily defined--neat appearance, relatively few performance indications, occasional use of all the staves on a page, Chopin's full signature (sometimes with dedication) somewhere on the manuscript--both the musical worth of these manuscripts to Chopin and the function they served their recipients remain at best vaguely understood. What is needed in order to grapple fully with the problems found in this category of Chopin autographs is a broad study of the sociology of presentation manuscripts, not only of individual leaves, but also of large autograph albums.[47] Until such work is completed, all conclusions reached about the importance of Chopin's presentation manuscripts must be tentative.

Some of the manuscripts must have been intended purely as gifts, as mementos meant to please an autograph collector. In this category fall the many incipits of various works Chopin donated to acquaintances. But complete manuscripts also were given in this manner. Chopin likely took less care than normal in preparing the text in such

---

[47]One of the few studies of nineteenth-century music albums is Bea Friedland, "Gustave Vogt's Souvenir Album of Music Autographs: A Beguiling Glimpse of Musical Paris in the 1840s," Notes 31 (1974): 262-77.

manuscripts, for the gesture was personal, not musical. As stated earlier, manuscripts barren of performance indications and with systems written on successive staves may well have been intended as this type of gift.

An autograph of the Mazurka, op. 59 no. 2 (GB-Ob MS M. Deneke Mendelssohn b. 2, fol. 93), meticulously notated with pedals, phrase lines, expression marks, dynamics and character indications, differs from the usual appearance of a manuscript sent to a collector. But the recipient, Cécile Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, though not a musician herself, was married to one. Chopin, well-acquainted with Felix, knew that he would see and play from the manuscript (Felix had written to Chopin asking for a gift for his wife, saying that she loved to hear him play Chopin's music),[48] and this knowledge undoubtedly led Chopin to take extraordinary care with the autograph.

Other manuscripts were given to performers. Chopin

---

[48] See Mendelssohn's letter to Chopin, dated 3 November 1844, in Chopin, Korespondencja, 2: 379-80. Mendelssohn on the same day asked the Leipzig publisher Kistner to send, if possible, an autograph of Chopin, and Kistner, on 8 November, forwarded in return "ein ganzer Bogen" in Chopin's hand. On 15 November, Mendelssohn again wrote Kistner, returning the Chopin manuscript, saying that he had asked Chopin directly for a manuscript. See Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Briefe an deutsche Verleger, ed. Rudolf Elvers (Berlin, 1968), p. 330. The "ganzer Bogen" mentioned by Kistner may well have been the manuscript of the Mazurka, op. 7 no. 3 that once was housed in the Kistner archives, and now rests in Stockholm, Stiftelsen Musikkulturens Främjande. I earlier questioned the provenance of this manuscript in my review of Kobylańska, Katalog, published in 19th Century Music 3 (1979): 167-68.

at times withheld a composition from publication in order that he might reserve it for use as an exclusive gift to lucky acquaintances. The Waltz in F minor, op. 70 no. 2 in Fontana's posthumous numbering, was one work deemed particularly suited for gift-giving: Chopin presented it to friends at least five times. Once he favored the pianist Anne-Caroline de Belleville-Oury with the Waltz, and wrote precisely what the manuscript was for:

> Quant à la petite valse que j'ai eu le plaisir de vous écrire, gardez-la, je vous supplie, pour vous. Je ne voudrais pas qu'elle vît le grand jour. Mais ce que je voudrais ce serait de vous l'entendre jouer, Madame . . .[49]

The Belleville-Oury manuscript survives in a private collection in Vienna,[50] and seems to contradict my assumption about the appearance of manuscripts given to performers, for it is quite free of performance indications. But Chopin evidently intended to leave a great deal of interpretative freedom in the Waltz (a practice he followed occasionally in published works as well), for all of his extant autographs for the work avoid performance directions. That the composer intended the Belleville-Oury autograph as a performance manuscript is reinforced by the distribution of the systems one staff apart; the added space allowed the music to be read with greater ease.

---

[49] Chopin, Korespondencja, 2: 356.

[50] It has been reproduced in facsimile in Mirska and Hordyński, Chopin na obczyźnie p. 239.

Comfort might be taken in being able to establish that Chopin intended some presentation manuscripts for performance, for one might then place greater weight on the readings found in them. But any sense of control over the sources vanishes upon examination of the texts found in the manuscripts. Every manuscript of the F minor Waltz, for instance, differs to some degree from every other manuscript. Did Chopin take less care with his performance manuscripts than we have presumed? Do the different manuscripts reflect the evolution of Chopin's conception of the piece? Or do the variants embody a kind of written-down series of ornaments on the basic structure of the work (and thus tell us something about Chopin's own performance practice)? Such questions, reworded slightly, could apply to every presentation manuscript, pure memento or performance tool. All hinge on careful examination of musical evidence, and will be discussed in Chapter IV.

Stage Four: Copies

Chopin most frequently turned to copyists for help in preparing texts for publishers during his middle years in Paris, 1835-41. Before and after this time, copyists enter the picture less often. In his early days, only one manuscript was necessary for the publication of most works; in his later years, Chopin evidently found few scribes whose work pleased him. Though we have already seen three instances, one certain, two probable, where Chopin had scribal

assistance in preparing Stichvorlagen after 1841 (ops. 51, 55, and 57), it is not likely that he did so many more times in his later years. Thus I have chosen to limit my discussion here to the few copies that are relevant to the period under study.

Copies exist that were made for reasons other than publication. Particularly interesting is a complete manuscript of the cello part of the Sonata, op. 65, in the hand of Auguste Franchomme (F-Pn Ms. 10.510). Across the top of the first page is written: "Partie de Violoncelle de la Sonate pour Piano et Violoncelle/de Chopin écrite sous Sa dictée par moi Franchomme." Pencilled annotations are scattered throughout the manuscript, which must have been used in some of the performances of the sonata prior to publication. Numerous variants exist between the manuscript cello part and the published versions. Furthermore, in Franchomme's copy the Largo precedes the Scherzo; a note at the end of the first movement directs that the Scherzo should follow next instead of the Largo. Could Chopin's intent once have been to reverse the order of the internal movements?

Also notable is George Sand's copy of the Mazurka, op. 56 no. 2 (current location unknown).[51] Sand copied alto-

---

[51]Krystyna Kobylańska reproduces the copy in "George Sands Musikempfinden und ihr Verhältnis zu Chopins Musik," Musik-Edition-Interpretation: Gedenkschrift Günter Henle, ed. Martin Bente (Munich, 1980), pp. 258-59.

gether eight works by Chopin into her music album. What she used the album for, and what sources she employed to make her copies remain unclear. The copy of the Mazurka differs in several details from known autographs and editions of the work; Sand tends to omit articulation marks, crescendo and decrescendo hairpins, and accents found in sources deriving from Chopin. It is possible that Sand based her manuscript on a now-lost autograph of the work, or that the differences arose from simple oversight and/or a wish to gloss the Mazurka with her own interpretative marks.

From this discussion of the model for Chopin's working methods prior to publication should emerge a clear sense both of what constitutes a sketch, rejected public manuscript, Stichvorlage, presentation copy, or scribal manuscript, and of what functions such manuscripts served. With the model securely established, we may go on to examine critically musical issues in the revisions Chopin made after he completed sketching. Following the order set out in the model, we began with problems in rejected public manuscripts.

CHAPTER III

FLAWED STRUCTURES: COMPOSITIONAL PROBLEMS IN REJECTED PUBLIC MANUSCRIPTS

Chopin intensely disliked the physical task of writing out his music. For him to cast aside a manuscript intended for public eyes required a flaw of sufficient magnitude that the remedy could not be undertaken in the manuscript, or if it could be, that it rendered the document unfit for others to see. Rejected public manuscripts thus allow a glimpse at the sorts of larger structural problems that could waylay the composer at a relatively advanced stage in the evolution of a work. The focus here will be on manuscripts of two works from the same set, the Mazurkas, op. 59, completed by Chopin in 1845 and published in the spring of 1846, each of which shows the composer struggling with a different sort of problem. In one case, op. 59 no. 3, Chopin rejected the manuscript because of a decision to transpose the work a half-step lower, for reasons having to do with the relationship of the work to the rest of the opus. In the other, op. 59 no. 2, the composer's experiments with the proportions of the coda resulted in a manuscript too messy to be given to an engraver; here considerations internal to the work itself governed his decision. I will consider first op. 59 no. 3.

Structural Problems in the Mazurka, op. 59 no. 3: Key Relationships in Multipartite Opuses

That the transposition of one number of a multipartite opus affects the perception of the entire opus as a unit presumes that Chopin in fact wished or preferred such sets of works to be heard together. But do we know this to be the case? What sorts of evidence, documentary or musical, can be mustered to support or contradict this notion? At stake here is a larger issue in the aesthetic background to Chopin's creative process, namely the composer's relationship to the trend that saw increasing efforts to draw together by musical means the various movements, numbers, or parts of sonatas, symphonies, concertos, and operas. Before the musical issues that led to the transposition from G minor to F sharp minor of op. 59 no. 3 may be discussed, Chopin's approach to the order and perception of multipartite opuses must be examined.[1]

---

[1]Gastone Belotti, in an article devoted to the G minor version of op. 59 no. 3, glosses over both the general question of whether Chopin intended his opuses to be perceived as integral units, and the particular question of the role tonal concerns played in the transposition of the Mazurka (see "Una nuova Mazurca di Chopin," Studi Musicali 6 [1977]: 161-206). Chopin, Belotti writes, gives his Mazurkas arranged in sets "una successione precisa, calcolata su sottili rapporti espressivi e su rapporti tonali più sottili ancora, come testimonia, appunto, la trasposizione dell'op. 59 n. 3" (p. 166, note 22). And, on the reason for the transposition of op. 59 no. 3, Belotti claims that Chopin "[c]ertamente fu indotto a farlo dal fatto che l'attacco in Sol minore dopo il La bemolle maggiore della conclusione della Mazurca precedente suonava meno bene di un attacco in Fa diesis minore . . ." (p. 166). What Belotti writes about the ordering of sets and the transposition of op. 59 no. 3 may be true, but his comments do little to explain how the

Chopin published in groups of two or more the Mazurkas, Nocturnes, Etudes, Preludes, Polonaises and Waltzes[2] (these last two genres he released singly as well). That works of these genres came to be published in sets rather than individually may reflect financial concerns. Publishers may have thought one Mazurka, Nocturne, or Etude too short to justify publication on its own; the costs of marketing a single short work may have been too high, and/or sales to the public of two or more short works may have been greater than those for individual brief works. (No documentation exists, however, to support these speculations.) Whatever the original reason for gathering together several works under one opus number, Chopin took the responsibility of ordering the works himself, and the question of whether any artistic purpose was served by this ordering remains.

Chopin, as usual, left very little in the way of

"rapporti espressivi" and the "rapporti tonali" operate, or why, after a cadence in A flat major, a piece beginning in G minor sounds worse than one starting in F sharp minor. Such casual explanations unfortunately characterize much of the critical writing about Chopin's music; it is time that critical precepts in Chopin be established with greater care.

[2]The two sets of Waltzes with three numbers (ops. 34 and 64) constitute a special case among multipartite opuses, for although Chopin did in each instance publish three Waltzes together under the same opus number, each individual work was printed with its own title page and sold separately. The Nocturnes, op. 48 were also sold in this fashion. Quite apart from the financial rewards a publisher could reap from selling the works individually, the nature of these editions may reflect the composer's own thoughts on their unity as sets.

direct testimony on whether or not he viewed his multipartite opuses as integral units. In his correspondence, he offers only a few words to Fontana on the Nocturnes, op. 37: "I have a new Nocturne in G major, which forms a pair with the G minor . . ."[3] The meaning of this is somewhat equivocal, for Chopin could simply be stating that the two Nocturnes will be published together. But that he writes the G major Nocturne "forms a pair" with the G minor could imply that the two were ideally played one after another, and that they somehow complemented one another.

If Chopin's letters tell us little, perhaps his actions, as preserved in concert programs and the recollections of contemporaries, inform us better. When Chopin performed or taught his own works, did he maintain the integrity of multipartite opuses, or did he play individual numbers from them? Surprisingly, not once can one document Chopin having played all the numbers from one opus together. Some have claimed that during his concert in Paris on 26 April 1841, he performed all of the Mazurkas, op. 41, but a review of the concert makes clear that he played only one of them.[4] At the same concert he played just one of the two

---

[3] "Mam nowe Notturno G-dur, które pójdzie w parze z g-moll . . ." Letter of 8 August 1839, Chopin, Korespondencja, 1: 353.

[4] "Mais ce qui a excité le plus vif enthousiasme, ce sont la ballade, une mazurka et une polonaise qui ont terminé la soirée. Ces trois délicieuses compositions, les dernières que Chopin a publiées, sont trois chefs-d'oeuvre . . ." Review by Escudier, La France Musicale, 2 mai 1841, p. 156.

Polonaises, op. 40. Furthermore, at his Parisian concert of the following year (21 February 1842) he performed among other works three Mazurkas, in A flat major, B major, and A minor--no collection of Mazurkas follows this order or even contains all three of these keys (unless A minor is a misreading for E minor, in which case three of the four Mazurkas of op. 41 might be meant)--the A flat major, F minor, and C minor Etudes from op. 25, and the Prelude, op. 28 no. 15.[5] Programs from Chopin's concerts in England likewise show the composer performing individual numbers from collections of his works. Testimony from students does not contradict this picture. For example, Marie Roubaud de Cournand, who studied with Chopin in 1847-48, remarked that among the works she learned from her instructor was the Nocturne, op. 48 no. 1--she does not mention the second Nocturne of the set.[6] Thus Chopin appears, both in performances of his own compositions and in his choice of works for his students to learn, to have selected individual works from collections rather than perform them as units.

Both Alfred Cortot, "Les concerts de Chopin," Aspects de Chopin (Paris, 1949), p. 187, and Belotti, F. Chopin l'uomo, 2: 982, state incorrectly that Chopin played all four numbers of opus 41.

[5]See Maurice Bourges, "Soirée musicale de M. Chopin," Revue et gazette musicale de Paris, 27 février 1842, pp. 82-83. Bourges reports that four Nocturnes were performed, but identifies only the second numbers from ops. 27 and 48; it is possible that the other two works were the first numbers from these sets.

[6]Edouard Ganche, Dans le souvenir de Frédéric Chopin (Paris, 1925), p. 85. See also Eigeldinger, Chopin vu par ses élèves, p. 95.

Chopin did at times play in pairs selected works from a given opus. He frequently performed together the first two Etudes from op. 25, in A flat major and F minor (many of his concerts in England featured these two Etudes played one after another). An engraver's manuscript of the Etude in E major, op. 10 no. 3 (PL-Wtifc, M/192), has written after the final double bar "attaca il presto con fuoco," in reference to the C sharp minor Etude which follows (the direction was evidently deleted in the proofs). Each of these pairs manifests an obvious tonal link: the second piece is in the relative minor of the first. The parts of each pair also exhibit marked contrasts in tempo and character, the first being slower and more lyrical, the second faster and more virtuosic.

But Chopin's concert programs and the repertoire of his students tell us only that the composer sanctioned the performance of individual numbers or pairs of works; they do not in consequence demonstrate that the ordering within opuses was arbitrary. For just as contemporary composers of opera allowed and in fact took part in performances of individual numbers from their stage works, so Chopin drew on pieces from larger sets for his own professional purposes. Performance practice here does not necessarily have anything to do with broader principles of musical (or dramatic) structure; neither Chopin nor the composer of opera may have felt that the habits of the concert hall reflected in any

way upon their conception of the entire opus or opera. Proof of this for Chopin comes from some of his performances of multi-movement works whose integral structure cannot be doubted, that is, his Sonatas and Concertos. In his last concert in Paris, for instance, Chopin played only the last three movements of the Sonata for Violoncello, op. 65; and at a concert with Berlioz in 1834, he performed the slow movement only of what was probably his Concerto, op. 11.[7] If we are thus to find evidence for collections of Chopin's works being perceived as some sort of whole, we must look away from how they were played and focus instead on the music itself.

Obviously, the kinds of musical parameters that could influence the perception of relationships between the numbers of a given opus are manifold, and to examine exhaustively this issue would be the stuff of another dissertation. Whatever limits one places on the study of this problem, it is important to clarify that what is at work in some multipartite opuses by Chopin is not so much unity as compatibility: Chopin never makes obvious connections between numbers--cyclic thematic recollections, mottos and ciphers do not constitute part of his compositional vocabulary, nor does he, like Schumann, conclude a work on the dominant seventh chord of the piece that follows. Consequently,

---

[7]Niecks, Frederick Chopin, 2: 206 reprints the program of Chopin's last recital in Paris. On the concert with Berlioz, see Belotti, F. Chopin l'uomo, 1: 505.

whatever acts to draw together the various numbers must operate on a more subtle level than thematic repetition. Tonality, for instance, might be manipulated in ways which suggest that the musical events in one number are to be perceived in relationship to events heard in previous numbers. The issue of tonality is clearly pivotal for the understanding of the compositional problems that led to the rejection of the G minor manuscript of the Mazurka, op. 59 no. 3, and it is for this reason that I wish to focus on the ways in which Chopin employs tonality as a means of drawing together the individual numbers of opuses.

One way Chopin accomplishes this can be observed in multi-movement works whose conception as a whole is certain: the Sonatas, ops. 4, 35, and 58; the Concertos, ops. 11 and 21; the Trio, op. 8; and the Andante spianato and Grande Polonaise, op. 22. All but one of these works show tonal closure; that is, the first movement starts and the last movement ends in the same key. The exception is the two-part Andante spianato and Grande Polonaise, op. 22; the Andante, in G major, is followed by the Polonaise in E flat major. (The abrupt shift between these two keys is lessened somewhat by an orchestral transition that leads to the Polonaise proper. Although no other piece from the works in the category under discussion employs such a transition, op. 22 still deserves to be included among these works, for the Andante spianato comes to a full and final stop in its tonic key of G major before the transition to the Polonaise

continues.) Internal movements generally do not wander very far from the key of the outer movements: commonly they are in the relative major or minor; less often one sees slow movements or scherzos in the submediant or subdominant. The most distant relationship occurs in the Sonata in B minor, op. 58, the scherzo of which is in E flat major, or the major mediant.

By contrast, only three of the multipartite opuses show any kind of tonal closure. Two of the opuses contain only two numbers. The Nocturnes (ops. 27 and 37) each feature a work in a minor key followed by one in the parallel major (op. 27, C sharp minor/D flat major; op. 37, G minor/G major). Interestingly, in each set, the minor key Nocturne ends with cadences in the parallel major, matching the mode of the following number. Recalling here Chopin's comment, quoted above, that the G major Nocturne of op. 37 "forms a pair" with the G minor, the tonal connections between the individual numbers in these two pairs of Nocturnes suggest strongly that the numbers were meant ideally to be heard one after the other.[8] The Etudes, op. 10 begin with a work in C

---

[8]Both minor Nocturnes also end with the same textural effect of an "open pedal," whereby Chopin notates that the damper pedal is to be depressed, but does not mark its release. While both major Nocturnes open with the pedal depressed on the first beat (thus making clear that the end of the first Nocturne is not to blend into the beginning of the second), that the composer left to the judgment of the performer the release of the pedal in both minor Nocturnes may indicate that he wished the final chords of the first Nocturnes to extend into the time ordinarily taken for the pause between the two works. Though Chopin could also have

major, and end with one in C minor (in light of the issue of tonal closure, Chopin's choice of a Picardy third for the final cadence of op. 10 no. 12 is significant). Moreover, the C major seventh Etude further anchors the sense of op. 10 being centered around C.

That tonal closure and obvious connections between ends and beginnings of pieces operate only in these few opuses makes clear that if tonality works to ensure the compatibility of the different numbers in a single opus, it mainly does so by different means than those manifest in sonatas and concertos. But which means? Thinking abstractly, one can imagine three ways in which tonality might act as a cohesive force in opuses with two or more numbers.[9] Each way makes use of some sort of "logical" progression or interaction of keys. In the first, the keys of the individual numbers would be related by relatively common harmonic progressions to those that precede and/or follow, such that a chain of associated keys results, with the tonality of the final perceived as a point of arrival, or

---

written an "attaca," the open pedals may have been another, perhaps less abrupt, way of indicating that he wished the pieces to follow in quick succession.

[9]The function of keys from number to number in operas has been much debated in recent issues of 19th Century Music. The point of departure was Siegmund Levarie, "Tonal Relations in Verdi's Un Ballo in Maschera," 2 (1978): 143-47; Joseph Kerman's response appeared in the same issue, pp. 186-91. Guy A. Marco, "On Key Relations in Opera," 3 (1979): 83-88, also explores the problem; Levarie's rejoinder to Kerman follows, pp. 88-89.

"tonic" (e.g. four works in the keys A minor, F major, G major and C major, or vi-IV-V-I). In the second, the keys of the numbers would be laid out following a progression less common in ordinary tonal terms, but "logical" because of an imposed symmetrical design (e.g., keys which ascend or descend by semitones, e.g., C major, C sharp minor, D minor). In the third, a system of tonal reference or recall would be employed so that keys heard in one work might also be featured in another (e.g., if an opus contained two works, in D major and E major, the latter work would feature passages in D major). To simplify discussion, Table 4 gives the key schemes of Chopin's multipartite opuses (the Preludes, op. 28 excepted).

Abstract conceptions, however, take on meaning only when they are demonstrable in practice. In fact, the composer's multipartite opuses show examples of each of the three procedures. Apart from the two sets of Nocturnes discussed earlier, four collections exhibit a tonal structure like that described in the first category above: the Mazurkas, ops. 41 and 50, the Nocturnes, op. 62, and the Trois Nouvelles Etudes (in their first published order). The chains of associated keys in the first three collections seem particularly compelling. The keys of the two Nocturnes op. 62, and the third and fourth numbers of the Mazurkas, op. 41[10] are linked by descending fifths (the first and

[10]It should not be necessary to point out that the C

second numbers of op. 41 are joined by an ascending fifth, while the second and third numbers are related by a minor third). The Trois Nouvelles Etudes move from a minor key to its relative major, or by root motion of a minor third, and then by descending fifth. The last two numbers of op. 50 also are linked by a descending fifth; only the semitone motion between the first two numbers seems out of place in the otherwise diatonic set of relationships described here.

Chopin often underscores these relationships between keys of successive numbers by writing clearly perceptible links between the end of one piece and the beginning of the next. Thus a B major chord concludes the Nocturne, op. 62 no. 1, and a b, the very b, in fact, sounded in the right hand of the final chord of the first number, opens the second Nocturne: pitch and register both are associated here. Similar identities between the tonic pitch of the final chord of one work and the opening pitch of the work which follows occur in the Mazurkas, op. 50 nos. 2 and 3, and the

---

sharp minor Mazurka is the last number in op. 41 and not the first; unfortunately, this mistaken numbering continues to haunt the Chopin literature. Leaving aside the very compelling musical evidence in favor of the C sharp minor work as the last number of op. 41, two autographs identifying the E minor Mazurka as the first number, and Chopin's signed contract with Wessel for the publication of op. 41 citing the E minor work as the first of the set all provide convincing documentary evidence for the proper ordering. The confused numbering resulted from a shuffling of the order of the individual numbers which make up the Breitkopf & Härtel Stichvorlage of the opus (the manuscript, PL-Wn Mus. 226, remains out of order today), whereby the C sharp minor Mazurka, though numbered fourth, was placed physically first.

TABLE 4

KEY SCHEMES IN MULTIPARTITE OPUSES

Mazurkas						Nocturnes			
op. 6	f#	c#	E	eb		op. 9	bb	Eb	B
op. 7	Bb	a	f	Ab	C	op. 15	F	F#	g
op. 17	Bb	e	Ab	a		op. 27	c#	Db	
op. 24	g	C	Ab	bb		op. 32	B	Ab	
op. 30	c	f#	Db	c#		op. 37	g	G	
op. 33	g#	C	D	b		op. 48	c	f#	
op. 41	e	B	Ab	c#		op. 55	f	Eb	
op. 50	G	Ab	c#			op. 62	B	E	
op. 56	B	C	c						
op. 59	a	Ab	f#						
op. 63	B	f	c#						

Waltzes				Polonaises			
op. 34	Ab	a	F	op. 26	c#	eb	
op. 64	Db	c#	Ab	op. 40	A	c	

Etudes

op. 10	C	a	E	c#	Gb	eb	C	F	f	Ab	Eb	c
op. 25	Ab	f	F	a	e	B	g#	Db	Gb	b	a	c
Trois Nouvelles Etudes			f		Ab		Db					

NOTE: Upper case indicates major, lower case minor. Some editions of the Mazurkas, op. 33 reverse the order of the middle numbers, and a later edition of the Trois Nouvelles Etudes reverses the order of the last two works.

second and third of the Trois Nouvelles Etudes. Sometimes Chopin makes a connection using common tones in the final cadences and opening notes or chords. The Mazurka, op. 41 no. 3 opens with the same eb which, written as a d#, tops the final chord of the preceding Mazurka. The Mazurkas, op. 50 nos. 1 and 2 show a similar connection, as do the final two of the Trois Nouvelles Etudes.[11]

Imposed symmetrical tonal designs appear only twice. Best known are the Preludes, op. 28, in which major-relative minor pairs ascend by fifths until all twenty-four keys have been covered (C-a-G-e-D-b, etc.). Here the less ordinary tonal motion comes not in the obviously normal movement from major to relative minor, but in the change from the relative minor of one pair to the major key of the following pair. The object is not tonal compatibility between all adjacent numbers, but instead symmetrical and cyclical ordering of all the major and minor keys. Tonal coherence in the

---

[11]Chopin did not reserve perceptible links between adjoining numbers for works whose tonalities were clearly related. For example, the Nocturne in F minor, op. 55 no. 1, concludes with nine measures of F major pedal followed by a four measure cadence in F major (using, admittedly, the minor subdominant). The following Nocturne, in E flat major, opens with a dominant seventh chord on B flat which resolves immediately to the tonic; hence the F major conclusion of the first Nocturne takes on implications of V/V. One wonders if the connection between the two numbers had any effect on Chopin's decision to transpose the key of the first work from F sharp minor to F minor. An early (abbreviated) version of the work, titled simply "Andante," is preserved in a presentation manuscript. A facsimile of this manuscript is printed in S. Siemienowski, "Russkie znakomstwa Shopena," Sovetskaia Muzyka, no. 10 (1953), pp. 50-51.

arrangement of keys in the Nocturnes, op. 15, operates on a strictly symmetrical level: the keys ascend by semitones, F-F#-g.

Though audible links between the ends of the major and the beginning of the relative minor Preludes exist, Chopin makes little effort to associate pitches between other adjoining numbers in op. 28, or between any of the numbers in op. 15. Chopin could have made such a connection in op. 15, for his choice of the minor mode for the third number made possible a common tone link between the a# found in the tonic of the second Nocturne and the bb in the tonic of the third; the composer even closed the second Nocturne with an F sharp major chord written with the third on top. But as we will see below, Chopin was far more interested in making other sorts of connections between the Nocturnes in op. 15.[12]

While each of the two uses of tonality described above depends on the persuasiveness of the harmonic motion from number to number, the third technique invokes internal harmonic relationships among the numbers. Tonal recall or recapitulation often reinforces the sorts of tonal links

---

[12]Józef M. Chomiński, looking for ways in which the Preludes, op. 28 function as a set, has argued for melodic similarities between several of the numbers, as well as for several groups of associated numbers based on considerations of tempo and character. See his Preludia Chopina (Cracow, 1950), pp. 300-333. Chomiński's ideas are summarized in his Fryderyk Chopin, trans. Bolko Schweinitz (Leipzig, 1980), pp. 108-112.

established by use of associated keys or symmetrical designs in the numbers of an opus. However, Chopin also employs tonal recall in opuses where the keys show no special logic; it is the ability to draw together what would otherwise be unrelated keys that makes this third technique particularly compelling.

Such tonal recall becomes more common in Chopin's later style, but he made use of it in some of his early collections as well. In fact one of the more masterful displays of this technique occurs in the Nocturnes, op. 15, mentioned above as an example of symmetrical design in tonal layout. In this collection, Chopin builds a cumulative series of harmonic associations, both of primary and secondary tonalities. As a model of how tonal recall can contribute to the perception of an opus as an integral unit, op. 15 deserves close analysis.

Two of the three Nocturnes are particularly rich in the exploration of keys distant from their tonics; the chromatic background of the first and third Nocturnes lays the framework within which the recapitulation of keys may occur, recapitulations which otherwise would not be likely in works whose tonics are related by semitones. From the very start Chopin exploits unusual tonal relationships: the first phrase of the opening Nocturne ends on V of the mediant A minor. (As we will see, the transitory stress on A minor takes on greater importance in the course of the opus.) More importantly, Chopin goes on in the F minor middle

section to modulate to the flat supertonic, or G flat major. Now G flat major could have been invoked without seeming so far removed from the local tonic of F minor--the relative major of F minor, A flat, is V/V to G flat--but Chopin purposely avoids emphasizing this relationship to the tonic, and moves instead to G flat major via B flat minor. The flat supertonic, as a result, sounds remote, and, since Chopin remains in G flat major longer than in any other foreign key touched on in the work, it assumes special importance.[13]

By virtue of this stress, the G flat major passage in op. 15 no. 1 takes on a strongly implicative character; one expects further tonal motion to be generated from this key.[14] Yet no event in the remainder of the piece makes

---

[13]When Chopin in the second half of the binary middle section reaches the passage parallel to the G flat major portion, he moves instead to E flat minor (mm. 43-46). But E flat minor here sounds less stable than G flat major. The first two measures in E flat minor repeat sequentially a V-I-V progression heard first in D flat major; that the dominant in the last measure (m. 42) of the model in D flat does not resolve to the tonic but instead moves deceptively to the dominant of E flat raises similar expectations for the second measure in E flat. In other words, what we anticipate in measure 45 is V of F. Even though Chopin does not resolve this dominant deceptively (he remains instead in E flat minor for another four beats), one hears the first two measures in E flat as part of a sequence and not as a stable key. By so weakening the stability of E flat minor, Chopin avoids undercutting the effect of G flat major in the first half of the middle section.

[14]Two examples immediately come to mind of Chopin deriving later harmonic events from earlier distinctive progressions. In the G minor Ballade, op. 23, the Neapolitan inflection in the coda clearly refers to the Neapolitan chord which opens the work (like op. 15 no. 1, the flat

reference to the flat supertonic. Viewed then in terms of the opening Nocturne alone, the modulation to G flat major seems primarily coloristic, one of several inflections of tonalities relatively remote from the tonic. Such a description does no violence to the appreciation of the Nocturne, for it obviously functions nicely as a self-contained work. At the same time, a prominent harmonic gesture in the piece remains unexplained. But this very fact is of capital importance, for it is precisely the lack of resolution in the first Nocturne which creates the possibility of realization in a different number, and thus raises the listener's perception of structure from the more local level of the individual work to the broader level of the entire opus.

Of course, the initial response to the G flat major gesture in op. 15 no. 1 occurs directly with the onset of the second Nocturne, written in F sharp major. That op. 15 no. 2 exhibits the most diatonic middleground of the works in the collection (its foreground is often quite chromatic) and that it only briefly veers from the tonic ensures full realization of the implication that a significant harmonic event would derive from the G flat major passage in the first Nocturne. The diatonic middleground might further lead one to expect no more recollections of harmonic events

---

supertonic is involved, though here in the more traditional first inversion). In the F major Ballade, op. 38, the secondary tonality of A minor stems from the first non-tonic cadence in the F major opening section (as well as from the constant stress on the pitch a' in the opening).

in the first Nocturne, but in fact Chopin does make passing reference to another key set off in a striking way in the first Nocturne, namely A minor. In the F major Nocturne, A minor is juxtaposed with the tonic, coming at the end of the very first eight-measure period of the piece. In the F sharp major Nocturne, the key of A (it is not clear whether it is to be heard as major or minor) also follows the tonic directly; however, neither the actual tonic nor the flat mediant chords are sounded: each key is implied through constant repetition of its respective dominant seventh chords (see the "Doppio movimento," mm. 25-32 [F sharp], and 33-38 [A]). The pedal on the dominant of A is especially striking, for the note repeated in the bass is the seventh of the chord, or D natural. In both Nocturnes, A minor is not truly established as a key; hence the tonal association works only on a secondary level.

Though a number of tonal relationships exist between the first two Nocturnes, it is really the harmonic procedures of the third Nocturne that assure, in stunning fashion, the integrity of the opus as a whole. The G minor Nocturne is in every way one of Chopin's extraordinary compositions. Tonally, the two foreign keys most emphasized are (it should come as no surprise) F sharp major and F major--the tonic keys of the preceding two Nocturnes. Formally, the work avoids recapitulation of the opening melodic material. Instead, it is divided into three thematically distinct sections, the first primarily in G minor, though

concluding in D minor (mm. 1-50), the second mainly in F sharp major (mm. 51-88),[15] and the third primarily in F major, returning only in the last four measures to the tonic G minor (mm. 89-152).[16] Either the tonal structure or the formal procedures could have assured a special place for this Nocturne in Chopin's canon had he chosen to include only one of the parameters in the work. But that he redoubled the individuality of the harmonic realm with a unique formal structure suggests that Chopin had a very special purpose in mind, namely to underline, with utmost clarity, the design of the opus as an artistic whole. Nothing in the G minor Nocturne itself can adequately explain the key scheme so highlighted by the unusual form; only in terms of the preceding two Nocturnes do the chosen keys make sense.

The G minor Nocturne also picks up one of the secon-

---

[15]Hugo Leichtentritt, Analyse der Chopin'schen Klavierwerke, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1921), 1: 17-18, claims this section modulates by the end to C sharp major. But the constant reiteration of C sharp as a dominant pedal in the measures leading to the end of the section, and the telling c# - f# leap in measures 80, 82 and 84 make clear that Chopin intended C sharp to be heard throughout this section as V of F sharp.

[16]The G minor Nocturne did not always have such a unique profile. A sketch exists of the entire concluding section of the work (US-NYpm) in which the last four measures move to a D major chord beneath which "Da capo" is written. Chopin thus first planned a more traditional thematic recapitulation for the Nocturne. Incidentally, in the sketch, Chopin changes to a key signature of one flat at the equivalent of measure 89 (in the published editions the key signature remains two flats), which proves that he thought of this section as based in F major (a fact ignored by some commentators).

dary tonal threads running through op. 15. Each of the first two Nocturnes sets off the key of A minor or major in a striking way; in the first, it was juxtaposed with the F major opening, and in the second, it was alluded to by a reiterated dominant pedal. A minor occurs in the third Nocturne in such a way that it recalls directly the first piece of the set, for it emerges in the context of F major. Interestingly enough, though, the procedure in the first phrase of the F major section of the third Nocturne is the opposite of that in the first Nocturne: it begins with an inflection towards A minor and ends in F major. A minor is never really established in op. 15 no. 3, but Chopin underscores its importance by following the strong F major cadence at the end of the first phrase with a passing cadence in A minor, the first cadence outside of the realm of F major in the section.

On both primary and secondary levels, then, tonal associations link the individual numbers of op. 15. Prominent roles fall to F sharp major (or G flat major), which appears in all three Nocturnes, and to F major, which is heard in the outer two numbers. A minor (or major) plays a supporting part in the tonal structure of op. 15. Chopin, in the individual Nocturnes, writes these keys in such a way that their relationship to tonal events in the preceding Nocturnes is evident. But in no way does he intend any of these keys to be heard as a "tonal center" to the opus. It would be foolish to claim, for example, F sharp major as a

sort of "tonic," with F major and G minor distributed axially about it. Each work establishes its own discrete tonic: the composer does not essay any proto-Wagnerian attempts at tonally unifying a collection of pieces. Unity, it bears repeating, is not the issue; compatibility is. By associating keys in op. 15 (or in any other opus), Chopin seeks only to provide some common ground which, when the pieces are performed in sequence, contributes to the sense that the three Nocturnes belong together.

Tonal recall occurs in other sets by Chopin, though not always as pervasively as in op. 15. For example, the C minor Mazurka, op. 56 no. 3 makes, in measures 57-66, only brief reference to B major, the key of the first Mazurka in the set (the second Mazurka is written in C major, and manifestly related to the tonic of the third work). But Chopin shifts to B major (or rather implies B major through ten measures of dominant seventh harmony on F sharp) during a modulation from D minor to B flat major. In fact, the composer writes the parenthesis in B major when B flat major has already been established through a four-measure dominant pedal on F resolving to B flat (mm. 53-56)--though B flat is not as secure as it might be since its appearance here occurs as part of a sequence (mm. 49-52 sound the same music written on an E flat pedal and resolving to A flat). But in any case, B major stands out vividly in its context, making its relationship to the key of the first Mazurka manifest.[17]

---

[17]Other multipartite opuses which make use of tonal

Tonal relationships of various sorts thus do exist in a number of multipartite opuses by Chopin. But did these concerns affect the decision to transpose op. 59 no. 3? Op. 59 in its original scheme would have followed a symmetrical progression the reverse of that in the Nocturnes, op. 15: descending, rather than ascending, semitones a-Ab-g. Why did not this plan satisfy Chopin's desire for tonal compatibility? Was he in fact concerned with this problem in op. 59? After all, op. 59 could represent a collection whose individual numbers are meant to be heard separately rather than as an integral unit. If so, then Chopin would have transposed the third Mazurka for reasons specific to the work itself, rather than for any which relate to the set as a whole.

But which reasons? It is only when one begins to seek out explanations plausible in terms of the third Mazurka itself that the weaknesses of such an argument become apparent. Technical considerations cannot have forced Chopin to transpose: the work is not appreciably more difficult in either key (if anything, F sharp minor poses more pianistic difficulties than G minor, and it seems unlikely that Chopin would have wanted to make a piece more difficult for his public without some significant aesthetic

---

recall include the Mazurkas, ops. 41 and 50, and the Nocturnes, op. 62. Chopin does not restrict the technique to collections of this type; the long E flat major passage in the last movement of the B minor Sonata, op. 58 (mm. 143-86) makes clear reference to the tonic key of the second movement Scherzo (the Trio of which is conversely in B major).

justification). Range does not enter the picture: in both keys the work lies safely within the confines of Chopin's piano. There is no evidence that the composer attached any affective significance to his choice of keys: tuning his piano in twelve-note equal, there would have been no intonational differences between the keys of F sharp and G minor, nor did he apparently show any abstract preference for the expressional capabilities of one key over another.

If explanations are sought for the transposition of op. 59 no. 3, then they must derive from tonal relations in the entire opus. Op. 59 shows no chain of asssociated keys from number to number, and Chopin expressly cancelled the abstract symmetrical design of descending semitones when he transposed the third number; hence tonal recall remains as a way Chopin could underscore through harmonic means the compatibility of the set.

Chopin could make tonal connections across numbers clear by using as a tonic in one work a key highlighted by virtue of its remoteness in a previous work: recall the link between the G flat major passage in the middle section of op. 15 no. 1 and the F sharp major tonic of the following Nocturne. Even more patent is the tonal association between the first two Mazurkas of op. 59 (in A minor and A flat major respectively), for the remote key in the first work (G sharp minor) occurs in tandem with a central structural event: the return, after the modulatory middle section, of the opening thematic material. In a work in A minor, any

extended passage in G sharp minor would be significant; when it falls where one expects an emphatic return of the tonic, it is doubly so. That the remote key featured so prominently in the first Mazurka becomes (in the major mode) the tonic of the next work suggests that Chopin will in some way link tonally the final Mazurka with at least one of its predecessors.

Now tonality in the third Mazurka of op. 59 is anchored more solidly than in the first Mazurka: Chopin rarely departs from the tonic minor and major. In fact, really only once does he securely establish a key outside the tonic, and that just the relative major (mm. 16-24).[18] Even though it is closely related to the tonic, that the relative major represents the only stable motion away from the home key gives it particular importance. In the G minor version of the piece, however, the formal implications of the passage in the relative major (B flat) act only at the level of the work itself. This does not deny the importance of the gesture for the perception of the third Mazurka: among other things, it underscores the stability of the tonal middleground. But viewed in terms of the expectations

---

[18]Leichtentritt, Analyse der Chopin'schen Klavierwerke, 1: 266, believes that the conclusion of the middle section of the Mazurka (mm. 71-88) modulates to the major subdominant. But the repeated emphasis on the tonic triad and the voice-leading (which consistently avoids treating the A-sharp of the tonic triad as the leading tone to the subdominant) both make clear that the passage is meant to be heard in the tonic.

raised by the tonal connections between the first two Mazurkas, the B flat major passage (and for that matter, the tonal plan of the remainder of the work) stands isolated from any significant harmonic events in the preceding Mazurkas. Transposed, on the other hand, the measures in the relative major not only satisfy the structural needs of the Mazurka itself, but also those common to the opus as a whole. The relative major of F sharp minor is, of course, A major, which is the tonic degree (but not the mode) of the first Mazurka of op. 59. (That the mode does not agree is not crucial, for Chopin often interchanges mode at will--note that the middle section of the first Mazurka starts in the tonic major.)

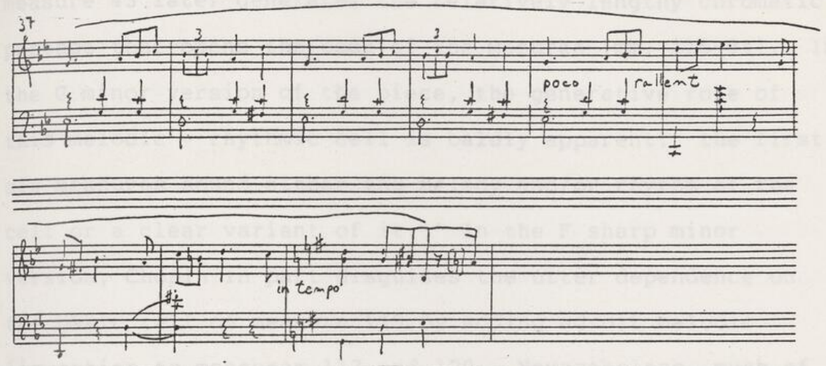
In summary: Chopin clearly wished from the start to assert in some way the compatibility of the numbers of the opus, for he originally laid out the keys in descending semitones. But he perhaps felt this too abstract, and opted to cancel the symmetrical design of tonic keys in favor of a plan in which the same tonalities would be featured at important places in different numbers. Some might argue that Chopin was less successful in forging tonal links between numbers of op. 59 than he was in other opuses--no firm connections exist between the second and third numbers, and the A major passage in the third Mazurka which recalls the tonality of the opening Mazurka does pass by rather quickly. Nevertheless, his intent seems obvious: it is the attempt to realize the larger structural implications contained in op.

59 which most compellingly accounts for the transposition of the final Mazurka of the set.

Local Corrections and Larger Proportions

Though tonality lay at the heart of the decision to abandon the manuscript of the G minor version of the Mazurka, op. 59 no. 3, Chopin wrestled with other musical problems in this manuscript as well. Two passages that were not simply transposed in the F sharp minor version show Chopin's struggle to find consistency and internal "logic" in local events. Sometimes this "logic" boils down to a concern for the relative structural weight allotted various passages. Example 3 shows that Chopin originally wrote the transition to the middle section (mm. 37-44) in a somewhat different manner than it appears in the F sharp minor version. The proximate concern leading to the revisions of measures 43-44 was to provide a more fluid lead-in to the middle section. As written in the G minor manuscript, the sense of measures 43-44 as upbeats to the beginning of the middle section is lost. In particular, that the d" that opens the first melody of the middle section is already stressed in measure 44 makes the point of arrival in the following measure seem anti-climactic.

The revisions in the F sharp minor version combat this problem. By shifting the low dominant note in the bass of measure 43 from the first beat of the measure to the second, and by avoiding undo emphasis on the starting pitch



Example 3: Op. 59 no. 3, G minor version, mm. 37-45

of the melody of the middle section, Chopin removes any feeling that measures 43-44 anticipate the structural downbeat intended for measure 45. Moreover, the rising chromatic line on the first two beats of measure 44 adds more intensity to the sense of arrival at measure 45, while the subtle introduction of thirds on the last beat of measure 44 forms a smooth link between the melodic texture of the transitional passage and that of the middle section (the upbeat descending thirds recur later at some of the repetitions of the principal melody of the middle section; see measures 48/49 and 58/59).

Immediate formal considerations doubtless counted for much in the composer's mind, but his revisions in these measures affect larger structural issues as well. Though rather innocuous at its first hearing, the melodic cell of

measure 43 later generates the relatively lengthy chromatic passage that opens the coda of the Mazurka (mm. 115-34). In the G minor version of the piece, the generative role of this melodic - rhythmic cell is baldly apparent: the first six measures sound either the melody and/or rhythm of the cell or a clear variant of it.[19] In the F sharp minor version, Chopin in part disguises the utter dependence on the basic cell of measure 115 by adding adroit melodic figuration to measures 117 and 120. Nevertheless, much of the tension in the opening of the coda evolves out of the ascending stepwise sequence built from the figure first heard in measure 43. The success of the technique in the coda, however, requires that the listener have little or no inkling at its initial appearance that the motive will eventually be manipulated in the way it is. By reshaping measure 44, which in the G minor version parroted the rhythm and the melodic shape of measure 43, Chopin avoided adumbrating the gesture at measure 115 and after.[20]

---

[19]Measure 119, for instance, clearly grows out of the rhythmic and melodic figuration in measure 115.

[20]Belotti, "Una nuova Mazurca," p. 177, discusses the modifications made at measures 43-44, and finds the earlier G minor version superior to its successor. Among other reasons, Belotti feels the chromatic ascent in measure 44 of the F sharp minor version lacks originality, claims the crescendo in measure 44 diminishes the contrast between the opening and the middle sections, and says the accompanimental fourth on the third beat of measure 43 contributes to the loss of the sense of expectation that characterizes the G minor version. None of these explanations of the preferability of the early version is compelling: particularly weak is the notion that the

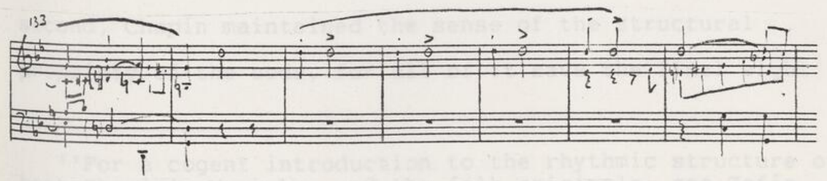
At the conclusion of the chromatic passage derived from the melodic cell of measure 43, Chopin, somewhat surprisingly, bases the next twelve measures on music first heard in the middle section (mm. 71-74, 81-88).[21] At least his first and final notions were to continue directly with this music; in the G minor version he cancelled measure 134 and inserted a four-measure phrase (Example 4). The gesture arises from nowhere, and seems so obviously out of place that it is difficult to imagine what might have led Chopin to insert it at all. Perhaps his intent was to underscore the static quality that characterizes the remainder of the coda: the measures based on the middle section sound only tonic and subdominant chords; and the final portion of the coda, in the parallel major, employs a melody of remarkably restricted range for Chopin. As it stood originally (and ultimately), the number of diatonic and chromatic measures matched exactly (twenty apiece: mm. 115-34; 135-54). Prior to the coda, the listener (as I have already noted) would

---

crescendo lessens the contrast between the sections of the Mazurka. How it accomplishes this Belotti does not make clear, but in any case, as I have argued above, one of Chopin's intentions here was precisely to make the join between the sections more fluid. What is more, Belotti completely ignores the later structural implications of these measures.

[21]Belotti, "Una nuova Mazurca," pp. 194-95, points out that it is unusual for a ternary work by Chopin to make reference to the middle section after the repeat of opening material.

have been struck by a fairly limited modulation scheme. Suddenly the composer inserts twenty measures of relatively chromatic harmony. Chopin, after hearing the chromatic passage, may have wondered if the remaining music adequately stresses the parenthetical quality (in terms of the harmonic structure of the work) of the chromatic measures. If not, then one remedy would be to add more static music, which is what Chopin in fact did in his revision in the G minor manuscript. Chopin may also have felt some temporary uneasiness over the identity of the tonic chord in the music that followed, since only I and IV chords are sounded there. That these measures come so close to the end of the piece and thus risk undermining the tonic at a particularly crucial point may have induced Chopin to add the four measures of pedal on the dominant pitch. In so doing, he gave a clear point of reference against which the listener could judge the I and IV chords; with the stress on V, G is heard clearly as the tonic.



Example 4: Op. 59 no. 3, G minor version, mm. 133-39

But neither of these explanations ultimately washed for Chopin. The chromatic onset of the coda requires no

more balance than Chopin ultimately provided--it does not weaken the sense of tonic that severely--and Chopin likely noticed that the identity of the tonic in the music derived from the middle section was really not in doubt (as I have already mentioned). What is more, the gesture the composer adopted for his ill-considered insertion clashes with the rhythmic profile of the Mazurka as a whole. Chopin's Mazurkas show a variety of accentual schemes (as do the folk models from which they are derived),[22] stressing the second or third beats in a regular fashion. Very often he shifts patterns within a single work. In Op. 59 no. 3, on the other hand, stresses fall primarily on the third beat, except for the agogic accents on the second beat at the beginning and the end of the coda. With dynamic accents on the second beat, the measures Chopin inserted into the Mazurka contrast vividly with the prevailing accentual pattern, and sound as though they were wrenched from a different work. By returning to his initial conception of the transition from the first part of the coda to the second, Chopin maintained the sense of the structural propriety of the coda, for all of it save the final eight

---

[22]For a cogent introduction to the rhythmic structure of both Chopin's Mazurkas and the folk originals, see Zofia Lissa, "Klavierpolonaise und -mazurka im 19. Jahrhundert," Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen: Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade, Erste Folge, ed. Wulf Arlt, Ernst Lichtenhahn, and Hans Oesch (Berne, 1973), pp. 813-39.

measures[23] grows out of music heard in the body of the Mazurka.

Structural Problems in the Mazurka, op. 59 no. 2: Proportions and Balance in Codas

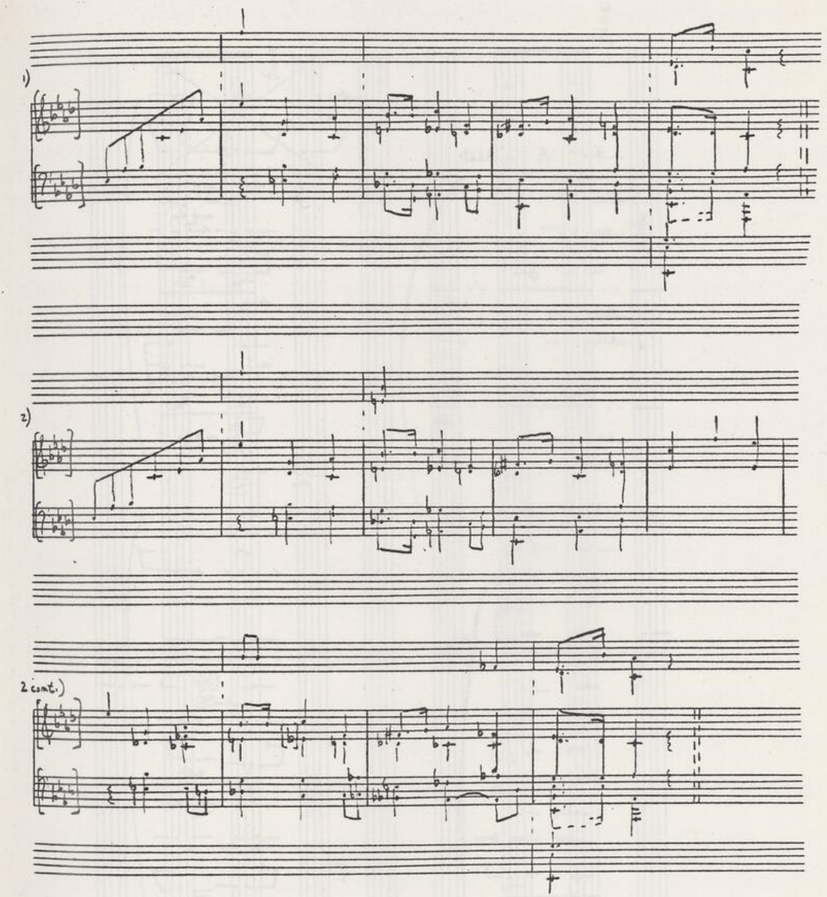
As a set, op. 59 suffered a particularly troubled period of gestation. The last number, as we have seen, went through a transposition of tonality and numerous internal changes before finding its final shape. The second Mazurka, too, saw extensive formal surgery before emerging into print. The major changes made in op. 59 no. 2 are of a very different ilk than those in op. 59 no. 3, and illustrate another facet of the composer's concerns in rejected public manuscripts.

Truncated in its published form, the coda to the second Mazurka had, in Chopin's early conceptions, a more expansive character. Example 5 shows that, in the sketch for the work (preserved together with the rejected public manuscript of it; F-Po Rés. 50[1]), Chopin tried two different versions, ultimately continuing the coda eight measures past the final arpeggio figure (he continued only three measures past in the published version).

In the rejected public manuscript, the composer first transferred the ending more or less as it stood finally in the sketch (Example 6). But doubt set in; Chopin tried adding an extra eight measures (with two versions of

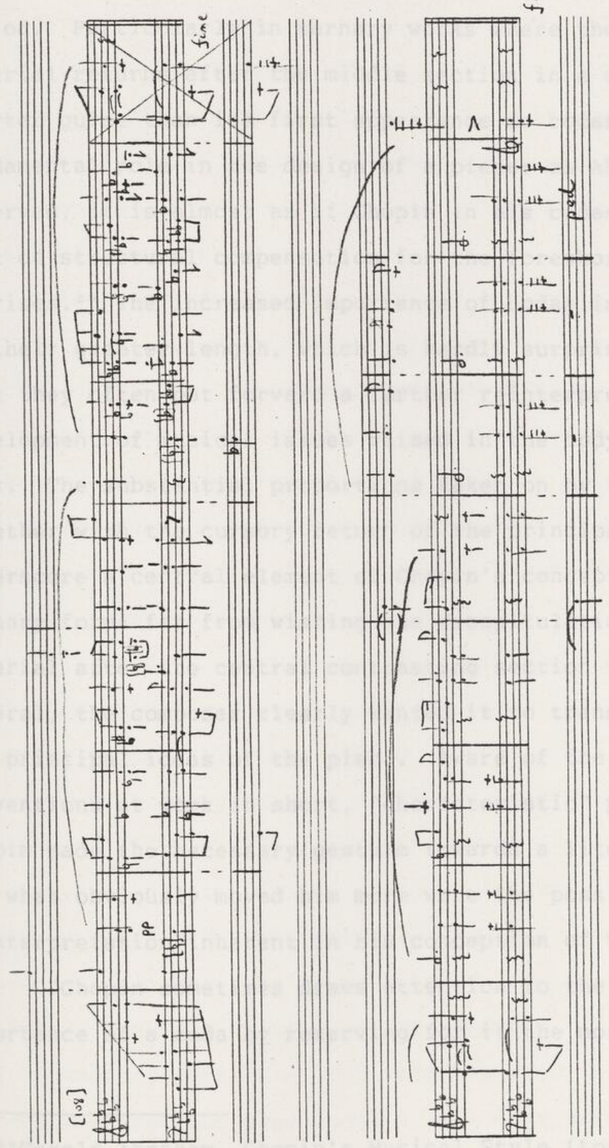
---

[23] The special qualities of the conclusion of the Mazurka will be discussed below.



Example 5: Op. 59 no. 2, conclusion of sketch

the fifth and sixth measures) to the already-present eight, found this unsatisfactory as well, and ultimately cancelled the entire sixteen measures and appended the two-measure tag found in the published editions.



Example 61: Op. 59 no. 2, cancelled coda

Codas loom ever more important in Chopin's late period. Particularly in ternary works where the primary material returns after the middle section in a considerably shorter guise than its first appearance do codas play a more fundamental role in the design of a piece; as Abraham has observed, it is almost as if Chopin in his codas offers a sort of structural compensation for the foreshortened reprises.[24] The increased importance of codas is reflected in their greater length, which is hardly surprising given that they often put forward a further reinterpretation and development of musical issues raised in the body of the work. The substantial proportions taken on by the coda, together with the cursory return of the principal theme underscore a central element of Chopin's conception of ternary form: far from wishing the recapitulation of musical material after the central contrasting section to be literal, the composer clearly wanted it to transform somehow the principal ideas of the piece. Aware of the structural conventions at work in short, "characteristic" pieces, Chopin made the necessary gesture towards a literal reprise. But what obviously moved him more were the possibilities for reinterpretation inherent in his conception of the coda.

Chopin sometimes draws attention to the structural importance of a coda by reserving for it the most dramatic

---

[24] Gerald Abraham, Chopin's Musical Style (London, 1939), pp. 46-47.

musical gesture of the piece. This gesture may articulate the opening of the coda, as in the extended chromatic passage in the Mazurka, op. 59 no. 3. Other times the dramatic moment falls elsewhere. In the Mazurka in C sharp minor, op. 41 no. 4, Chopin thunders out the first unambiguously diatonic statement of the main theme towards the end of the coda.

Although on occasion Chopin's lengthy codas comprise only one, continuously developmental section (see the Mazurka, op. 56 no. 3), more often they divide into two or more clear parts. The order may vary, but often one portion is taken up with the sequential working-out of a motive from earlier in the work. Sometimes Chopin writes what might be termed a "meta-sequence." In the coda of the Mazurka, op. 50 no. 3, measures 157-65 present two sets of related sequences; model 1 and its sequence, measures 157-61, and model 2 and its sequences, measures 161-65. Each of these sequences ascends by minor thirds. Chopin then, in measures 165-73, sequentially repeats a tritone higher the sequences of measures 157-65. The result of this tritonal "meta-sequence," of course, is to return to the key from which the sequences departed in measure 157--Chopin frequently uses sequences to increase harmonic tension locally while remaining tonally static in the background.

Another portion of the coda may also derive from the body of the work but play upon it in a more harmonically stable way (more stable, that is, than a sequence--this

portion might still contain tonal ambiguities of some sort). The coda of the Mazurka, op. 41 no. 4, for example, opens with sixteen measures (mm. 103-118) derived rhythmically from the material forming the retransition to the reprise of the main theme in the flat major submediant, or A major (mm. 61-64). Although the passage in the coda contains many chromatic passing tones, its essential harmonic function, as shown by the constant G sharp pedal, is as dominant upbeat to the dramatic statement of the main theme in the tonic C sharp minor.

Finally, one part of the coda might introduce a new theme, more often than not coming at the conclusion of the piece. Sometimes the "new theme" might be derived from a theme heard previously; in any case, these concluding new themes all have a particular character. Melodically, they show what for Chopin is a relatively restricted range, staying generally within the boundaries of an octave, and they employ mainly congruent motion (the leaps that do occur mostly tend to be of consonant intervals). The most radical example of this melodic type occurs at the end of the Mazurka, op. 59 no. 3, where the tune remains within the confines of a fifth; were it not for a few upper and lower neighbors, the range would have been a minor third. Harmonic support tends to the diatonic, limited mainly to dominant or tonic chords or written over a tonic pedal (see the Mazurka, op. 24 no. 4, an early example of this sort of theme). Harmonic rhythm seldom exceeds one change per

measure. The sense in these new melodies of a conscious restriction of means on the part of the composer lends to them the character of an epilogue, a controlled topping off of the events of the piece.

When contemplating one of these massive, multipartite codas, one of the leading worries for Chopin must have been finding the proper proportions and balance, not only between the individual parts of the coda, but also between the coda as a whole and the preceding portions of the piece. We have seen already in op. 59 no. 3 evidence of this sort of problem in the initial indecision of the composer over the number of static measures required to balance within the coda the chromatic sequence. Something of this sort of anxiety must have struck Chopin when preparing the coda for op. 59 no. 2, for he tried two different versions of it before settling on a third. To understand how it was that the coda came to be so troublesome to the composer, it is necessary to explore the basic musical points he was trying to make in it.

Chopin brought to the coda two starting presumptions from which he never strayed: the coda was to be constructed of several parts, and it was to be significantly more chromatic than the rest of the Mazurka. The main body of the Mazurka contains the most diatonic writing of the entire op. 59 set. Such was the diatonic base of the Mazurka that most of the contrasting middle section does not leave the tonic A flat major. Not even chromatic passing tones or

neighbors occur with any frequency, and motion away from the tonic is limited to three excursions to C minor/major (mm. 13-20, 35-42, and 60-68, the first two of which nod towards F minor before settling in C, and the last of which makes repeated reference to F minor without ever really establishing it).[25] Any chromatic passage that follows such resolutely diatonic music cannot help but focus attention on itself; hence the decision to overlay the coda with a chromatic foreground was especially crucial, for it had the effect of shifting the dramatic weight of the climax towards the end of the piece.

Chopin's decision to cast the coda in several parts arose, as did his choice of a chromatic framework for it, from the desire to make the coda the main area of dramatic action in the Mazurka. Individual sections, however compact, could each focus on a different musical issue deriving in some way from the body of the Mazurka; the more "developmental" the coda, the more dramatic it would appear to be. In trying to make the coda as developmental as possible, however, Chopin ran squarely into the problem of balance and proportion mentioned above: sectionalism in a piece the size of the Mazurka has its limits, and Chopin first attempted to fit too many different kinds of ideas into the coda.

---

[25] I do not mean to suggest that the motion to C minor/major is unimportant--both the note C and the triads built on it play a central role in the coda--only that the tonal motion within the body of the Mazurka stays squarely within the diatonic realm.

The coda opens with the most overtly dramatic gesture of the piece to this point (mm. 81-89), a highly chromatic pair of sequences, the first ascending, the second descending, both derived from the descending fourth motive associated with the first theme of the Mazurka (the second, descending sequence condenses this motive to a minor third). Like the "meta-sequence" in the Mazurka, op. 50 no. 3, the effect of the sequence at the start of the coda is to energize the perception of the tonal foreground while remaining tonally static at deeper levels: the sequence departs from and returns to A flat.

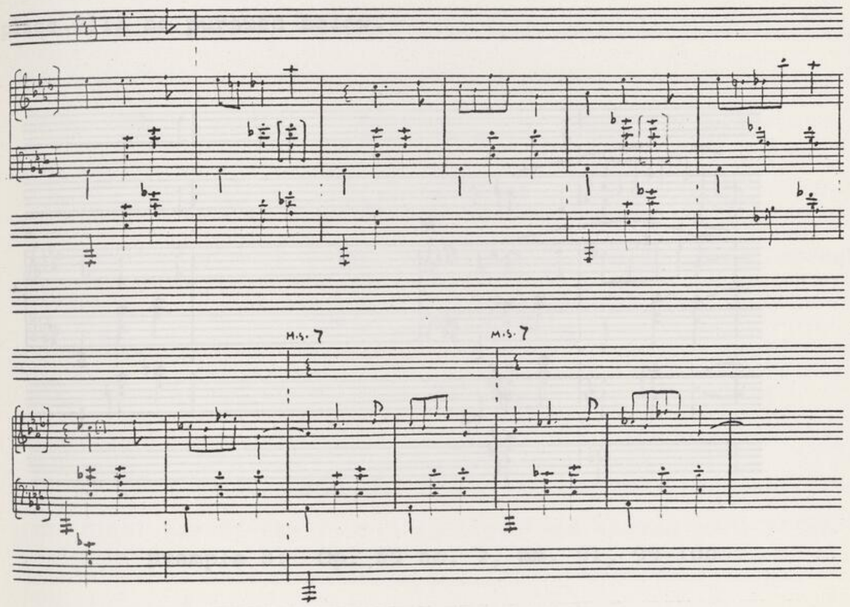
As occurs often in multipartite codas, the second section (mm. 89-101) turns to material locally more stable in harmonic terms than the preceding sequence, at the same time it continues the developmental texture initiated by this sequence. Anchored by a tonic pedal through the first seven measures, the second section grows thematically out of the first two measures of the opening theme of the Mazurka. But what is of central importance for the perception of this part of the coda as "developmental" is the focus on the A flat-C polarity that accounted for the primary bit of tonal contrast within the body of the Mazurka. Chopin exploits the relationship between the two keys in a way that grows increasingly more subtle. The initial gesture is straightforward enough: Chopin substitutes C major accompaniment for the expected A flat major harmony in

measure 91. Such a substitution evolves naturally out of the common-tone relationship between A flat and C; the constant stress throughout the Mazurka on the melodic pitch c" (except in the first eight measures of the reprise, where c' is the pitch) in both A flat major and C major contexts prepares for the switch in harmony at measure 91. But then, at the next appearance of this melodic motive, Chopin disguises his real intentions with respect to the A flat - C poles by changing the c" to cb" and harmonizing the melody with an A flat minor chord (m. 95). Now the sudden A flat minor harmony sounds out of place in terms of what has come before: the tonic minor has heretofore not been heard in the piece, and no turn of melody or harmony before it suggests in any way that the tonic minor might later be highlighted.

What were Chopin's intentions then? The answer comes four measures later (m. 99), at the final appearance of the melodic motive, where Chopin reinterprets the cb" as b', and supports the motive with a G major chord. Though subtle, the course adopted by Chopin in the second section of the coda seems particularly appropriate after ninety-odd measures in which the opposition between A flat and C is baldly stated.

Chopin, it should be noted, did not immediately arrive at this conception of the second section of the coda. In fact, as he first sketched it, the A flat - C polarity was not explored. Instead, the A flat minor inflection

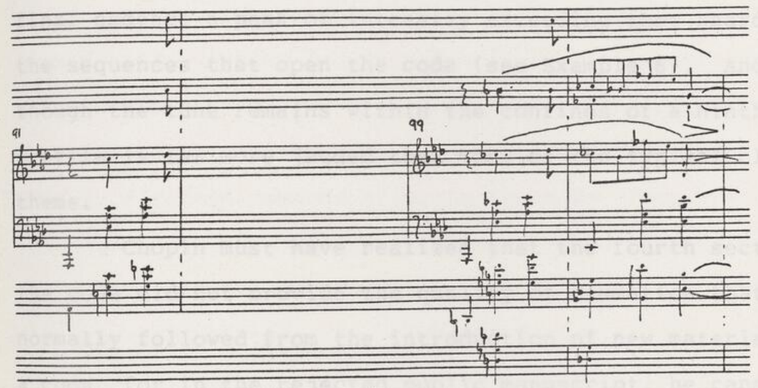
served to provide modal contrast before the A flat major arpeggios and scales that follow (Example 7).



Example 7: Op. 59 no. 2, mm. 89-100

Only in the rejected public manuscript did Chopin shift to the more dramatic substitution chords, and then only after first copying in the music as he had sketched it (Example 8). In other words, Chopin's earlier conception of the second section was more conservative than its later manifestation, playing only melodically upon the motive from the first theme, and ignoring the tonal issue altogether. Nothing in the layout of the rejected public manuscript

tells us when Chopin altered the passage, whether before or after he cancelled the fourth and fifth sections of the work. The issue of the order in which the changes took place will be pursued below.



Example 8: Op. 59 no. 2, mm. 91, 99-100

The third section of the coda consists of figuration over essentially static tonic harmony. The passagework ascends diatonically, descends chromatically, then finally ascends via a diatonic arpeggio.

Chopin's early formulations of the coda all continue on to a fourth section. Eight measures long and played pianissimo, this section introduces new thematic material in the guise of a four-measure phrase repeated once in varied form. That an extensive coda should close with a new melody is certainly in keeping with Chopin's procedures in other works; what is novel and ultimately unsettling about the new

theme in the coda of op. 59 no. 2, however, is the character of the material introduced. Far from showing the sense of conscious restraint of harmonic vocabulary typical in concluding themes of codas, the eight measures grow more and more chromatic, reaching in the two measures prior to the final cadence a peak of intensity exceeding that heard in the sequences that open the coda (see Example 6). And though the tune remains within the confines of a ninth, its profile is far more jagged than that of the typical closing theme.

Chopin must have realized that the fourth section of the coda did not provide the quality of summation that normally followed from the introduction of new material into a coda, for in the rejected public manuscript, he cancelled the final bar of the fourth section, and tacked on a fifth section that brings in still more new thematic material. It is fascinating that Chopin's first notion should have been in the direction of expansion, since by now the format of the coda resembled none of the models of his past works; the expected response would have been to retreat back into the familiar patterns and procedures. At any rate, the character of the fifth section is more in keeping with other concluding new themes. Harmonic writing turns static; only dominant and tonic chords are sounded. The last half of the tune is written in the octave below that in the first half, but this is more a function of registral contrast than of a real melodic leap, and so the gap does not offend the

listener's perception of restricted ambitus. In each half of the theme (the second in the revised version only), one finds melodic resemblances to the first theme of the Mazurka: the last two measures of the first half open with the upper neighbor/descending fourth motion of the main theme, while only the upper neighbor figure shows up in the second half. Again, "new" themes in closing sections of other codas also derive from portions of previously heard subjects; Chopin's thoughts in the fifth section were clearly directed towards bringing the coda of op. 59 no. 2 into agreement with conventions established elsewhere.

Extension, however, was the wrong way to go about the salvaging of the coda. Already irregular, the coda lost all sense of structural equilibrium when the fifth section was added. Indeed, Chopin's hand was forced by the ungainly proportions existing both between the parts of the coda itself and between the coda and the remainder of the work. Internally, the sections did not balance. For example, the coda opens with what appears to be the dramatic climax of the work. The power of this event depends upon it being the most chromatic passage in the work; yet Chopin, in the fourth section of the coda, wrote music whose level of chromatic dissonance exceeds that of the sequences. As a result, the coda seems to be at odds against itself; one section undercuts another. Just as problematic are the sixteen measures of new melodic material (sections four and five together) that conclude the coda. Comprising more than

a third of the length of the coda, the new themes go beyond the brief epilogic conclusions of other multipartite codas. The sheer length of the concluding peroration shifts part of the structural weight away from the developmental material that precedes it.

The result of this blurred focus within the coda was to obscure its structural relationship to the rest of the piece. Was the coda to develop musical issues raised in the body of the work, or was it to introduce new material? The one can vitalize the structure by exploiting elements common to the body of the work and to the coda. The other, if it is to energize the structure at all, must do so by virtue of its contrast with the body of the Mazurka. When the new material assumed large proportions, the coda appeared to be working in opposite directions, first to ensure its unity with what preceded it, and next to demonstrate its uniqueness from the rest of the piece.

Chopin saw a simple way out from these cross-purposes. All versions of the coda cease reinterpreting musical ideas from the body of the Mazurka after the second section. In the usual multipartite coda, what followed the developmental or unstable passages was often meant to ground the work tonally, only sometimes by introducing a new, valedictory theme. The third section of the coda of op. 59 no. 2 could not more solidly reinforce the tonic, and Chopin realized the solution to the problem of proportions in the coda had been in front of him all this time. By lopping off

the new themes and adding on two measures of tonic harmony as a conclusion, Chopin was able at once to bring the proportions of the coda under control and to clarify its function with respect to the rest of the piece.

Here one would like to know precisely when Chopin introduced the elements of the A flat - C polarity into the second division of the coda. But the manuscript frustrates attempts at establishing a chronology. As it stands finally, the coda shows a measured decline in dissonance from the first through the last section. But the change is gradual only when the C major and G major substitution chords are sounded. Knowing when Chopin altered the second part of the coda would tell us if the recognition of the measured decline in dissonance was instrumental in his decision to cancel the last two sections (the first of which sharply raises the level of dissonance) or if the added dissonance was meant to clarify the function of the second passage within the ultimate three-part design. (Without the substitution chords, the second section sounded developmental, for only the melodic motive from the body of the Mazurka is played upon.)

Still larger considerations may have influenced Chopin's decision to forego new thematic material at the conclusion of op. 59 no. 2. Multipartite codas that introduce epilogic new themes tend to occur in a particular kind of work: the concluding number of an opus. The Mazurkas, ops. 24, 41, and, of course, 59, all close with a

number featuring such a coda. It seems clear that Chopin wished the final number of his Mazurkas to have a character uniquely their own. One way he ensured this was to give the last numbers larger dimensions than the preceding numbers: except for the early ops. 6 and 7, and op. 63, the remaining eight published sets of Mazurkas all conclude with the lengthiest number of the opus. That a special sort of new theme should fall at the end of the coda of the final and longest work of an opus doubtless contributes further to the epilogic sense emanating from such themes. Whatever their character, the new theme at the end of a coda was a compositional device to be held in reserve for special moments. When Chopin added the new themes in the fourth and fifth sections of the coda to op. 59 no. 2, and particularly when he wrote the restrained music of the fifth section, he approached very closely the sort of mood he wished to evoke at the conclusion of the last work of the set (which contains the final peroration in both the G minor and F sharp minor versions). Had he left the themes in op. 59 no. 2 intact, he would have adumbrated the effect at the end of the set. While not directly connected with the decision to transpose the third Mazurka, the move to cancel the new themes in the second Mazurka works towards the same ends as the transposition: the integration and balance of musical gestures throughout the opus.

Corrections of Detail

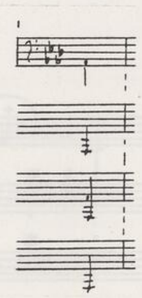
By far the vast majority of cancellations in a Chopin autograph concern corrections of detail. By this I mean alterations that mainly affect local events and that do not by themselves play a crucial role in larger structural concerns. Often these corrections address grammatical or notational problems, removing awkward doublings, changing directions of stems, or cancelling redundant accidentals. Chords sustain alterations in pitch content, or changes in spacing. Melodic profiles undergo refinement. The kinds of problems revised in corrections of detail are the same whether the autograph is a sketch, rejected public manuscript, Stichvorlage or presentation manuscript--only the number of changes varies.

Problems of register crop up often in corrections of detail. Chopin's initial tendency is to place a chord or pitch in the middle range of the keyboard; the decision to move it to a more extreme register comes later. The very first note of the Mazurka saw a particularly extended series of attempts to find the proper register (Example 9). Chopin's first version corresponds to that found in the sketch. Ab was quickly rejected, and the rest of the changes vacillate over whether to open the piece with a solo Ab', or with the Ab' doubled in the upper octave. By opening with the low Ab', either by itself or with the upper octave,[26] Chopin immediately defined the lower end of the

---

[26]Chopin clearly abandoned the opening in octaves in

ambitus of the work as a whole (the actual lowest note is F' in m. 36). But more importantly, the low Ab' emphasizes more forcefully the syncopated entry of the melody on the second beat, a rhythmic effect that permeates the Mazurka (for example, the aptness of the retransition to the reprise (mm. 60-69) derives partially from the repeated use of this rhythmic cell (see mm. 60, 62, 64 and 66). Chopin evidently wished to maximize the effect of this syncopation, for he made the same correction of detail (though without trying the version in octaves) in measures 5 and 9, or each time the opening motive returns in the first section of the piece.



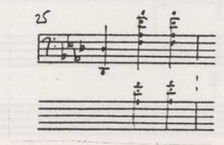
Example 9: Op. 59 no. 2, m. 1

Perhaps most common of the corrections of detail are those that revoice or change the spacing of an accompanimental chord. Chopin's tendency in these

---

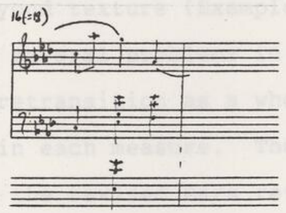
order to avoid anticipating the effect of m. 23ff., where the louder dynamics make octaves more appropriate.

corrections is to thin the texture of the accompaniment, sometimes by cancelling notes that are doubled within the chord itself. Such is the case in the corrections on the second and third beats of measure 25 (Example 10).



Example 10: Op. 59 no. 2, m. 25

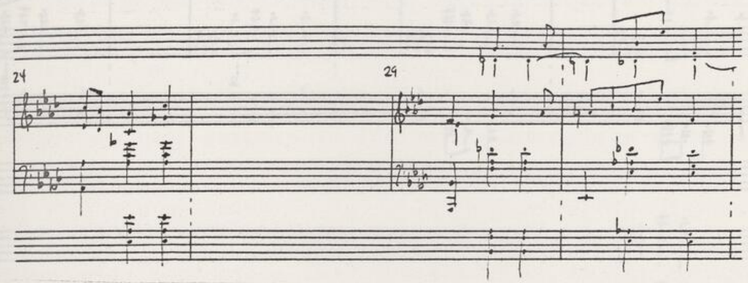
Other times Chopin removes from the accompaniment notes that double the melody, as in measures 16 and 18 (Example 11).



Example 11: Op. 59 no. 2, m. 16(=18)

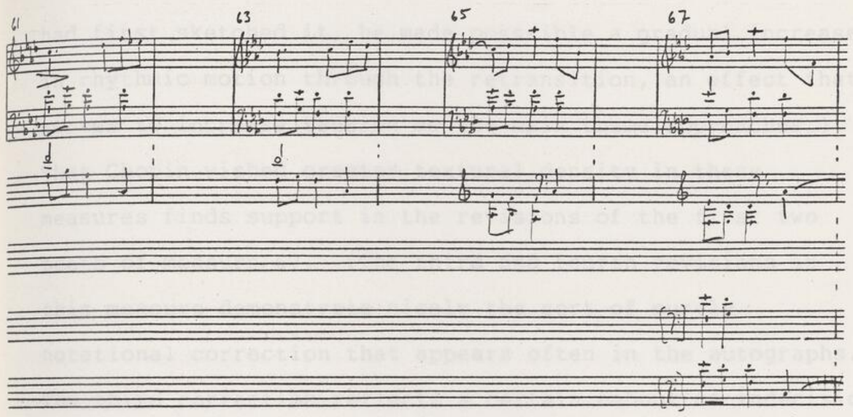
Occasionally it became necessary to redistribute chords to avoid awkward overlapping of the hands or to give to one hand a note first allotted to the other. Measure 24 partially demonstrates the former idea (Chopin also recognized that the accompanimental gb' would interfere with

that in the right hand, third beat), measures 29-30 the latter (Example 12).



Example 12: Op. 59 no. 2, mm. 24, 29-30

A series of related corrections in the retransition leading to the reprise of the opening theme also revise the accompanimental texture, but are of further interest for the changes that go beyond texture (Example 13). These revisions focus on several problems in the section. Most important for the retransition as a whole is the reshaping of the third beat in each measure. The even-numbered measures preceding the revised bars return alternately to C minor and C major; the point of the retransition is to prepare the return of the main theme by stressing this common-tone relationship between A flat major and C minor. The point is made more strongly if the pedal on C sounds throughout the retransition; hence the change on the third beat. Even greater emphasis on C obtains when the C pedal falls on the downbeat, a change made in measures 61 and 63 when Chopin prepared the Stichvorlagen of the Mazurka.



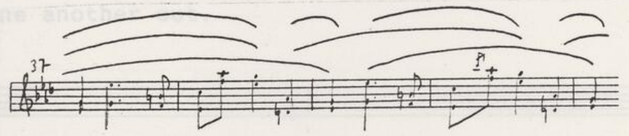
Example 13: Op. 59 no. 2, mm. 61, 63, 65, 67

In making this change after the rejected public manuscript, the composer returned to the accompaniment as he first sketched it. What led him away from the sketched version in the first place was the desire to unite motivically the retransition with the rest of the Mazurka. He did so by writing on the first two beats of the measures in question a figure derived from the three-note, upper neighbor motive that opens the piece. When he went on further in the rejected public manuscript to revise the first two beats in measures 61 and 63, he did not alter the motivic structure, rather he thinned the accompanimental texture, reserving the denser sixths for the latter half of the retransition, where the added texture lends greater weight to the impending return of the opening theme. (Likewise, when Chopin in the Stichvorlagen returned in

measures 61 and 63 to the version of the accompaniment as he had first sketched it, he made posssible a gradual increase in rhythmic motion through the retransition, an effect that serves to increase tension as the main theme approaches.) That Chopin wished greater textural density in these measures finds support in the revisions of the first two beats of measure 67. (The third and fourth revisions in this measure demonstrate nicely the sort of purely notational correction that appears often in the autographs. The third correction reflects a certain amount of indecision over the proper figure for the left hand; perhaps Chopin considered briefly duplicating the first version of measure 63.)

Corrections of performing indications occur infrequently in rejected public manuscripts, and for obvious reasons: such signs tend to be among the last added to a manuscript, and the musical problems that caused Chopin to abandon a manuscript were usually discovered before performing signs were introduced. Nevertheless, a few corrections of performing details do crop up in op. 59 no. 2. Many concern the phrasing of one recurring passage. Measures 37-38 and 39-40 show the most revisions of the phrase marks (Example 14). Similar problems arose in measures 16-17 and 18-19, but only the first and last versions shown above were tried out. Chopin first articulated each two-measure unit of the C minor passage in the same way, taking as a model measures 13-15, where the

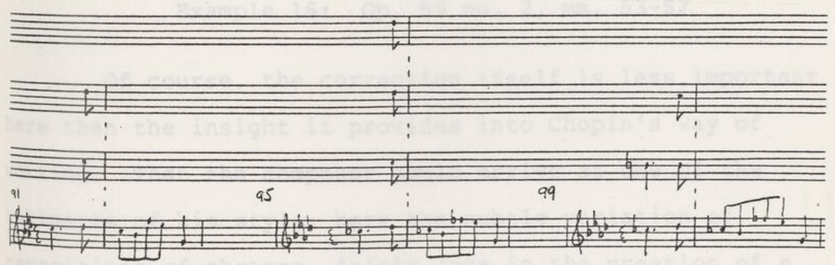
phrase line stretched from the second beat of measure 13 to the first beat of measure 15. In measures 13-15, the articulation makes sense: Chopin continues the slur to precisely where the melodic profile diverges from that which opens the piece. As the C minor section continues, however, this phrase structure no longer is convincing, for it de-emphasizes the upbeat character of the ab' - g' motive. Nor does Chopin's second attempt at phrasing satisfy, for starting the slur at the ab' glosses over the melodic syncopation intended for the eb". Only by attaching a separate slur to the ab' - g' motive does Chopin preserve both the upbeat character of the figure and the melodic syncopation.



Example 14: Op. 59 no. 2, mm. 37-41

As we saw earlier with the accompanimental figures in the retransition, sometimes Chopin lost confidence and cancelled the first version of a particular passage, only to return later to it after trying other alternatives. Such was the case in a series of related melodic corrections in measures 91, 95 and 99 (Example 15). Chopin's thought in inking out the first versions of these measures was to

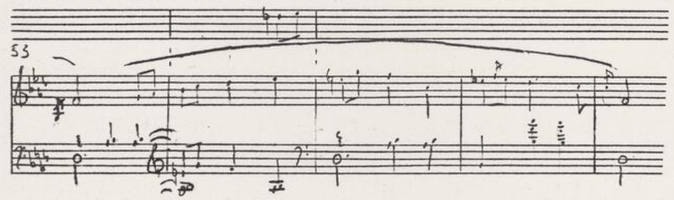
disguise the derivation of the figure from the opening motive of the piece. It is possible that this idea coincided with the decision to substitute C major and G major harmony in measures 91 and 99; Chopin may have wished to exchange one reinterpretative gesture for another. In any case, Chopin saw that the resulting melodic figure was particularly weak; the thrice-repeated pitches give a static and directionless quality to these measures. By returning to his original notion (in measure 95 he had to write the note twice, for the first was too cramped to be clear), Chopin not only avoided these problems, but also recognized that having both the melodic and accompanimental figures in these measures reinterpret ideas from the body of the piece only worked to the benefit of the section: the two do not cancel one another out.



Example 15: Op. 59 no. 2, mm. 91-92, 95-96, 99-100

Chopin also refines melodic contours in corrections of detail. Often refinements of melody come in repetitions of phrases, and their purpose is to inject a small amount of

variety into the musical structure. Measure 54 contains a perfect example (Example 16). At the third beat of measure 54, Chopin originally wrote a quarter note eb", just as he had in the previous two appearances of this fragment of the phrase (cf. mm. 46 and 50). The change gives greater impulse to the melody: the chromaticism of the new figure leads more incisively to the next measure, and the added bit of rhythmic motion animates the rising scalar pattern of these measures.



Example 16: Op. 59 no. 2, mm. 53-57

Of course, the correction itself is less important here than the insight it provides into Chopin's way of working. That the composer could arrive at one of the hallmarks of his style, here the subtle variation of repetitions of phrases, fairly late in the creation of a work shows one way in which his initial ideas could represent only a general plan that might later be modified in a particular way. In other words, Chopin in some cases first plotted out a rather anonymous repetition of a musical phrase, and only later made the change that gave it a more

individual stamp. Local corrections in autographs meant for publishers (as Chopin surely thought of the manuscript for op. 59 no. 2 when he prepared it) do not simply address problems of notation, they occasionally add gestures central to the definition of his style.

CHAPTER IV

COMPOSITION IN AUTOGRAPHS FOR A PUBLIC

Rejected public manuscripts show Chopin still wrestling with major structural problems when preparing a score for publication. By definition, however, rejected public manuscripts represent extreme cases. What sorts of compositional problems did Chopin encounter in less troubled situations, where the progression from sketch to Stichvorlagen to publication, or from sketch to presentation manuscript came off as planned?

Compositional Changes in the Autographs of the Nocturne, op. 62 no. 1

The Nocturne, op. 62 no. 1 provides a particularly rich opportunity to study the normal development of Chopin's decision-making, for unusually abundant evidence of the creative process exists. Three autographs are extant: a sketch for the middle section (current whereabouts unknown), and the Stichvorlagen for the Brandus and Breitkopf & Härtel editions (US-Cn Albrecht Ms. 550 and PL-Wn Mus. 234 respectively). Documentary evidence for the Nocturne is sufficiently ample that one can identify precisely how many autographs of the work Chopin penned, and when he prepared them. That work on op. 62 was underway by the early summer of 1845 seems clear from a letter of 8 July 1845 to Auguste Léo, in

which Chopin reports that soon he could send to Stern, the Berlin publisher, a group of three Mazurkas (op. 59, which he eventually did publish with Stern) or two Nocturnes.[1] His previous set of Nocturnes, op. 55, was released in 1844, and thus Chopin's reference must be to op. 62 in some form. Presumably he continued sporadic composition on the set through the summer (though we have no further mention of it from this time), and then, according to his habit of composing for the most part only at Nohant, laid it aside when he returned to Paris for the winter and spring of 1846. He definitely resumed work on op. 62 at Nohant in the summmer of 1846, when references to it in his correspondence grow more numerous. On 8 July 1846, he writes to Franchomme that work does not go well, but by 30 August, he is able to send the Brandus and Breitkopf Stichvorlagen to him via Delacroix.[2] On the same date, he writes to Léo ". . . j'ai pensé porter mes manuscrits à Paris, mais la belle saison me retient encore, et je viens vous ennuyer avec mon envoi pour Londres . . ."--direct confirmation that an autograph was prepared for Wessel.[3] Chopin thus sent off all three autographs on the same date; put another way, when preparing the

---

[1] Chopin, Korespondencja, 2: 388.

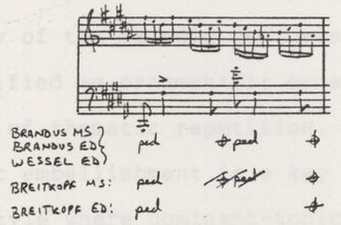
[2] Chopin, Korespondencja, 2: 396-98.

[3] Chopin, Korespondencja, 2: 398. In a letter to Franchomme dated 13 September 1846, Chopin again refers explicitly to the Wessel manuscript; Chopin, Korespondencja, II, 401.

individual Stichvorlagen, the models of the preceding manuscripts of the work were always available to him, a fact crucial to the understanding of the revisions made in the autographs.

Stemmatic analysis of the sources poses difficulties only in deciding the order in which the German and English autographs were copied, for it is clear that the autograph for the French edition was prepared first, directly from the sketches. Collation of the autographs and the first editions reveals that, when different readings occur, the English first edition most often is allied with the Breitkopf autograph and first edition against the French sources, but that there are also numerous cases of agreement between the English edition and the French sources, and rather fewer instances where a reading in the English edition stands alone. Certain key passages suggest that the English autograph was the first to be prepared after the French, and that the German autograph was then prepared from the English. In the pedal indications in measure 82 (Example 17), the reading in the German autograph was originally exactly that of the French manuscript and the English first edition (I am here assuming that the English engravers accurately rendered what was in the autograph). Chopin crossed out the first release and the second pedal sign to make the pedal depressed on the first beat last the entire measure. The possibility that Chopin would return in the English autograph to the version where the dampers are twice

raised after consciously rejecting it in the Breitkopf autograph seems less likely than the Breitkopf version being the last prepared. If the English autograph was in fact prepared from the French, then the English autograph would, in appearance, probably form a bridge between the heavily revamped French autograph and the seldom corrected German autograph.



Example 17: Op. 62 no. 1, m. 82

Like most Chopin manuscripts, the Brandus Stichvorlage of op. 62 no. 1 is peppered with corrections of detail. A number of these in the opening section focus on melodic concerns, at times ornamenting what was present in the original layer, but more often simplifying it in some fashion. That Chopin should have labored to control the amount of ornamental writing in the first portion of the Nocturne should come as no surprise, for ornamentation plays an important role in the articulation of form in the piece. Traditionally, of course, Chopin has veen viewed as a master of the ornamental art; as Charles Rosen argues, after the classical period when the art remained essentially static,

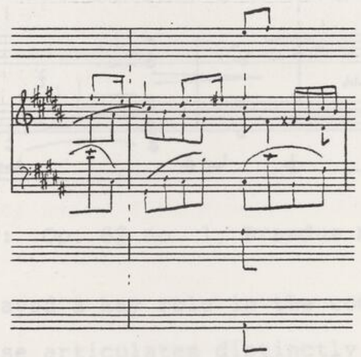
Chopin, along with Rossini, Bellini, Liszt and others, returned decoration to the level it had reached in the works of Couperin and Bach.[4] Surely this Nocturne is the embodiment of the composer's ornamental genius: one need only mention the chains of trills at the recapitulation of the opening material, or, in measure 26, the dramatic scalar decoration leading to the miniature return within the opening section. But few of the corrections within this section (or few of the melodic gestures, for that matter) could be classified as ornamental; ornamentation is expected more at places of thematic repetition. Reinterpretation through melodic embellishment is a key force in Chopin's music: in a style where dominant-tonic polarity is weakened, it is one of the ways for the composer to make a repetition a dramatic event. To ornament significantly at a restatement within the opening section, though, would be to unleash the dramatic energy of the ornament at a structurally weak point. This is why the opening theme is virtually unembellished at its return in measure 28. When ornamental corrections do occur in the opening section, they are non-diminutive, that is, they either momentarily increase the level of dissonance or provide greater rhythmic differentiation between the parts.[5]

---

[4]Charles Rosen, The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven (New York, 1972), p. 101.

[5]I am here using "ornamental corrections" in the sense proposed by Robert L. Marshall in The Compositional Process

One illustration of this sort of correction will suffice (Example 18). The preceding measures establish an irregular pattern of weak-beat passing tones followed by strong-beat appogiaturas on the same pitch. By revising measure 13 to fit into this pattern, Chopin increases the local level of dissonance and also avoids the static melodic pattern that would have resulted from the earlier version (that is, a dotted f#" - e" - d#" descent followed by a d#" - e#" - f#" ascent in the same rhythm).



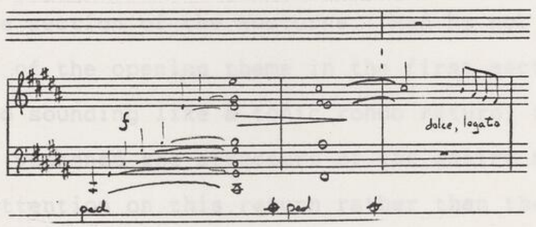
Example 18: Op. 62 no. 1, Brandus MS, m. 13

That Chopin wished to control the amount of ornamentation in the opening section might lead one to

---

of J.S. Bach 2 vols. (Princeton, 1972), 1: 35, where he defines them as places in which "elaborating notes of diminution have been added to the original reading, or the shapes originally created have been rhythmically dissolved but not basically changed."

expect a larger number of corrections that simplify melodic contours or textures; if such corrections actually number few, they also address relatively important moments in the work. The very first correction in the autograph (measures 2-3) falls broadly into this category (Example 19). Having gone as far as notating two ties and a c#", Chopin decided against the idea of an elision between the introductory two measures and the descending fourth of measure 3.



Example 19: Op. 62 no. 1, Brandus MS, mm. 1-3

Silence played a key role in the composer's decision: the pause articulates distinctly the four-note figure, which, set off from what precedes it, assumes greater meaning for the Nocturne. Now the motivic importance of this figure is certainly not as great as in certain of the Etudes, where, as Abraham has shown, the technical problem as embodied in a particular motive is worked out pervasively throughout the piece.[4] Rather, in a manner fitting the more expansive and varied melodic style

---

[4]Abraham, Chopin's Musical Style, pp. 39-40.

of the Nocturnes, Chopin employs the descending fourth as a means of ensuring unity in the miniature ternary group that constitutes the opening section.[7] In the outer legs, the motive is clearly audible; in the central portion, it is usually concealed in some way. One effect of this unifying motive is to forestall any sense that the work is in rondo form rather than compound ternary. By motivically integrating the initial ternary group, Chopin has assurred that it is heard as a whole which is then pitted against the real middle section of the Nocturne. Had he not done so, the return of the opening theme in the first section would have risked sounding like a tonic rondo return; this in turn could have weakened the structure of the entire Nocturne by focusing attention on this return rather than the more significant A flat major middle section that follows. I am not suggesting that Chopin's correction in the third measure in any way altered the fact that the descending figure was to serve as a unifying motive, only that, by providing such a clear articulation, he underscored its integrative implications.

More strictly the inverse of ornamenting is the simplifying correction of measure 15 (Example 20). Again, a desire to limit the amount of ornamentation in the opening section is at work here. Thus far, the melodic design of

---

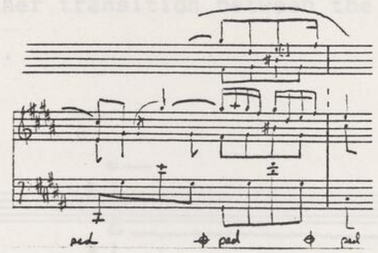
[7]Leichtentritt, Analyse der Chopin'schen Klavierwerke 1: 51-53, also remarks on the integrative function of the descending fourth.

the opening section has featured almost entirely quarter- and eighth-note motion. (The sixteenths in measures 13-14 are Chopin's melodic analog to the classical device of increasing harmonic rhythm at important cadences--the importance of this particular cadence being that is a reaffirmation of the tonic after the preceding modulatory measures.) To ornament in measure 15 would to embellish for its own sake. The passing cadence that would be articulated is structurally unimportant; as I stated earlier, an ornament at a relatively insignificant point in the opening section risks subverting the dramatic force at those later places that depend on ornamentation to underline their structural importance. Chopin did not wholly abandon the melodic contour of his original version; the final, allowing for a rhythmic alteration of the last two notes, is an augmented form of the second half of the original.[8]

Significant structural issues occupied Chopin too, both within the Brandus manuscript itself, and in the later autographs prepared from it. Examining first those worked out in the Brandus manuscript, two frenetically cancelled passages catch the eye since they occur at central musical moments, namely the return of the principal thematic material, and the end of the piece (see fol. 2r, staves 5-6,

---

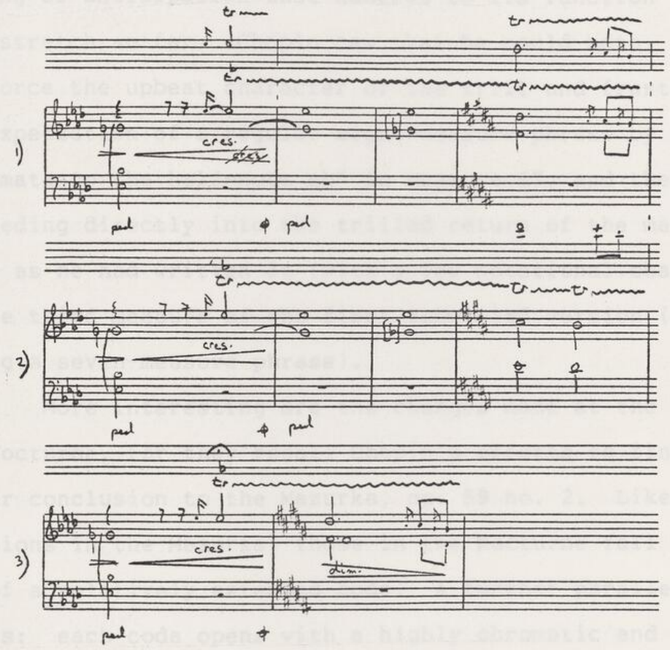
[8]Chopin in the first version may also have been concerned about the empty octaves on the second half of the third beat, as well as about the reiteration of g#" three times in the melody.



Example 20: Op. 62 no. 1, Brandus MS, m. 15

and fol. 2v, staves 8-12). As Example 21 shows, two versions of the junction between the middle section and the return of the main theme were tried before a third was selected. Chopin's concerns at the join between the sections centered around finding the proper expression of irregularity. The composer had decided that the underlying framework of eight-measure phrases in the middle section (mm. 37-44, 45-52, 53-60) was to be abandoned in the last unit (mm. 61ff.); his first thought was to extend the last phrase to nine measures by repeating the trill on the eb". Reinterpreted as d#", the trill continued for another three beats in the initial third measure of the cancelled version. Two problems weakened this first version of the link between sections. First, three-and-a-quarter measures trill on one pitch seemed excessive. Second, to begin the trilled descent with eighth notes after the lengthy trill sounded jarring. Chopin's solution was to write an alternate third measure, which both removed three beats of the trill and

made for a smoother transition between the fixed eb" and the descending scale.



Example 21: Op. 62 no. 1, Brandus MS, mm. 67ff.

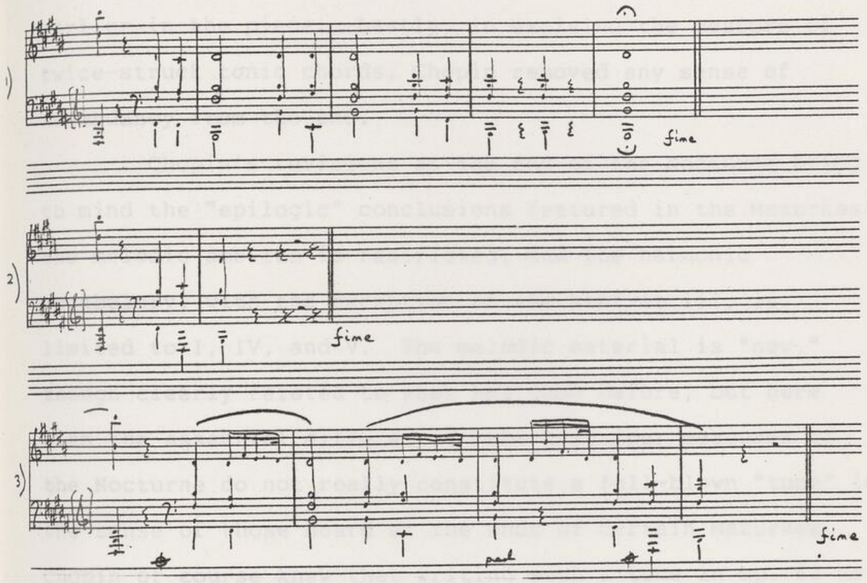
Now Eb (or D#), both as a pitch and a tonal area, recurs often in the structure of the Nocturne; Chopin employs it at many important structural moments (I will explore this idea in greater detail when discussing changes made in the middle section). But whatever its role elsewhere, two-and-a-half (or three-and-a-quarter) measures of suspended tonal and melodic motion at the join between

the two sections weakens the link greatly. The trill, after all, not only concludes the middle section, it acts as a structural upbeat to the main theme about to return: the feeling of anticipation that adheres to its function can only stretch so far. Chopin saw that he could both reinforce the upbeat character of the trill and frustrate the expectation of a regular eight-measure phrase by adding a fermata to the half-note eb" in measure 67, and then proceeding directly into the trilled return of the main theme as he had written it (with a few notational changes) in the third measure of the first cancelled version (thus making a seven-measure phrase).

More interesting are the changes made at the end of the Nocturne, for they recall Chopin's efforts to find the proper conclusion to the Mazurka, op. 59 no. 2. Like the revisions in the Mazurka, those in the Nocturne fall at the end of a relatively extended coda. A further parallel exists: each coda opens with a highly chromatic and sequential passage derived from material heard earlier in the work (in the Nocturne, see mm. 76-80, derived from m. 10). But after this dramatic beginning, the Nocturne does not go on to explore further chromatic areas as in the Mazurka; it essentially composes out the tonic triad arrived at on the downbeat of measure 81, using scalar and accompanimental figures derived from the middle theme of the miniature ternary group that constitutes the A section of the piece. (Chopin sounds chords other than the tonic in

measures 81-88--see measure 87 in particular--but, written over a tonic pedal, they are perceived more as appoggiaturas to the tonic than real departures from it.) As such, measures 81-88 of the Nocturne are more analogous to the third section of the op. 59 no. 2 coda.

Chopin approached the final bars of the Nocturne, then, with the tonic solidly grounded. Example 22 shows that he essayed and cancelled two versions before penning one that satisfied him. Chopin's first version contains the harmonic skeleton of his last, with one additional bar of tonic harmony. Five measures of stark chords, however, sound inappropriate in a work as melodically florid as the Nocturne; in this context, and because of the extremely limited motion of the top, melodic voice of the chords, the first attempt at concluding the piece seems extraordinarily uninteresting. In Chopin's next try at a solution, he did not abandon the notion of a chordal ending. His reasoning was more direct: if five measures of block chords were tedious, then shorten the number of measures to two. Though somewhat abrupt, this conclusion satisfies more than its predecessor. Still, the longer version, by virtue of its greater length, could potentially refer to motives from earlier in the piece, were it only elaborated upon. The problem, Chopin realized, was not so much with the length of the first version as with the way in which the material was put forward.



Example 22: Op. 62 no. 1, Brandus MS, conclusion

Chopin's final choice contains several merits. By elaborating the fourth beats of the first two measures and the second beat of the third, Chopin brings the concluding measures into accord with the melodic style of the remainder of the piece. Furthermore, the melodic revision of measure 91, by omitting the c#' of the original, and by stressing instead d#' and f#', hints at, if only for the briefest moment, mediant harmony. When e' sounds, the dominant seventh function of the chord cannot be doubted. But some ambiguity exists: Chopin clearly wished to refer fleetingly

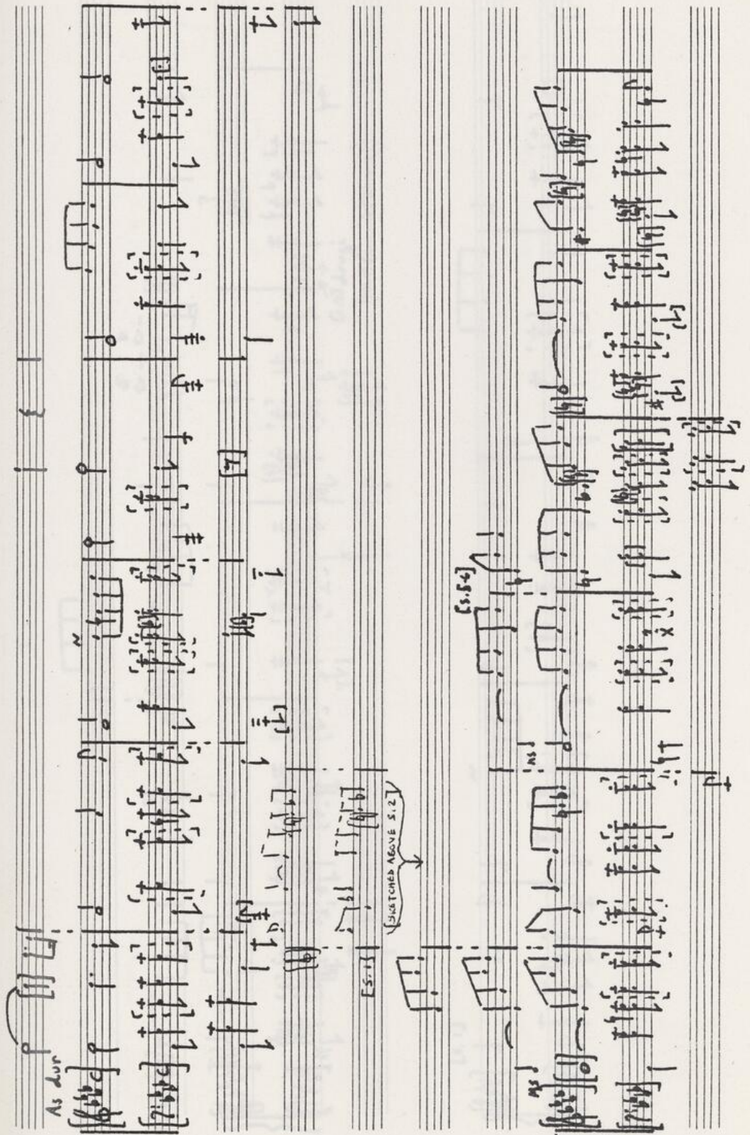
to the mediant harmonies that had played such a notable role earlier in the piece. Lastly, in excising the measure of twice-struck tonic chords, Chopin removed any sense of redundancy from the end.

Chopin's revisions at the end of the Nocturne bring to mind the "epilogic" conclusions featured in the Mazurkas: the melodic ambitus is restricted, and the harmonic vocabulary, with the exception of the hint at iii, is limited to I, IV, and V. The melodic material is "new," though clearly related to what has come before, but here lies the essential difference: the last four measures of the Nocturne do not really constitute a full-blown "tune" in the sense of those heard at the ends of certain Mazurkas. Chopin of course knew that writing such a tune in op. 62 no. 1 might undercut the eventual conclusion of the second Nocturne of the set (recall that when Chopin in the Mazurkas employs a new, "epilogic" theme, it is always in the last number of the set). In borrowing from the Mazurka only some elements of the "epilogic" conclusion for the final version of the end of op. 62 no. 1, Chopin was able to invoke the formal device from a different genre without weakening the compatibility of the two Nocturnes.

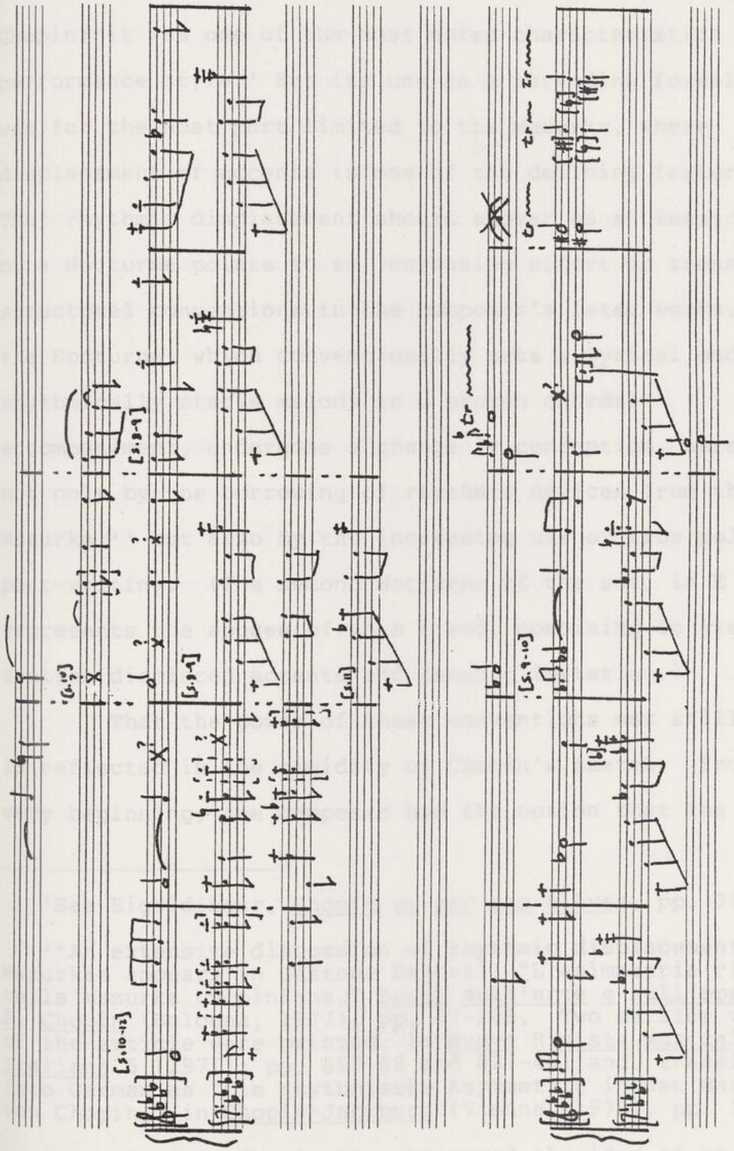
Perhaps the most significant set of revisions in the Nocturne concerns the melodic and harmonic format for a crucial passage in the middle section and extends beyond the Brandus autograph. For this middle section, we possess a sketch whose contents have not been examined critically in

the literature. I wish to dwell a bit on some of the issues it raises, not only because the document is being brought to critical attention for the first time, but because it will allow us to understand more fully the background against which Chopin worked while revising the Stichvorlagen. The sketch is transcribed as Example 23.

Chopin's major compositional problem in the middle section derived from an inherent feature of the form. A Romantic ternary piece normally exhibits a decrease in harmonic tension in its central section, the chief cause of which is a weakened dominant-tonic polarity: although the dominant still plays an important role locally, it seldom appears as a secondary key area. The tension that would result from an ordered modulation to the dominant is eschewed in favor of more abrupt and coloristic moves to other keys. Thus the middle section of the Nocturne is in the submediant major--a favorite choice--but see also the D flat major middle section of the C major Mazurka, op. 24 no. 2, or the B major Mazurka, op. 63 no. 1, whose central section begins in A major. When Chopin approached the composition of a middle section, one concern was to prevent this relaxation of harmonic tension from undermining the tonal cohesion of the entire piece. In earlier ternary Nocturnes, Chopin often turned to a change of tempo to offset any slackening in the form. But in op. 62 no. 1, he essayed a different and highly successful solution to the problem, one that creates tension primarily through rhythmic displacement.


(Ped. simile)
(Ped. simile)
(Ped. simile)

Example 23 – continued



Rhythmic asymmetry is of course nothing new to Chopin; it was one of the most noted characteristics of his performance style.[9] But its use as a pervading formal device was for the most part limited to the Mazurka, where displacement of accents is one of the defining features.[10] That rhythmic displacement should appear as an integral part of a Nocturne points to an increasing effort to transcend structural conventions in the composer's later works. Thus the Nocturne, which conventionally sets a lyrical and rhythmically stable melody to a broken chordal accompaniment, undergoes a change in conception, heralded not only by the borrowing of rhythmic devices from the Mazurka,[11] but also by the increasing use of true polyphonic part-writing. (The second Nocturne of the set, in E major, represents the apogee of this trend, combining in its middle section displaced accents and canonic imitation.)

That the power of these conventions was still strong is reflected in the timidity of Chopin's sketch. From the very beginning, the composer had the notion that the left

---

[9]See Eigeldinger, Chopin vu par ses élèves, pp. 77-81.

[10]An extensive discussion of rhythmic displacement in the Mazurkas appears in Gastone Belotti, "L'asimmetria ritmica nella Mazurka chopiniana," Saggi sull'arte e sull'opera di F. Chopin (Bologna, 1977), pp. 77-108. Two earlier versions of the article were printed, in Nuova Rivista Musicale Italiana 5 (1971): pp. 657-88 and 827-46; and, translated into German as "Die rhythmische Asymmetrie in den Mazurken von Chopin," in Chopin-Jahrbuch (Vienna, 1970), pp. 109-137.

[11]Recall that Chopin also borrowed the idea of an "epilogic" conclusion to the Nocturne from the Mazurka.

hand should be dominated by displaced accents, but his earliest conception lacks consistency. In fact, at just the point where the rhythmic instability in the left hand is needed both to articulate the beginning of the first cadential progression in the new tonic of A flat major and to enliven the suddenly static rhythm of the melody, Chopin reverts to a downbeat-oriented rhythmic pattern, and so dissipates the accumulated energy of the preceding measures (see the fourth and fifth measures of the sketch). In the same vein, rather than avoid any left-hand stress on the third beat, as Chopin does in the first six measures of the final version, the sketch relies on an eighth - quarter - eighth rhythmic cell, with attendant emphasis on strong beats, to create the effect of syncopation.

Also lacking in the sketch is support of the rhythmic tension through treatment of dissonance. Chopin's first conception avoided pervasive use of either harmonic or melodic dissonance. The opening measure is set to static tonic harmony that, by resolving the V of A flat in the preceding measure, delineates the opening of the new section. However, at the same time it undermines the rhythmic asymmetry by allowing the tonic resolution to coincide with the first downbeat of the new section. In the Brandus autograph, the composer alters the harmony of this measure so that it sustains the dominant harmony of the preceding bar; thus the delayed resolution, a sort of syncopation in the expected harmonic rhythm, supports the

displaced accents of the left hand. A similar contradiction in goals argues for the weakness of the generally consonant melody in the sketch. Only once does Chopin begin a measure with an appoggiatura, and the dissonances that do occur elsewhere tend to be on passing notes. This continual emphasis of consonant tones on downbeats unnecessarily minimizes the effect of the left-hand rhythm: by turning to appoggiaturas on downbeats, as he does in the Brandus autograph, he is able to delay the consonant resolution to a weak beat, contributing further to the unstable accents. Chopin's sketch, then, while proposing a novel rhythmic structure for the middle section, circumvents this framework at all points by the utter regularity of its harmony and melody.

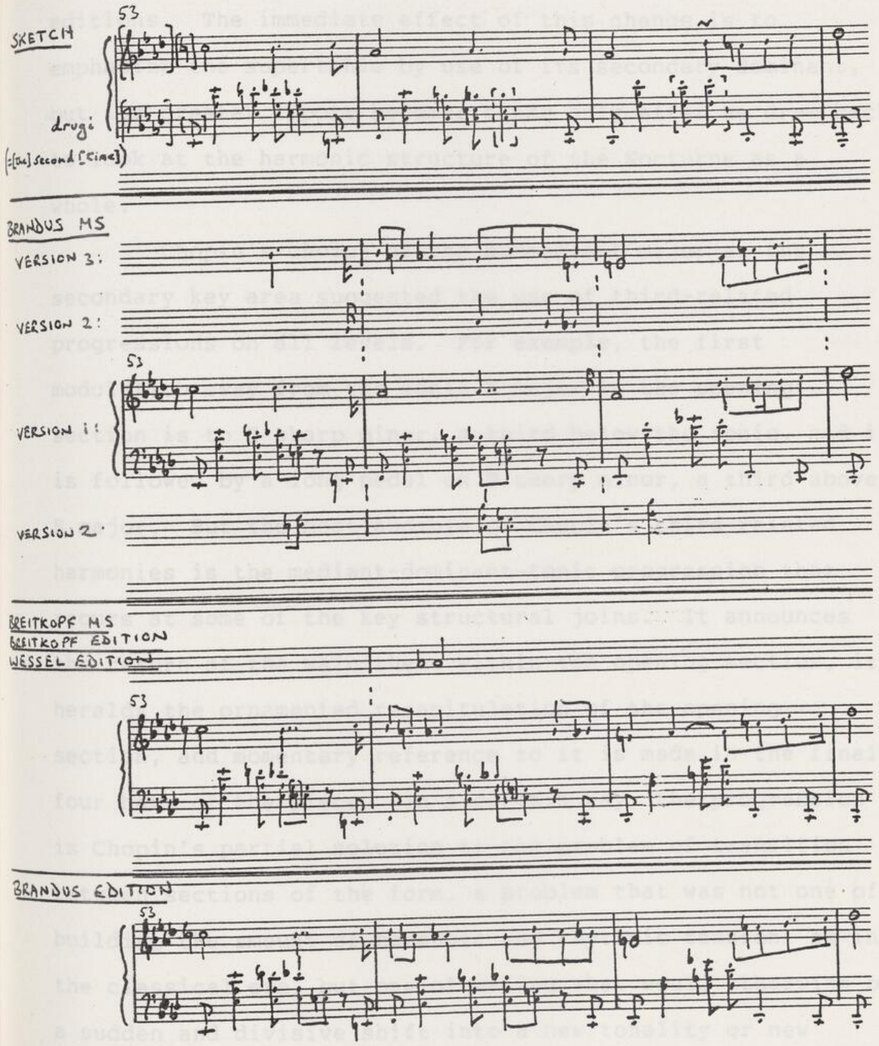
If the sketch presents a version of the middle section at once sure of its large-scale formal goals and inconsistent in the local applications of them, it should not surprise us to find evidence of further changes in the Brandus autograph, which was prepared directly from the sketch. But what of the other sources readied by Chopin for publication? Ordinarily, one assumes that the act of copying a manuscript is a simple manual chore by which a work is transcribed from one document to another. Errors might creep into the process, but the versions are essentially the same. For Chopin, however, this is far from true. When he prepared all the engraver's copies for a work, he was not only copying from autograph to autograph,

he was also composing. The changes he made could vary from a slight shift in a pedal release to a major alteration of the harmony, but seldom, in op. 62, can the differences between the autographs be attributed to errors in copying. Chopin refined his pieces meticulously, and this polishing was by no means confined to his sketches. Within the environment created by simultaneous publication, Chopin had the perfect milieu in which to allow his compositional hand free reign. His was a way of composing possible only in his time; had he flourished even ten or fifteen years earlier, when multiple autographs and simultaneous publication were the exception rather than the rule, we would have seen an entirely different mode of composition. In these multiple autographs, Chopin's composition proceeded with direction, in the hope of arriving at a musically superior reading of a particular passage.

Chopin's revisions, directed and logical, may be followed most dramatically in the middle section. No fewer than six versions of measures 53-55 were tried by the composer (Example 24). These measures mark the return of the principal theme of the middle section, whose ternary shape reflects in miniature the form of the entire Nocturne. Thus the passage carries some structural weight, but less than the major divisions of the piece. The revisions concern the incorporation into this more local structural event of certain motivic ideas that permeate the rest of the Nocturne. From the very start, Chopin was certain that the

return to the tonic A flat was not to coincide with the return of the theme, but it was not until the third layer of the Brandus autograph that Chopin thought to try a version of the melody that, through ornamentation, echoed this harmonic change. The modestly embellished theme in the middle section further heightens the animation of the repeat caused by the change in harmony, and at the same time foreshadows the technique used to enliven the return of the thematic material from the opening section, although by avoiding trills and by confining the ornamentation that was used to a brief flourish, Chopin showed the same sense of control over the amount of embellishment to allow before the recapitulation that he demonstrated in his revisions of the opening section.

With the changes in accompanimental harmony in this passage we come face to face with Chopin's unrelenting efforts to relate local events to background structural principles. As mentioned earlier, Chopin chose to separate the tonal return from the melodic, and he did so by deflecting the harmony to vi by use of an applied dominant, and then returning to the tonic through the simple progression ii-V-I. The composer's first revisions, in the Brandus autograph, thin the texture of the accompaniment, and add passing and accented dissonances. But upon turning to the Breitkopf autograph, we find what at first seems like a curious and jarring alteration of the progression in measure 55, a change that was probably made first in the



Example 24: Op. 62 no. 1, mm. 53-55

lost English autograph, and that appears in all the first editions. The immediate effect of this change is to emphasize the supertonic by use of its secondary dominant, but its greater import becomes clear only after we draw back to look at the harmonic structure of the Nocturne as a whole.

Chopin's choice of the submediant major as the secondary key area suggested the use of third-related progressions on all levels. For example, the first modulation away from the tonic B major in the opening section is to G sharp minor, a third below the tonic, and it is followed by a long pedal on D sharp minor, a third above B major. But the most audible of Chopin's third-related harmonies is the mediant-dominant-tonic progression that recurs at some of the key structural joins. It announces the return of the main theme within the opening section, it heralds the ornamented recapitulation of the opening section, and momentary reference to it is made in the final four bars of the piece. In a certain way, the progression is Chopin's partial solution to the problem of transition between sections of the form, a problem that was not one of building the amount of harmonic and rhythmic tension, as in the classical era, but one of making what would otherwise be a sudden and divisive shift into a new tonality or new thematic section into something that, through repetition of a harmonic pattern, works to unify the entire piece. With this harmonic signature in mind, another look at measure 55

reveals that the altered harmonies call on this very progression, transposed to the fleetingly temporary tonic of B flat minor, and with the resolution to the tonic falling onto a chord in six-four inversion. But the gesture is stunningly clear, and Chopin calls additional attention to it not only by the clash between ab and a in the bass, but by leading into the measure with the dissonant double neighbors gb' and e'. Like the use of ornamentation in the melodic voice, only more readily apparent, Chopin draws on a formal device having its most important applications outside the middle section; he could not be more transparent in his effort to relate a local moment to the background structure.

What puzzles most observers about such revisions by Chopin is that he did not, after refining the later Stichvorlagen, return to the Brandus manuscript and bring it into agreement with the others. Two factors may explain this anomaly. Chopin may not have felt there was enough space to revise the melodic line in the Brandus autograph. He had already used the staff above the main system in making his earlier corrections in measures 53-55, and in particular to remedy clearly measure 54 may have seemed impossible to the composer. But he did not fret over the lack of space, for he realized that he would have a later opportunity to mend the passage when he read proof. Chopin makes clear his awareness of the differences between the manuscripts and his desire to correct proofs in his letter to Franchomme of 30 August 1846:

> Prie Maho de ne pas changer les manuscrits destinés à Härtel--car comme je ne corrigerai pas les épreuves de Leipzig, il est important que ma copie soit claire. Prie aussi Brandus de m'envoyer deux épreuves, dont je pourrai garder une . . .[12]

In fact his memory proved spotty when he actually saw the proofs--as we shall see in Chapter V, he recalled only some of the changes made in the later engraver's manuscripts--but this does not contradict the notion that Chopin thought he would remember the alterations when he sent off the manuscripts.

Compositional Process and Textual Criticism in the Waltz, op. 64 no. 1

At a certain stage in the study of Chopin's manuscripts, compositional process and textual criticism melt into one inseparable area of inquiry. Nowhere does the fundamental interdependence of the two loom more clearly than in the complex of surviving manuscripts for the so-called "Minute" Waltz in D flat major, op. 64 no. 1. The three categories of autographs represented, sketch, Stichvorlage, and presentation manuscript, raise questions not only about the relationship of the sketch to what follows, but also--and this is of central concern to this chapter--about the connections between the two different kinds of autographs for public eyes. Op. 64 no. 1 confronts directly the issue of compositional intent in presentation manuscripts. Did

---

[12]Chopin, Korespondencja, 2: 397-98.

they serve as a sort of experimental forum for the working out of a piece before it was published; did they revise notions in the published texts; were they meant as ornamented or varied versions of the published editions; or were they considered as objects entirely separate from the work as available to the larger music-buying public? Chronology and derivation of sources obviously plays a key role in the evaluation of these questions; our first task must be to tease out a stemma from the knotted mass of autographs for op. 64 no. 1.

Five autographs of the Waltz survive: one sketch (F-Pc Ms. 111a), one Stichvorlage, for the Brandus edition (private collection, Switzerland),[13] and three presentation manuscripts, all signed, but none dated (GB-Lcm MS 4224, F-Pc Ms. 111b, and D-BNu, Autographensammlung).[14] Some basic

---

[13]The Brandus engraver's autographs of the remaining two numbers of op. 64 are preserved together with the first number. I am grateful to the owner of this manuscript (who wishes to remain anonymous) for both allowing me to consult the autograph in person and for providing me with excellent photographs of it. Readers should be warned that the transcription published in Drath, Waltzes of Fryderyk Chopin, pp. 192-95, inaccurately represents many details, and gives no sense of where corrections and cancellations were made. Drath's volume does however publish reliable facsimiles of the two F-Pc manuscripts and the GB-Lcm autograph (see below).

[14]The D-BNu manuscript was ignored by Chopin scholars even though mentioned by Theo Clasen in "Die Musikalishen Autographen der Universitäts-Bibliothek Bonn," Festschrift Joseph Schmidt-Görg zum 60. Geburtstag, ed. Dagmar Weise (Bonn, 1957), pp. 32-33. I include a description of the manuscript in my review of the Kobylańska Werkverzeichnis, pp. 360-61.

assumptions and a bit of documentary evidence help order three of the manuscripts.

Starting with the obvious, the sketch precedes all other sources. When precisely Chopin set about composing op. 64 no. 1 is not clear, for only one reference to it is made in the correspondence (see below). Probably he began work on it sometime after completing ops. 60-62, which occupied him through the summer and into the autumn of 1846, though it is conceivable that preliminary ideas for the Waltz could have been laid out before this time. Sketching must have been finished by late spring 1847 when, as we will see, he began preparing the work for publication.

An approximate date of the Brandus Stichvorlage, may be drawn from the single reference in Chopin's correspondence to op. 64, a receipt acknowledging sale to Breitkopf & Härtel of rights for ops. 63-65, dated 30 June 1847.[15] Now the actual preparation of the manuscripts for an edition (and evidence presented in Chapter I suggests that Breitkopf normally received manuscripts from Chopin at this point in his career) ordinarily occurred well in advance of the signing of the sales receipt. For instance, Chopin sent his autographs of ops. 60-62 to Breitkopf on 30 August 1846, but did not sign the receipt acknowledging sale until 19 November.[16] Moreover, that Chopin reports, in a letter of 8 June

---

[15]Chopin, Korespondencja, 2: 415. The receipt appears also in Appendix A.

[16]See Chopin, Korespondencja, 2: 397-98, 404. The

1847 to his family,[17] that ops. 63 and 65 were being published immediately implies that the Stichvorlagen for these works, and presumably for op. 64 as well, were complete, or close to complete. Since the Breitkopf manuscript is no longer extant, the Brandus Stichvorlage for op. 64 cannot be compared to it; nevertheless, the Brandus autograph shows signs of being the earliest of the engraver's manuscripts for this piece: cancellations and corrections in later engraver's manuscripts tend not to be as numerous as they are in the Brandus autograph for op. 64. If it was in fact the first prepared, then we may be reasonably certain that the Swiss autograph of op. 64 no. 1 was prepared at the latest by early June 1847.

From a letter dated Paris, 1 August 1847 from the recipient of the GB-Lcm manuscript, Chopin's student Juliette von Caraman, comes a description of the circumstances of the gift:

> Am 4ten July haben wir Abschied von Chopin genommen . . . hatte er Zina [her daughter] und mich zu einer matinée musicale bei sich eingeladen, wo er und der beste Violoncelliste Franchomme viel zusammengespielt und nur ein Kleiner Kreis von Intimen unter anderen der berühmte Maler De la Croix gegenwärtig war . . . endlich hat er mir einen noch ungedruckten Walzer eigenhändig aufgeschrieben, ein Kostbares dokument um das mich alle Welt beneidet . . .[18]

---

receipt is included in Appendix A.

[17]Chopin, Korespondencja z Rodziną, p. 167.

[18]The letter is preserved together with the manuscript,

The letter testifies that the manuscript was copied out no later than 4 July, when von Caraman took leave of Chopin. It is not clear from the letter if Chopin actually wrote out the manuscript of op. 64 no. 1 on the day of the "matinée musicale," or if the "endlich" suggests a later date. At any rate, the date of the musical gathering at Chopin's residence may be identified precisely from an entry in Delacroix's journal as 1 July.[19] The GB-Lcm autograph of op. 64 no. 1 was thus prepared not in late May or early June, as Arthur Hedley asserts in a note kept together with the manuscript,[20] but in the first few days of July 1847, well after the writing of the Brandus Stichvorlage (a fact of capital importance for understanding the relationship of the sources).[21]

Common sense and documentary evidence suggest approximate dates for three manuscripts; what can we ascertain about the other two? Unfortunately, little of the his-

---

and bears the shelfmark MS 4753.

[19]"1er Juillet.---A la Chambre le matin.--Séance chez Chopin à trois heures. Il a été divin. On lui a exécuté son trio avec Fauchon, etc., il l'a exécuté ensuite lui-même et de main de maître." Eugène Delacroix, Journal, ed. André Joubin, 3 vols. (Paris, 1932), 1: 233-34.

[20]See Kobylańska, Katalog, no. 852 for the text of part of this note.

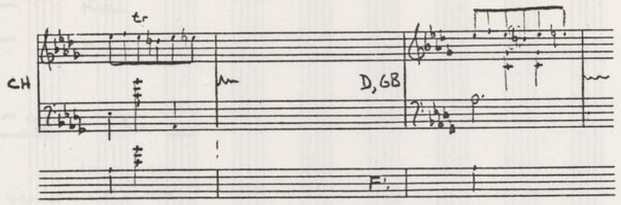
[21]Nowik, "Proces twórczy," p. 204, after comparing the GB-Lcm manuscript with the sketch, claims that the former represents the first, or one of the first, complete realizations of the piece. Nowik does not take into account the documentary evidence, which leads to a different conclusion.

tory of these manuscripts has come to light. A safe presumption, however, would be that Chopin gave them as gifts before the work appeared in print, or before 12 February 1848 (the date of its entry in the Dépôt légal). Evidence from other works which Chopin both gave as a gift and published shows the dates of the former anticipating the time of publication (see the presentation manuscripts for the Waltzes, ops. 18 and 34 no. 1). Presenting a manuscript to someone took on greater personal meaning when the work was known only to a select few--recall the obvious pride of Juliette von Caraman at being given a "noch ungedruckten Walzer."

Armed with chronological data on the one hand secure (for the sketch, the Swiss Stichvorlage, and GB-Lcm [hereafter SK, CH, and GB]) and on the other tentative (D-BNu and F-Pc [hereafter D and F]), one may begin exploring the musical texts handed down in the manuscripts. Soon it becomes clear that no two manuscripts agree completely. Variants abound in the manuscripts, but not all are of the same magnitude. Most fall into a category exceedingly difficult to account for rationally in text-critical terms (and thoroughly vexatious to the editor because of it): variants in details that Chopin could easily have effected without recourse to one particular version or another, and which do not follow a pattern from manuscript to manuscript. For example, that in the left hand of measure 12, beats 2 and 3, SK, GB and D show ab - c' - g' against c' - g' in F and CH,

while in measure 19 all have the former version save D, which offers the latter, does not provide information of real value for drawing a stemma. The choice of one text over another seems haphazard, not governed by the existence of a discrete model. Other variants may be eliminated from consideration as having arisen because of the greater care taken with Stichvorlagen. Thus the accent on the first note of the piece, as well as the direction "leggiero" constitute the sort of detailed performance indications characteristic of Stichvorlagen, but not terribly common in presentation manuscripts. But a number of variants seem more significant and require close examination. Perhaps the best way to present this musical evidence is to group together all those significant variants that show like patterns of association with manuscripts. Thus all variants that set off manuscript m from manuscripts n, x, and y will form one group, those that contrast m and n with x and y another, etc. For reasons that will be made clear, sometimes SK will be invoked, other times not.

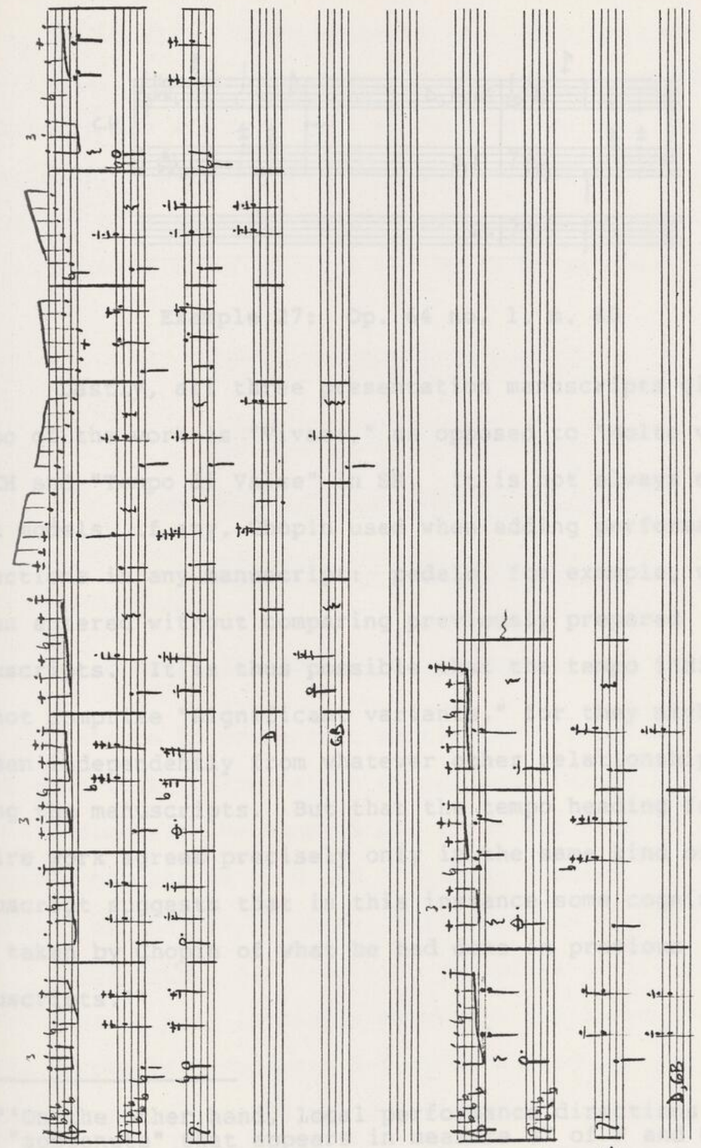
GB-D-F/CH. Four significant variants pit readings found in the three presentation manuscripts against those found in the Stichvorlage. In measure 20, the accompaniment diverges (Example 25). The first layer of CH matched the version in SK. Chopin chose one bass pattern over another according to the version of the measures that followed, for the leap down to Ab in CH better prepares the downbeat of measure 21 in the Stichvorlage, while the ab leads more fluidly into the a of the presentation manuscripts.



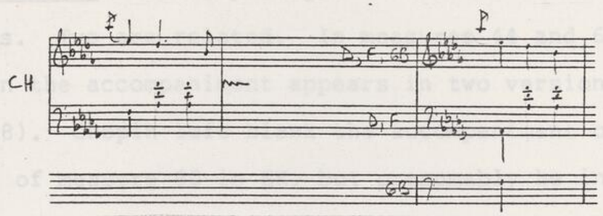
Example 25: Op. 64 no. 1, m. 20

The differences go beyond measure 21; as Example 26 shows, measures 21-32 constitute the next example of GB-D-F readings that contrast with CH (measures 33-36, which complete the phrase, transmit less significant variants). Which version agrees with SK? In fact, both do. Chopin first wrote down the version corresponding more or less to CH, but later notated the version found in GB-D-F (or rather the first eight measures of it--the first part of the second phrase matches the first part of the first phrase as it was initially written) on the staff directly below the first bass line, cueing this alternative with the word "Łatwiej," meaning "easier" (see staves 5 and 6 of SK).

The third passage showing this configuration of variants occurs in the rhythm of the melodic line of measure 60 (Example 27). SK is the only other source to exhibit the dotted figure, but at the equivalent of measure 44 of the later versions. Conversely, at the passage corresponding to measure 60, SK shows the quadruplet motive eventually placed in measure 44.



Example 26: Op. 64 no. 1, mm. 21-32



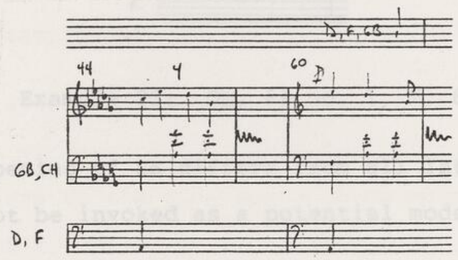
Example 27: Op. 64 no. 1, m. 60

Lastly, all three presentation manuscripts give the tempo of the work as "Vivace," as opposed to "Molto vivace" in CH and "Tempo di Valse" in SK. It is not always clear what models, if any, Chopin used when adding performance directions in any manuscript: pedals, for example, were often entered without comparing previously prepared manuscripts. It is thus possible that the tempo indications do not comprise "significant variants," for they might have arisen independently from whatever other relationships exist among the manuscripts. But that the tempo heading for the entire work agrees precisely only in the same kind of manuscript suggests that in this instance some cognizance was taken by Chopin of what he had done in previous manuscripts.[22]

---

[22]On the other hand, local performance directions such as the "sostenuto" that appears in measure 37 of F and CH have not been considered significant, for they clearly constitute the sort of reading that Chopin could and did add inconsistently to manuscripts.

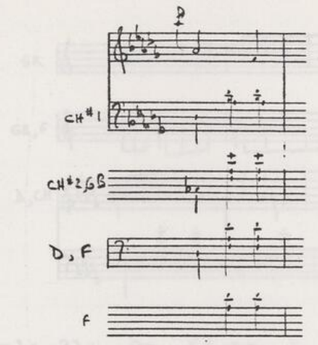
GB-CH/D-F. Three passages fall into this category of variants. Two are related. In measures 44 and 60, the downbeat in the accompaniment appears in two versions (Example 28). Chopin left blank the accompaniment of the equivalent of measure 60 in SK, but presumably he intended a literal repetition of measure 44, where SK matches D-F.



Example 28: Op. 64 no. 1, mm. 44 and 60

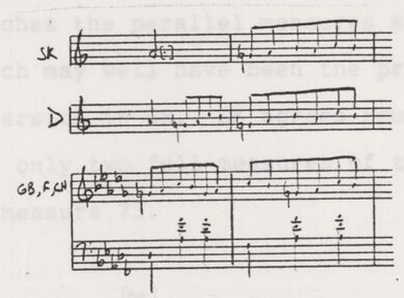
Measure 63 presents a particularly fascinating example of this configuration of variants (Example 29). CH, though ultimately the same as GB, first was notated with the identical harmony as in D and F (though F shows a different inversion of the V/V/V chord), following the example of SK.

D/GB-F-CH. All remaining groupings of significant variants exist only in single examples, but three concern similar problems. Measures 5-6 throw D into opposition with the other manuscripts (Example 30). That D presents an obviously weak reading--the quarter note ab' in measure 5 completely diffuses the accumulated momentum of the moto perpetuo opening--makes it no less significant in stemmatic



Example 29: Op. 64 no. 1, m. 63

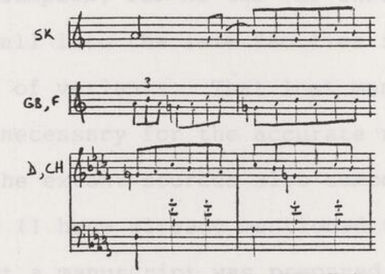
terms. The opening of SK differs from all later versions, and thus cannot be invoked as a potential model.



Example 30: Op. 64 no. 1, mm. 5-6

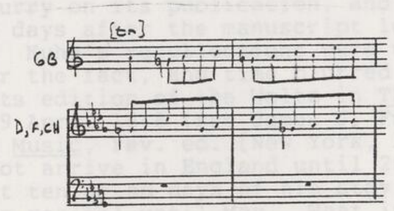
GB-F/D-CH. Measures 13-14 link readings in the melodic lines of GB and F (Example 31). The version transmitted in GB and F resembles that in measures 5-6 of D. Once again, SK differs from all later readings.

GB/D-F-CH. Measures 73-74 contain the last example of variants concerning the incipit of the moto perpetuo



Example 31: Op. 64 no. 1, mm. 13-14

figure (Example 32). GB extends the trill of measures 69-72 through beat 1 of measure 73, hence the following bars resemble the form of the tune heard in measures 5-6 of D and 13-14 of GB and F. Also, by using this form of the tune in GB, Chopin matches the parallel measures at the opening of the piece, which may well have been the proximate reason for entering the version in GB. SK agrees roughly with GB, though showing only two full measures of trill before the equivalent of measure 73.



Example 32: Op. 64 no. 1, mm. 73-74

Given the known chronological facts, how can these significant variants be distilled onto a consistent stemma?

The matter is complex, for no two (or three) manuscripts consistently fall into the same families in the seven configurations of variants. That lost manuscripts might contain clues necessary for the accurate reconstruction of the order of the extant sources also compounds the difficulties. (I have already mentioned the strong likelihood that a manuscript was prepared for Breitkopf & Härtel.)[23]

While it is true that the variants produce a body of seemingly conflicting evidence, the difficulties seem less overwhelming if parts of the problem are considered separately. To construct a stemma we need only to establish: 1) when D and F were prepared, whether before, after, or at the same time as GB, and 2) on what sources

---

[23] A shaky claim for another Stichvorlage of op. 64 no. 1 may be dismissed. Wilhelm Kuhe, My Musical Recollections (London, 1896), pp. 111-14, writes that the Waltz was so popular after Chopin's recitals in England that Cramer, Beale and Cie, "who had purchased the copyright, were obliged to hurry on its publication, and it actually appeared two days after the manuscript left the composer's hands . . ." Kuhe's recollections were written some half a century after the fact, and time blurred the truth. Cramer advertised its edition of the Waltz in The Musical World already on 29 April 1848 (see James J. Fuld, The Book of World-Famous Music, rev. ed. [New York, 1971], p. 613); Chopin did not arrive in England until 20 April, and, ill for the first ten or so days of his stay, likely did not play a public recital until May. What is more, the Cramer edition shows every sign of having been set not from a manuscript, but from a printed edition, specifically the Brandus edition, for the Cramer incorporates readings added during the proof stage for Brandus. Kuhe is quoted in Donald M. Garvelmann, ed., Thirteen Transcriptions for Piano Solo of Chopin's Waltz in D flat, op. 64 no. 1 (The Minute Waltz) (New York, 1969), p. 84.

Chopin based CH, GB, D and F. Dealing with the latter issue first, and considering those sources whose chronology is secure, that CH, the Brandus Stichvorlage, was prepared with SK on hand seems clear; witness the cases above where the first, cancelled verson in CH agrees with that in SK (Examples 25 and 29). Moreover, CH could not have served as a basis for GB, since it was presumably sent off to the Brandus engraver by the beginning of June 1847 at the latest (as was the lost Breitkopf manuscript): CH left Chopin's hands at least a month before GB was penned. Three possibilities thus remain for the source of GB: a now-lost "fair copy" based on an engraver's manuscript,[24] another presentation manuscript (possibly F or D), or SK. More often than not among the significant variants, GB reads differently than CH (Tempo, and Examples 25, 26, 27, 31, and 32), which tends to rule out the first possibility. The second option too seems unlikely, for only if Chopin prepared two presentation manuscripts at once could one serve as the basis for another (presentation manuscripts were usually given away soon after they were copied). But if GB derives from SK, why does the latter seem to be such an equivocal partner in these variants, sometimes matching readings in both CH and GB (Example 26), sometimes matching

---

[24]Though this possibility may seem unlikely in light of the evidence presented in Chapter II, exceptions to the normal habits of the composer (who ordinarily would not bother with such a "fair copy") should also be considered.

CH only (Examples 25 and, partially, 28 [measure 60]), other times matching GB only (Example 32), and in the remaining instances differing from both GB and CH? The answer must be that though the source for GB was SK, composition continued between the perusal of SK and the writing of GB, just as Chopin made important compositional changes when preparing CH from SK. Some of the differences between SK and GB, those where GB agrees with CH, probably have to do with the composer recalling similar changes made in CH. Sometimes Chopin's memory of changes effected in CH must have failed him, as in Example 32, where he returned to a version in GB closer to what was found in SK. Other times the compositional changes were unique to GB.

Such a hypothesis best accounts for the source of D and F as well. Though the two fall together more often than other manuscipts, they differ in ways that rule out a common "finished" source such as a lost "fair copy" or another presentation manuscript (see Examples 30 and 31).

In sum, the most reasonable interpretation of the evidence suggests SK as the independent source for CH, GB, D, and F. Had there been a putative "fair copy" that Chopin kept on hand to make presentation manuscripts from, the pattern of variants among GB, D and F would have been more uniform than it in fact is. But SK, the text of which required some adjustments before it could pass before the eyes of another, required enough input both from Chopin's

sometimes faulty memory[25] and from his compositional faculties such that an erratic distribution of variants would result in sources derived independently from it.

Introducing the possibility that Chopin recalled some past changes and added new ones when he prepared presentation manuscripts does much to support the notion that all the extant sources could be based on SK. However, these same two factors, memory and composition, make the question of when D and F were written more difficult to come to grips with. Given a less than perfect recall, and a case in which sources A and B, both deriving generally from sketch X, offer respective readings of n, matching X, and n', differing from X, two equally valid chronological explanations could be put forth: 1) a direct progression X-A-B, or 2) a "retrogressive" relationship X-B-A, with the composer not remembering the compositional change made in B when preparing A. Subjective judgments lie behind many decisions made when constructing stemmata or making editorial choices, but conclusions regarding the chronological position of D and F will of necessity be even more tentative than normal. But some progress might be made if we make two related, though admittedly speculative assumptions: 1) if two manuscripts were prepared shortly

---

[25]When I refer to lapses in Chopin's recall, it may be equally possible in some cases that the return to the earlier version represents a conscious rejection of the intermediate change. But both the number of variants that return to SK after an earlier source puts forward a different version and the haphazard distribution of these variants argues against this being a common occurrence.

after one another, the chance that lapses in memory will occur declines, and therefore, 2) the further apart two manuscripts in time, the greater the number of variants between them.

Consider for the moment the three presentation manuscripts alone. In eight of the ten significant variants outlined above, D and F agree; four times they are joined by GB (Tempo, and Examples 25, 26, and 27), and four times GB reads differently (Examples 28 [recall that this example contains two variants], 29, and 32). In the remaining two cases, D contrasts with F and GB (Examples 30 and 31). Might the fact that in 8 of the 10 cases D and F agree suggest that the two were prepared not long after one another, when more of the passages entered in the first would be fresher when Chopin wrote out the second? If so, then the fact that in four of the six times when GB differs from either F or D, it does so against both F and D would suggest that the two do not straddle GB chronologcially, but rather fall on one side or another of it. Moreover, the remaining two variants, patterned D/F-GB, might indicate that of D and F, the latter was prepared closer to the time of GB. Unfortunately, no unequivocal pattern emerges from the D-F/GB variants to allow one to decide whether D and F belong before or after GB: twice the D-F pair agree with SK (Example 28), once SK differs from both D-F and GB (Example 29), and once it agrees with GB (Example 32). One can argue for lapsed memory in both directions. Thus the best one can

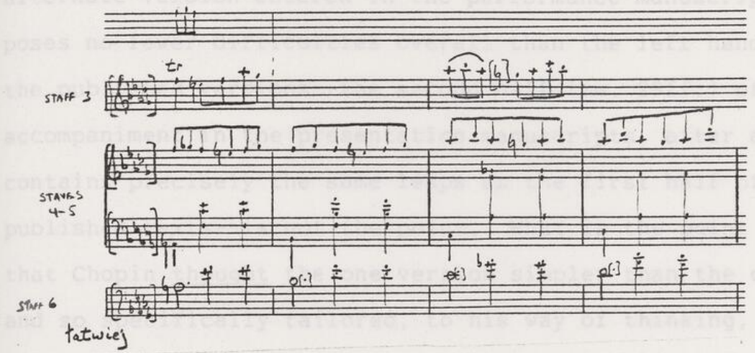
do considering the three presentation manuscripts alone is to posit two possible orders of preparation: either D-F-GB, or GB-F-D.

If these appear to be the two most likely possibilities for the position of GB in relation to F and D, then the evidence of CH in relation to the F-D pair should at once indicate which scheme is probably correct and where CH should be placed in it. Since we know CH was prepared before GB, the problem may be rephrased. Were the manuscripts written in the order CH-GB-F-D, or if D and F were written before GB, did CH fall before, after, or in between these two? Seven of the ten significant variants pit D and F together against CH (Tempo, and Examples 25, 26, 27, 28, and 29). Once the three manuscripts agree (Example 32), once D contrasts with F and CH together (Example 30), and once D and CH read differently than F (Example 31). That the greatest number of differences occur between D and F as a pair against CH suggest that the interval between the preparation of CH on the one hand and D and F on the other was greater than for any other combination. The greater interval allowed for more compositional changes and for more lapses of memory. Only if the manuscripts are arranged CH-GB-F-D would the interval between F-D and CH be maximized; this then would appear to be the most likely order of preparation.

Is this castle built on sand? If the assumption proves false that Chopin's memory was most accurate when the

interval between two manuscripts was shortest, then another hypothesis will need to be put forward. But the order I have proposed accounts convincingly for the greatest number of variants; a different hypothesis would have to do as well. One form of evidence has thus far not been adduced, namely the musical nature of the variants. Analysis of the sorts of compositional issues addressed in the passages where presentation manuscript diverge from the texts preserved in the Stichvorlage and in the eventual published editions should shed light both on the veracity of my chronological model, and in turn on the value Chopin placed on presentation manuscripts in general.

The passage in which all the presentation manuscripts diverge from published versions for the greatest number of measures occurs in Example 26. Introducing the sole bit of non-diatonic harmony in the A section of the Waltz, measures 21-36 nevertheless derive audibly from the principal moto perpetuo motive--compare measure 23 with measure 1. (This derivation is even more patent when Chopin inserts the triplet figure in measure 13, as he did in GB and F--more on this below.) The degree to which Chopin struggled with this section becomes clear when considering the relation of the melodic material in measures 21ff. with the opening motive of the work, for it was only through revision in SK that he made obvious the connection (Example 33).



Example 33: Op. 64 no. 1, sketch, mm. 21-24

The melodic shape remained fixed after these alterations; not so the accompaniment. Like the upper voice, the bass part saw two versions entered into SK, but unlike the upper voice, the first version was not superseded by the second. What could account for this? Harmonically, the two versions trace exactly the same paths, which certainly allowed for ease of exchange between the two. Essentially the differences between the two versions boil down to register and ease of performance at the onset of the passage, as the beginning of the second version avoids the leaps of the first version. Chopin called attention to the latter point when he added his annotation "łatwiej," or "easier." But "easier" for whom? Chopin used the "easier" accompaniment only in manuscripts that he gave as gifts, in cases where he presumably (or certainly, in GB) knew well the technical abilities of the recipients. That in fact the

alternate version entered in the performance manuscripts poses no fewer difficulties overall than the left hand of the published versions--the second half (mm. 29ff.) of the accompaniment in the presentation manuscripts, after all, contains precisely the same leaps as the first half of the published texts--is not the point. What is the point is that Chopin thought the one version simpler than the other, and so specifically tailored, to his way of thinking, the passage to fit the abilities of the recipients.

In capitulating to the lesser talents, however, Chopin realized that he lost the effect created by beginning in the lower register at measure 21. The lower register articulates more decisively the introduction of non-diatonic harmony, particularly following the cadence an octave higher in measure 20.[26] Chopin generally preferred to concentrate notable effects at structurally significant places, and so it is not surprising that, when reading proofs for the Waltz, or, put another way, when polishing the version that would be played by more capable pianists, he opted against changing the proofs to the "easier" version (recall that these, set from CH, would have shown the version commencing in the lower register). It is not likely that he simply failed to recall the "easier" option, for SK, with this

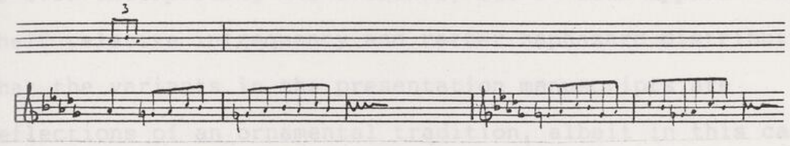
---

[26]Nowik, "Proces twórczy," p. 200n, also discusses the different effects created by the two versions of the accompaniment, but ignores the question of the recipients of the "easier" version.

alternative included, was surely still in his hands when he corrected proofs. Concerns linked to the specific performers of the Waltz led to the choice of accompaniment in the presentation manuscripts; when these concerns were no longer relevant, Chopin returned to the musically more satisfying option.

Performance questions of a different sort lie behind another series of variants unique to the presentation manuscripts. Two ways occurred to Chopin of initiating the four-measure units in which he laid out the moto perpetuo theme (Example 34). Either the phrase could commence on an ab' quarter note (either unadorned or ornamented with an upper-neighbor triplet figure) or it could begin with a g' eighth note resolving immediately to ab'. The opening notes determined also the shape of the following five beats. In the published versions of the Waltz, Chopin turned to the first option only once, at the very opening of the piece. The ornamented version is heard at measure 23, and repeated in measures 95 and 111, but in the context of an eight-measure phrase derived from the moto perpetuo theme, not as the beginning of the theme itself.

In the presentation manuscripts, however, Chopin invoked the diatonic opening at three other places: in D at measures 5-6 (Example 30), in F and GB at measures 13-14 (Example 31), and in GB alone at measures 73-74 (Example 32, where the quarter note ab' is trilled). Note that, in each of these three passages, the reading of SK required some



Example 34: Op. 64 no. 1, variants of principal motive

sort of fleshing out; Chopin, without altering SK, had clearly rejected the readings contained in it at the equivalents of measures 5 and 13 (see SK, system 1, measures 1 and 9, which correspond to measures 5 and 13 of the completed Waltz). Both the cancellations at the end of SK and the two (as opposed to four) measures of trill show uncertainty about the proper course of the return to the A section as well (see SK, systems 12-14). To complete these measures in the presentation manuscripts, Chopin had to fill in the additional beats of the moto perpetuo motive that were not present in SK.

Most of the time, Chopin chose to fill out these measures in the same way he had in the engraver's manuscripts, by turning to the version that opens with g'. In all three presentation manuscripts, that is, he was fully cognizant that he could open on this note, but opted four times instead for ab'. In each of the four cases, it is as though Chopin embellished on the more common option for the figure. To suggest that Chopin actually sat down and played the work in precisely the fashion he then notated it might

be over-interpreting the evidence, but it does appear from their relative infrequency and rather haphazard distribution that the variants in the presentation manuscripts are reflections of an ornamental tradition, albeit in this case in a written-out form.

Musically, by beginning the various phrases on ab', Chopin articulates a relatively meaningless parallel with the opening of the Waltz at the same time he undercuts some more important effects. I alluded earlier to the problems caused by starting measure 5 with a quarter note ab' as Chopin did in D: the accumulated energy of the opening four measures dissipates at this caesura. But the ornamented version of this phrase opening used in measure 13 of F and GB would seem to solve this problem. Perhaps, but the ab' itself counteracts one sense of the passage. Part of the charm of the moto perpetuo theme derives from the ambiguity of its harmonic implications; that is, it works equally well harmonized with the dominant as with the tonic (a fact exploited by many who have written "Concert Studies" or paraphrases based on op. 64 no. 1, superimposing the moto perpetuo motive with the theme of the B section over two measures of I and two measures of V).[27] At the onset of the Waltz, when the motive is unaccompanied, the stress on ab' as the first note of the piece establishes the intended

---

[27]See, for example, the pieces by Rafael Joseffy, Moritz Rosenthal, Isidor Phillip, Max Laistner and Giuseppe Ferrata in Garvelmann, Thirteen Transcriptions.

harmony as V, and so clarifies the dominant-upbeat function of the opening four measures. In a phrase already harmonized in the tonic, however, the ab' serves no compelling function. When g' opens such a phrase, on the other hand, the lower neighbor dissonance impels the phrase forward, important in a four-measure unit built entirely over tonic harmony. Chopin's willingness to overlook more persuasive musical readings at selected passages in the presentation manuscripts bespeaks a more casual attitude to the texts in these sources. Improvisatory variants were acceptable in manuscripts given to personal acquaintances, but in texts handed over to engravers, the effects of local gestures were more carefully considered.[28]

Further analysis of the variants in the manuscripts of op. 64 no. 1 would only serve to retrace ground already covered. From the less significant variants as well as the more important ones, a haphazard distribution of readings emerges as the most salient characteristic. Considered in light of the questions raised at the beginning of this discussion, this fact helps rule out some notions about the nature of presentation manuscripts. If Chopin thought of

---

[28]A parallel may exist in the composer's attitude towards the performance of his own works. We have considerable testimony from his students that Chopin added improvised ornaments when performing his compositions; on the other hand, he reportedly also became upset when Liszt did the same. Ornamentation thus may have represented something of a personal gesture, allowable only when the composer directly authorized it. Otherwise the text was to be followed more closely.

the presentation manuscripts as a sort of practical test for ideas prior to publication, it cannot have been a very worthwhile endeavor, for none of the significant variants found in the three presentation manuscripts made sufficient enough impression on the composer to be recalled when he corrected the proofs. The revisions, in the presentation manuscripts of op. 64 no. 1 at least, did not carry enough weight to be handed down to the general public. The relation of the presentation manuscripts to the Stichvorlagen in text-critical terms is clear: they share a common parent in the sketch. But beyond this, a different quality of compositional thought appears to have gone into the respective types of sources, that in the engraver's manuscripts being more intense and more aware of the relationship of local detail to broader effect. In presentation manuscripts, more transient concerns occupied the composer: the technical abilities of the recipient, the variation of the moto perpetuo theme, or the revoicing of a chord. As such, the presentation manuscripts appear to be embodiments of an essentially ornamental tradition,[29] of greater value for what they tell us of Chopin's attitudes to performance than what they inform us about his ability to refine texts.

---

[29] Ewald Zimmermann, "Textvarianten und harmonische Ambivalenz bei Chopin," Musik - Edition - Interpretation: Gedenkschrift Günter Henle, ed. Martin Bente (Munich, 1980), p. 465, without citing evidence, states a similar conclusion about the nature of presentation manuscripts in general.

Corrections of Performance Details

From the Waltz, op. 64 no. 1 comes a sense of the extent to which questions of performance influenced compositional decisions in public autographs. Another side of this coin, corrections of performance details, deserves some scrutiny as well, for much of Chopin's energy when readying a manuscript for publication or presentation was spent in this area. More than in any other realm of Chopin's compositional activity, performance details were subject to constant revision, a fact that surely reflects the composer's own inclinations as a performer. Lengths of slurs are adjusted, pedals deleted, cresendos inserted, staccatos effaced: the list knows no end. To deal exhaustively with these corrections would be a study in itself.[30] Moreover, close study would reveal more about individual works (or precise passages in individual works) than about Chopin's general habits in his later years. More conducive to an overview is a close examination of one particular performance indication whose meaning to the composer might be clarified through studying his revisions of it.

Even the most casual glance at a score by Chopin reveals a composer deeply concerned with notating nuances of tempo. Quite apart from the heading that establishes the

---

[30] Thomas Higgins, "Chopin Interpretation: A Study of Performance Directions in Selected Autographs and Other Sources," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1966), passim, considers the evidence revisions can provide for a study of Chopin's performance practice.

general tempo of a work or section, Chopin normally peppered his music with local quantitative directions[31] such as "ritardando," "rallentando," "animando," "accelerando," and so on. While a certain amount of debate has focused on how to interpret these indications, less has been devoted to understanding what sorts of passages the composer thought appropriate for a given expression.[32] If one accepts that a certain amount of interpretative freedom is allowed in questions of tempo (or, said another, way, if one accepts that Chopin did not notate every variance in tempo that he would have found acceptable), then it is particularly important that the performer understand what gestures the composer would have considered appropriate for a given passage. It is in this area that careful study of revisions can hope to shed light.

Of the directions indicating a temporary modification in tempo in the public manuscripts from Chopin's later years, "ritenuto" was the most revised. "Ritenuto" appears commonly in works throughout the composer's career, and if he followed the standard usage of the day, "ritenuto" constituted a sudden decrease in tempo that was then maintained for the duration of the term, as opposed to "ritardando" or

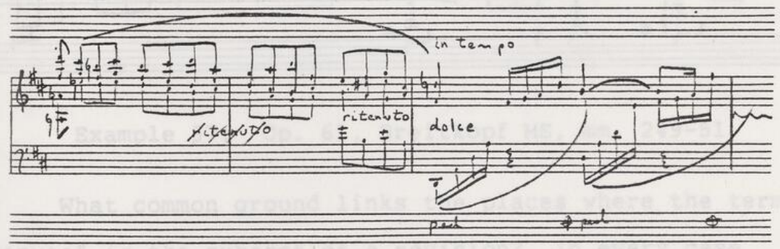
---

[31]By "quantitative directions," I mean those that affect duration, as opposed to "qualitative directions," which measure performance style.

[32]Both Higgins, "Chopin Interpretation," and Eigeldinger, Chopin vu par ses élèves are exceptions of note.

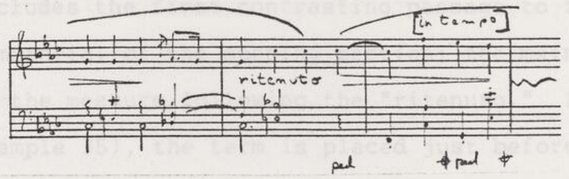
"rallentando," which indicated a gradual decrease in tempo for the duration of the term. (If Chopin did believe in this distinction, then the abbreviation "rit." that appears commonly in modern editions is useless, for it does not differentiate between "ritardando" and "ritenuto.") In the revisions, the word is moved from one position to another, added where it was previously not present, and deleted entirely. One example of each will suffice.

In the first movement of the Breitkopf & Härtel autograph for the Sonata, op. 58 (PL-Wn Mus. 232), Chopin shifted the position of the word in measures 74-75 (Example 35).



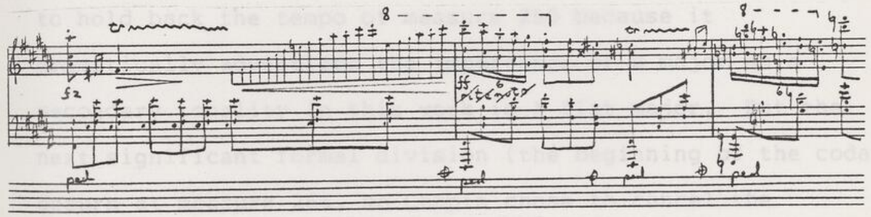
Example 35: Op. 58/I, Breitkopf MS, mm. 74-76

In a manuscript of the Nocturne, op. 55 no. 1 penned by a copyist, but featuring autograph entries by the composer (PL-Kj), Chopin added "ritenuto" to measure 24 (Example 36). (Chopin failed to mark "a tempo," but he clearly intended it to be added in measure 25.)



Example 36: Op. 55 no. 1, PL-Kj, mm. 23-25

Example 37 shows the cancellation of "ritenuto" in measure 250 of the Breitkopf & Härtel Stichvorlage of the Polonaise-Fantasy, op. 61 (PL-Wn Mus. 233).



Example 37: Op. 61, Breitkopf MS, mm. 249-51

What common ground links the places where the term "ritenuto" is the subject of a revision? In every case where "ritenuto" is added or its position changed, the revision falls just prior to an important structural join. Where the word is crossed out, on the other hand, important formal divisions are relatively far removed, or if close by, the term is cancelled in favor of a different sort of adjustment in tempo.

The examples demonstrate these conclusions clearly. In the Nocturne (Example 36), the word is inserted just as

Chopin concludes the first contrasting passage to the principal material of the opening section; the main theme returns in the measure following the "ritenuto." In the Sonata (Example 35), the term is placed just before the entry of the closing theme in the second group of the exposition. Chopin, in changing the location of the word, delayed the decrease in tempo by three beats--in every case I have examined, when the composer shifts the position of "ritenuto," he always shortens its duration. In the Polonaise-Fantasy (Example 37), Chopin may have been tempted to hold back the tempo of measure 250 because it dramatically advertises the importance of B major as a secondary tonality in this work in A flat major. But the next significant formal division (the beginning of the coda) occurs at measure 254, so Chopin chose to cancel the direction.[33] For the period of this study, then, Chopin used the effect of "ritenuto" primarily to articulate significant

---

[33] In the same work, Chopin cancelled a "poco ritenuto" that began at the third beat of measure 266 and stretched through measure 267; in other words, it was entered just before the tonic resolution of the dominant pedal that runs through the first half of the coda. Chopin crossed out the term, even though it occurred just before an important formal division, because he chose to mark the division with a different sort of change in tempo, the "accelerando" that he fit into measure 268. Another instance that seems at first to speak against my notion of when Chopin crossed out "ritenuto" occurs in the Impromptu, op. 51 (US-Wc, Giselle Seldon-Goth Collection), measures 72-74, where just before the return of the A section, Chopin blacks out a "ritenuto" along with its extending dashes. However, the composer realized that the gesture was in fact appropriate, for in reading proof, or checking a copyist's manuscript, he replaced the indication.

formal junctures; performers who wish to interpolate their own "ritenuti" would do so most intelligently by confining the gesture to similar structural passages.

CHAPTER V

AFTER MANUSCRIPTS: COMPOSITIONAL CHANGES IN PRINTED SOURCES

Chopin's urge to revise was strong. He tinkered incessantly with the musical texts of his works, not only in places where one intuitively would expect compositional changes, such as in public manuscripts prepared from sketches, but also where one might suppose more mechanical processes to predominate, such as in engraver's manuscripts based on earlier autographs of the same kind. That he continued to manipulate his music after manuscripts were completed comes, then, as no surprise. Nor should the focus of these revisions seem odd: most concern refinements of detail, often of performance indications; relatively few affect broader structural issues. Chopin scholars have discussed, with varying degrees of success, the sorts of changes that occur in two types of sources that follow public manuscripts, namely proofs and students' editions.[1] Though the intent of the alterations in the latter type of source remains vaguely understood at best, Chopin does not, in either proofs or students' editions, focus on compositional problems different from those seen already in public

---

[1]On the former, see Higgins, "Tempo and Character in Chopin," pp. 108-9; on the latter, see Eigeldinger, Chopin vu par ses élèves, passim.

manuscripts. It should thus suffice here to offer only a few representative and interesting revisions made in these sources.[2] Another fund of revisions, those made between earlier and later states of editions, have gone unnoticed, and deserve fuller treatment.

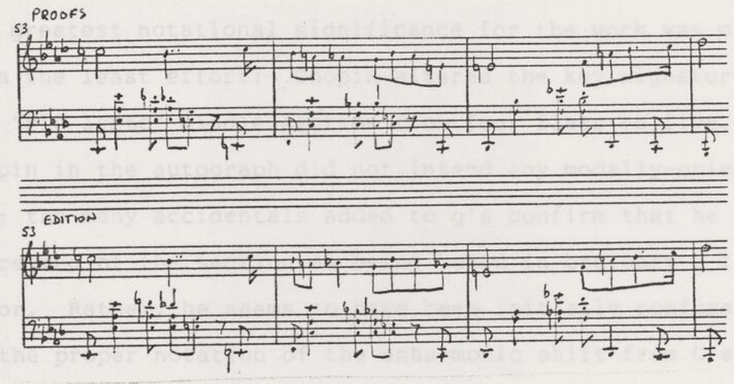
Alterations in Proofs

Example 24 in Chapter IV alludes briefly to one significant correction made at the proof stage. Recall that Chopin evidently chose not to bring the Brandus autograph of the Nocturne, op. 62 no. 1 into agreement with the later Stichvorlagen when he altered the text at measures 53-55. Hence when he confronted the proofs, they showed only his intermediate conception of the passage. Assuming then that the Brandus engraver accurately rendered the autograph, Example 38 shows how the proofs appeared to Chopin, and how he altered them.

Chopin remembered most, but not all, of the changes he made in the English and German manuscripts. What remained strong in his memory was the all-important revision of the accompanimental harmony in measure 55 and the piquant melodic gb' of measure 54 that, together with the e' on the

---

[2]The nature of the extant sources further limits the study of proof revisions. Since Chopin for the most part corrected only proofs for French editions of his works, only when the French Stichvorlagen survive can one ascertain what changes were made at this stage. In the period of this study, French engravers' manuscripts exist for ops. 50, 60, 62, and 64.



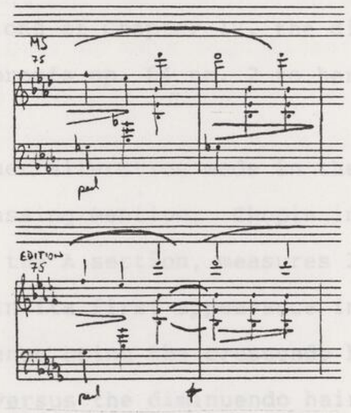
Example 38: Proof revisions, op. 62 no. 1, mm. 53-55

downbeat of measure 55, leads into the main-note f'. Less of an impression was produced by the curtailment of the melodic figuration in measure 54 and the earlier resolution of the e' in measure 55 in the English and German sources. At these places, Chopin let the version in the proofs stand, though it is possible that the latter reading represents a conscious rejection of the previous correction, for by prolonging the e' until the third beat, the resolution of the melodic dissonance coincides with that of the crucial iii-V-i progression in the local tonic of B flat minor. In any case, the nature of the revisions in the Brandus proofs is telling, for even though they adjust radically the text of a significant passage, most of the actual "composition" had taken place earlier; the French proofs add only a few new details.

Several passages in the Waltz, op. 64 no. 2 also

illustrate corrections of local details. The change having the greatest notational significance for the work was made with the least effort: Chopin altered the key signature of the "Più lento" middle section from four flats to five. Chopin in the autograph did not intend any modally-oriented key; the many accidentals added to g's confirm that he conceived of the section as being based in ordinary D flat major. Rather, he seems to have been initially confused as to the proper notation of the enharmonic shift from C sharp (minor) to D flat (major), incorrectly alloting the same number of flats as there were sharps. (We will see below a parallel error corrected in the later state of the Mazurka, op. 63 no. 3.) When he corrected the key signature in the proofs, he cancelled the now redundant accidentals in front of g's. Thus the sound of the middle section was not changed in the least by the correction; Chopin merely realized that his first key signature was unnecessarily obscure, and so altered it to the version more accurate notationally.

Other adjustments to the middle section were more audible. Example 39 shows the manuscript reading of measure 76 and the change made in the proofs. Chopin's purpose in the revision was to increase the amount of syncopation at the point just before the harmony begins to wind its way back to the tonic D flat major. Syncopated rhythms permeate this middle section, but at measures 75-76 they are put to use in order to impel forward what would have previously been simply two measures of static harmony.



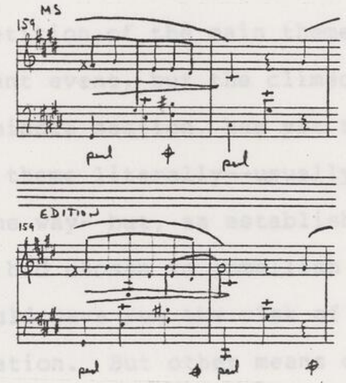
Example 39: Proof revisions, op. 64 no. 2, mm. 75-76

Chopin also made a series of changes in performance directions in the middle section. The composer originally marked every occurrence of a rising three-note chromatic figure in the bass with a crescendo hairpin (see mm. 69-70, 72-73, 84-85, and 88-89). In the proofs, he cancelled all but the last of the hairpins. When penning the autograph, he wished to articulate each step in the sequential ascent of the succesive four-measure melodic phrases. Repeated four times, the effect grew monotonous. Reserving the crescendo for the final ascent added to the special expressive and structural significance of the final phrase of the section, which leads transitionally back to material from the opening section. Chopin further demarcated the special nature of this phrase by adding in the proofs "poco

ritenuto" to measures 92-93. Just as was seen in the manuscript revisions of Chapter IV, the direction was inserted in the proofs op. 64 no. 2 to herald an impending structural join.

One further alteration made in the proofs of op. 64 no. 2 deserves passing mention. Chopin initially wrote the final cadence of the A section, measures 159-60, nearly the same way he did in its first appearance in measures 31-32 (the only difference being the crescendo hairpin of the earlier cadence versus the diminuendo hairpin of the later--Chopin when correcting proofs deleted entirely the hairpin in measures 31-32). In the proofs, he added a brief moment of polyphonic texture to the melodic line in measures 159-60 (Example 40). Chopin's Waltzes, in keeping with the relatively "popular" nature of the genre, tend to downplay the more "learned" compositional techniques that were so common in his other genres. (The Waltz, op. 42, constitutes a notable exception, but even here, the integration of the duple principal melody into the triple framework appears so effortless as to counteract any sense of a conscious imposition of developed technique onto the more simple genre of the Waltz.) Thus the Waltzes generally lack the pervasive polyphonic texture common in, say, the Mazurkas and Nocturnes from the late period. Op. 64 no. 2, basically homophonic, falls into step with its companion Waltzes. Chopin's wish to vary slightly a point of cadence led him to hint at a stylistic gesture generally foreign to the Waltz.

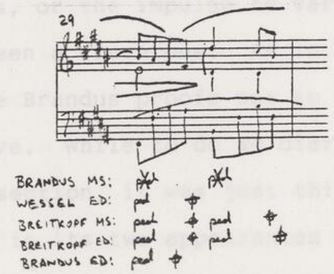
Though scarcely a moment of great import, the revision does demonstrate how local refinements in proofs can plumb the same musical techniques as more significant revisions in other sources, even when the techniques do not ordinarily form part of the vocabulary of a particular genre.



Example 40: Proof revisions, op. 64 no. 2, mm. 159-60

The addition of a third "voice" to the cadence in op. 64 no. 2 imparted a moment of delicate variety to what would otherwise have been a static repetition. Sometimes this quest for variation extended to extremely subtle effects. One of the most fascinating examples occurs at the return of the main theme within the opening section of the Nocturne, op. 62 no. 1 (measure 29). Chopin tried several different versions of the pedaling, and it will be useful to follow his thoughts in the other sources before considering the ultimate refinement in the proofs (Example 41 presents

the different pedalings). The motive played in measure 29 occurs twice before, in measures 3-4, and 7; in both these instances, the second half of the passage, after the descending fourth, is pedaled for its entire duration. Now the third sounding of this motive, measure 29, falls at a place where Chopin faced a delicate problem of musical balance. The repetition of the main theme here is a relatively important event, but the climactic repeat of the theme, after the middle section, has yet to come. Chopin rarely repeated a theme literally--usually he ornamented it melodically in some way--but, as established already in Chapter IV, if he had chosen to embellish the theme at measure 29, he would have run the risk of adumbrating the trilled recapitulation. But other means of variation not involving the alteration of pitch were open to him, one of which involved the pedal indications.



Example 41: Op. 62 no. 1, m. 29

Three possibilities were tried before the final version. Chopin's first notion, to pedal each half of the

motive through its entire duration, was rejected in the Brandus autograph in favor of the opposite choice, no pedal whatsoever; this had the advantage of allowing the four-voice polyphony in the measure to be heard with the utmost clarity. But in the next version essayed, that found in the English first edition, the composer returned to the pedal for the first half of the motive, for reasons likely having to do with registral continuity: in this statement of the opening theme, every time the bass plummets beneath C, Chopin employs the pedal. Every time, that is, save once, and this exception occurs precisely in the motive under discussion: it was for this reason that the composer, in the next version (the German sources), pedaled the second half of the measure as well (and in so doing, returned to his original cancelled conception of the French autograph).

When Chopin received the Brandus proofs, he may have recalled that he had added some pedaling in the English and German autographs, or the impulse to vary by altering the pedal may have been a fresh one. As in the English sources, he decided in the Brandus proofs not to pedal the second half of the motive. While to do so disrupts the registral pattern of this section, it was just this half of the theme that was pedaled in its two appearances at the beginning of the work. Chopin's goal here was to modify what was heard before, and for variety's sake, he sacrificed utter consistency in timbre. Most subtle--and most ingenious--was his decision to pedal the first half of the measure, not

releasing it just after the second half of the second beat, as in the English and German sources, but just before this point. Why release the pedal here? The answer lies in the phrase structure. Unlike previous appearances of the descending fourth figure in the French sources, the motive in measure 29 is punctuated after its third note: the bottom f#' acts as an anacrusis to the d#" rather than as a conclusion to the descending fourth. To have maintained the pedal through the end of this figure would have been to muddle the irregular phrase marking, while not to have pedaled at all would have been to underemphasize its delicate effect. Chopin's ear for refinement and minute shading worked to find precisely the right amount of pedaling to support the change in articulation. Although the versions preceding the last are certainly satisfactory in their own right, by their adherence to regular patterns of phrase structure and pedaling, they fall short on the side of sameness in the effort to enliven this repeat of the main theme without weakening the forthcoming recapitulation of the opening section.

Some details were fixed for the first time only in the proofs. For example, Chopin did at various times enter fingerings into Stichvorlagen, but often he waited until the proofs to mark most of them (hence German and English editions often lack fingerings that Chopin added only in the French proofs). Such was the case in the Nocturne, op. 62 no. 1. Only in the Brandus edition do the extensive right-

hand fingerings of measures 84-85 appear (though the Breitkopf autograph and edition do indicate thumb fingerings in measure 85).

Occasionally it can be difficult to judge whether an addition made in the proofs represents a substantive revision or a correction of an omission. In the Schlesinger Stichvorlage of the Mazurka, op. 50 no. 2 (US-NYpm), Chopin did not include next to the double bars the dots that would signify measures 60-67 and 68-83 are to be repeated. In the Schlesinger edition, the dots appear. It is entirely possible that Chopin intended the measures to be repeated all along; he may have idiosyncratically thought the double bars indicated this, for other times he also omitted the dots.[3] Schlesinger's engraver may have added the dots himself, or the composer may have in this case realized they were necessary if the repeats were to be clearly understood.

Glosses in Editions Owned by Students and Friends

Among the most difficult to judge of the manifold variants in the different sources of Chopin's music are those that derive from annotations in editions owned by students and acquaintances of the composer. Problems of the most basic kind hinder attempts to assess the significance

---

[3] In the first movement of the Sonata, op. 35, the omission has caused a thorny problem for the performer, for it is not clear whether the repeat of the exposition should begin at the "Grave" introduction or at the "Doppio movimento" four measures later--both are set off by double bars.

of the annotations.[4] For example, of the seven known collections of annotated editions, all show entries in more than one hand. Often it is difficult to determine which belongs to Chopin, for the markings generally are in pencil, and seem to have been written while the music was resting upright at the lectern above the keyboard, altering the normal ductus of his hand. Moreover, Eigeldinger has uncovered the disturbing probability that Chopin's sister, Ludwika Jędrzejewicz, and his friend Jane Stirling, collated readings in their respective editions, further complicating the task of separating authentic readings from spurious.[5]

After grappling with the problem of which of the glosses derives from the composer, an even more fundamental obstacle confronts the critic: what musical purpose did the annotations serve? Were they merely didactic aids, intended only for the owner of the edition? Do they address errors in engraving? Do they sometimes represent further compositional revisions of a passage, meant to supersede the version as printed? The questions sound familiar, for they were asked earlier of presentation manuscripts. As with presentation manuscripts, a thorough study of the glosses in

---

[4]A superb introduction to Chopin's annotated editions is found in Eigeldinger, Chopin vu par ses élèves, pp. 251-303 in particular, but see also pp. 133-248 passim. My comments on these editions are very much indebted to the work of Eigeldinger.

[5]See Eigeldinger, Chopin vu par ses élèves, pp. 265-66, 269-72.

all the exemplars is needed, one that not only takes into account musical evidence, but also accounts for the relationship between Chopin's didactic impulses and his compositional ones. Before such a study is completed, discussion of the musical content of the revisions must necessarily be limited.

That said, a few descriptive points about the annotations may be made, and an example of one offered. Fingerings, as Eigeldinger has shown, comprise the largest category of additions.[6] Additions not affecting the pitch structure occur frequently as well, and affect phrasing, articulation, dynamics, pedaling, and tempo. Annotations that modify notes appear less often; they at various times alter, ornament, and delete readings present in the original.

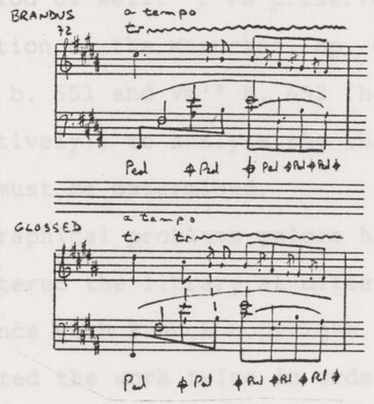
Though the majority of the more significant glosses were marked into editions of earlier works,[7] Example 42 shows an interesting variant of measure 72 of op. 62 no. 1 added to the Brandus edition once owned by Camille

---

[6]Eigeldinger, Chopin vu par ses élèves, p. 252. See also p. 157 and pp. 168-70 for transcriptions of a number of the fingerings.

[7]The Nocturnes, op. 9 no. 2 and op. 48 no. 1 both saw many pencilled additions to their texts (see the transcriptions of the glosses in Eigeldinger, Chopin vu par ses élèves, pp. 297-99, 302-303); more remarkable, however are the cuts of measures 87-110 marked into three exemplars of the Mazurka, op. 33 no. 4 (ibid., p. 213), and of two measures (between measures 46 and 47) indicated in the last movement of one exemplar of the Sonata, op. 35.

Dubois-O'Meara (F-Pc Rés. F. 980/II). The addition brings the melodic, if not the rhythmic, shape of measure 72 into agreement with the model for the passage (measures 6-7), and in so doing, reverts to the first, crossed out reading in the Brandus engraver's manuscript. In the printed version, the important melodic d#" was only briefly inflected as the last note of the decoration in the previous measure; the motivation for the addition seems clear. But the gloss cancels part of the reinterpretative effect of the measure. As I stated earlier, the large return of the opening section in this Nocturne recharges that material to an extent rare even in other ternary works by Chopin. Trills take the lead role in enervating the return, but variation of the melodic contour also plays a part. Though still trilled, the gloss contains no melodic surprise; the brief moment of variation in the original is lost. Did Chopin really mean to indicate that he preferred the annotated version? Was it a variant meant only for Dubois-O'Meara, who perhaps remarked on the divergence from the model of the measure? Could the gloss represent an "ornamental" variant, of the sort seen in the presentation manuscripts of op. 64 no. 1? Here one is stymied by the lack of a sound understanding of the glosses in general. Without this understanding, critical analysis of the variants runs quickly into a dead end.



Example 42: Op. 62 no. 1, m. 72, original and annotated versions

Alterations in Later States of Editions

Although a number of editions of Chopin's music were released more than once during his lifetime, seldom do they show any evidence of authorial intervention. Scholars have devoted some attention to later issues of Chopin's music, but later states have largely been ignored.[8] In Chapter I, I alluded briefly to the different states of the Troupenas editions of the Sonata, op. 35 and the Impromptu, op. 36. A capital example of two states of an edition in which the textual variants derive manifestly from the composer occurs

[8]I distinguish "issue" from "state" after D.W. Krummel, comp., Guide for Dating Early Published Music (Hackensack, 1974), pp. 30-45. Essentially, as Krummel points out on p. 34, to fall under the heading of new "issue", the conditions of publication must have changed. A new "state" offers a different text.

in the late period as well. F-Pn preserves two exemplars of the Brandus edition of the Mazurkas, op. 63, bearing the shelfmarks Vm¹² b. 651 and Vm¹² b. 652 (hereafter exemplars A and B, respectively); to analyze the changes, the order of the two states must be determined.

Bibliographical problems galore haunt these exemplars. They entered the library at different times as deposits in accordance with French copyright law. (Brandus probably deposited the work twice in order to preserve copyright on the new readings contained in the later state.) The ledgers of the Dépôt légal preserved in the Archives Nationales (Série F* 18 VIII) record these dates as 12 February and 27 November 1848; item numbers entered both in the ledgers and on the wrappers of the editions associate Exemplar B (item 136) with the earlier date, and Exemplar A (item 472) with the later date. Now dates of registration are not necessarily synonymous with dates of publication, as a note added to the 1848 ledger next to item number 469 suggests:

> Ces morceaux de musique portant les Nos. 469 et suivants jusqu'au No. 485 inclusiv ont été déposés à 2 exemp. par Mr. Brandus le 23 Mars de la présente année et complétés seulement le 20 9bre [Novembre].

This somewhat cryptic note perhaps reflects what must have been unstable times for business, publishing included, after the outbreak of revolution on 22 February 1848. All was not well in the copyright office either, as evidences the sharp drop in the number of titles registered in 1848: only 529,

versus some 1750 in a more normal year like 1844. Deciphering the note, items 469-85, among which numbers Exemplar A, seem actually to have been deposited, or begun to be deposited (for the "complétés seulement le 20 9bre" could mean that he registered the titles early and deposited the editions later) on 23 March 1848. But even this date probably does not match the date of publication; evidence from other sources complicates the picture further.

Information on the exemplars themselves leads to conflicting dates. Each exemplar sports a colored wrapper that reproduces the printed title page, which follows immediately. Both wrappers contain also an advertisement for works by Alkan, Chopin, Heller, and Liszt issued by Brandus. The printed content of the wrappers and title pages concur exactly, save that Exemplar B lists "Jullien et Cie" as the publisher of the opus in London, while "Londres," in Exemplar A is followed by a blank (in fact, no edition of op. 63 by Jullien is known). Both copies bear the identical plate number, "B. et Cie 4742." Each copy contains stamped and handwritten notes evidently added by the library staff. Some appear straightforward enough: both the wrapper and title page of Exemplar A have stamped in red beneath the plate number the year 1847. In Exemplar B, a red stamp (larger than that used in Exemplar A) was employed only on the title page; on the wrapper, the year was entered by

hand. Both agree, however, on 1848. Such stamps were added routinely to editions obtained by the library after 1839.[9]

If the confusion between the several dates of registration and the dates stamped on the editions is not enough, add the following: each title page features an identical circular library control stamp containing the legend "BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE IMPRIMÉS," and the initials "R.F," as in "République Française," a designation possible only after the departure of the July Monarchy (similar stamps from before 1848 read "BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE I"). If these stamps were added at the time of receipt (which may not necessarily be the case), then the date stamped on Exemplar A contradicts the control stamp: 1847 predates the beginning of the Second Republic.

A last bit of evidence helps settle that the dates of registration do not agree with the dates of publication. On 17 October 1847, Brandus advertised "pour paraître incessament" his edition of Chopin's ops. 63-65.[10] An edition of op. 64 owned by Jane Stirling survives with an autograph date "8 December 1847,[11] so the advertisement must have been accurate.

Even if it is true that the dates of registration of the two exemplars of op. 63 do not concur with the actual

---

[9]See Krummel, Guide, p. 160.

[10]Revue et gazette musicale de Paris, 17 Octobre 1847, p. 344.

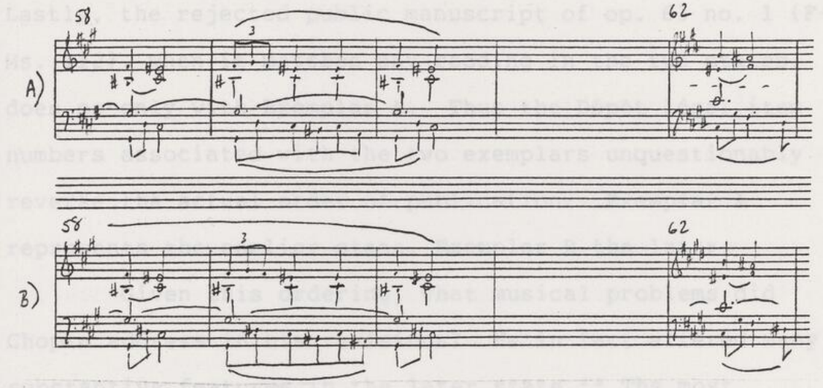
[11]See Eigeldinger, Chopin vu par ses élèves, p. 254.

dates of publication, do they at least reflect their order of release? Clearly either the copyright office or the library erred in their annotations of the editions. Exemplar A carries the number "472" which should indicate that it was the second published. Yet the year of acquisition, according to the library stamp, was 1847, before the date stamped on Exemplar B. The library control stamps do not help sort out the problem, for both were added after the establishment of the Second Republic, which again, in Exemplar B, raises a conflict.[12]

Musical evidence, however, leads us out of this welter of differing dates. Most of the differences between the two states do not in themselves suggest the chronological position of one version or the other (though once the relative position of the two is decided, such changes prove musically interesting, as we will see). In a few cases, though, Chopin rectified some obvious errors in the musical text. Example 43 shows two such passages in the first Mazurka of the set. Exemplar A (item 472) lacks the necessary sharps before the d's and a's in the left hand. In Exemplar B (item 136), the accidentals do appear. To posit anything but that Exemplar A was the first released of the two would be to fly in the face of musical logic.

---

[12]Op. 63 was deposited twice in the library of the Paris Conservatoire as well. But the two exemplars (shelfmarks Ac.p. 2707 and Ac.p. 2719) do not shed any light on the situation. Though Ac.p. 2707 bears the Dépôt légal item number "472," and Ac.p. 2719 "136," both contain exactly the same text, that preserved in Exemplar B.



Example 43: Op. 63 no. 1, mm. 58-60, 62

Readings in other printed sources buttress this ordering. The Breitkopf & Härtel edition, presumably set from a manuscript sent to Leipzig at the same time as that given to Brandus for the initial French publication, agrees in most instances with Exemplar A rather than Exemplar B. When it does agree with Exemplar B, it is in places where the text in Exemplar A is grammatically incorrect--Breitkopf engravers often silently corrected readings they considered wrong. Thus the Breitkopf edition does print the accidentals lacking in Exemplar A as shown in Example 43. The Wessel edition, on the other hand, agrees with readings in Exemplar B, which implies that it was derived directly from this edition (and in the absence of either a signed contract for op. 63 or an entry in Stationers' Hall, one may

conclude that the derivation was probably surreptitious). Lastly, the rejected public manuscript of op. 63 no. 1 (F-Pc Ms. 112), when it matches any reading in the two states, does so only with Exemplar A. Thus the Dépôt légal item numbers associated with the two exemplars unquestionably reverse the actual order of publication: Exemplar A represents the earlier state, Exemplar B the later.

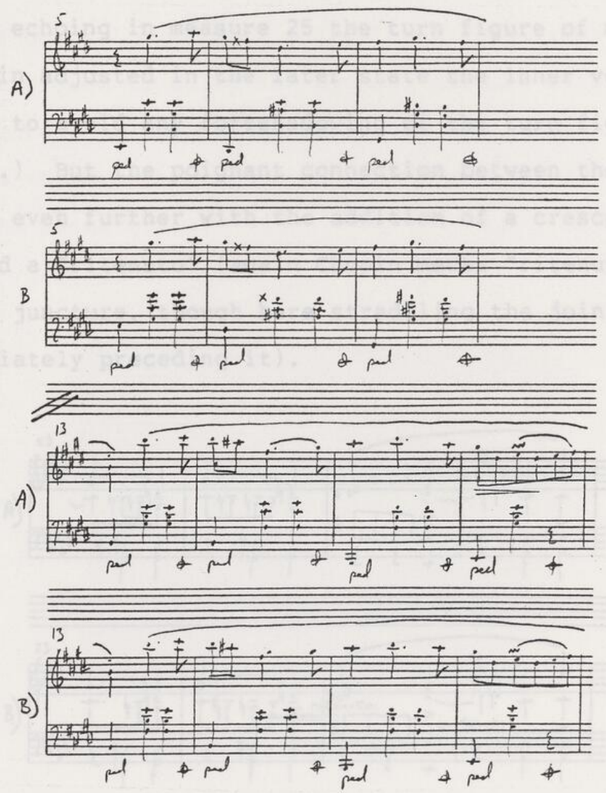
Given this ordering, what musical problems did Chopin address in his revisions? He in fact altered many substantive features in the later state.[13] The most thoroughgoing of these changes occurred in two accompanimental passages in op. 63 no. 3 (Example 44). In measures 5-7, Chopin was mainly concerned with controlling the expansion of the bass register in the opening of the Mazurka. By shifting the accompaniment of the first two measures an octave higher, the low B' in measure 15 that articulates the impending cadence on III takes on greater significance. Moreover, the shift allows all of the chords on the second and third beats to remain in the same register; in the earlier version, the chords in measures 5-7 suddenly drop a fifth below those on either side: even in

[13]Pianists searching for these changes in the recent Henle edition of the Mazurkas (Frédéric Chopin, Mazurken, ed. Ewald Zimmermann [Munich, 1975]) will come away empty-handed. Though claiming in the Critical Report to base the text of op. 63 on the French edition, Zimmermann evidently consulted only the earlier state. Whether this reflects a conscious decision or an incomplete knowledge of the sources is not clear; in any case, the Henle edition transmits several readings that Chopin expressly cancelled.

chordal textures, Chopin remained sensitive to proper "voice-leading." In measure 13, Chopin changed the harmonic function of the measure. Measures 13-15 are set over a pedal on V/III, which resolves to III as the local tonic in measure 16. In Chopin's early version, the progression in measures 13-14 was weak; the "tonic" six-four chord (considering for the moment E major as the local tonic) in the first measure resolved awkwardly to the dominant of the dominant in the second. Moreover, the E major harmony of measure 13 adumbrated the point of arrival in measure 16. Chopin's revision alters the harmony of measure 13 to V/V (of E major), with an added four-three appoggiatura that resolves in the melodic line of the following measure. The chordal progression from measure 13 to measure 14 is strengthened, and the "tonic" harmony is not anticipated.

Another significant change in op. 63 no. 3 apes one seen in the proofs for the Waltz, op. 64 no. 2. Chopin first notated the key signature of the middle section with four flats, adding accidental flats to all necessary g's. But the section is in D flat major, and Chopin changed the key signature to five flats in the later state. Again, initial confusion over the proper way to notate enharmonic keys necessitated the revision.

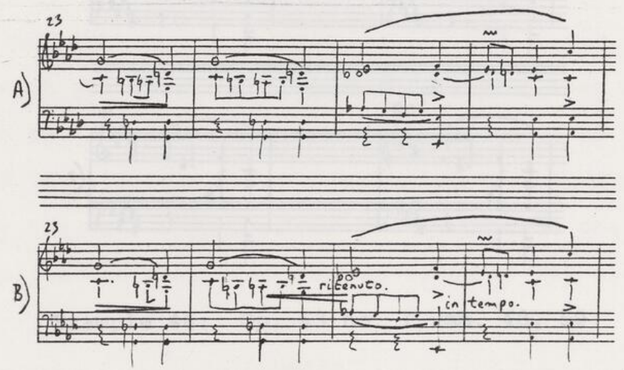
Four measures of the second Mazurka of the set were altered in several ways (Example 45). Chopin wished to articulate the repeat of the first phrase of the middle section. The section is based in A flat major (the relative



Example 44: Op. 63 no. 3, mm. 5-7, 13-16

major of the F minor tonic of the work), but the second four measures of the first phrase come to rest on G major. The third-related juxtaposition between the G major end of this phrase and the E flat major (as V of A flat) beginning of the next is characteristic of late Chopin (recall the preponderance of such key relationships in the Nocturne, op. 62 no. 1), and Chopin underscored already in the earlier

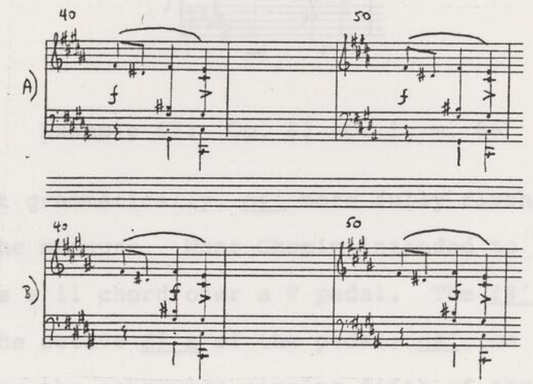
state the distinctive harmonic relationship between the two phrases by echoing in measure 25 the turn figure of measure 24. (Chopin adjusted in the later state the inner voice in measure 23 to avoid any foreshadowing of the turn figure of measure 24.) But the poignant connection between the two is pointed up even further with the addition of a crescendo hairpin and a "ritenuto" (again Chopin marks "ritenuto" at a structural juncture, though here straddling the join, rather than immediately preceding it).



Example 45: Op. 63 no. 2, mm. 23-26

Compositional corrections in op. 63 no. 1 focus on more immediate concerns. In measures 40 and 50, Chopin shifted the "f" from the first beat to the second (Example 46). By moving the dynamic marking a beat later, the sudden forte coincides with the unexpected entry of the bass on the second beat (until this moment in the middle section, the left hand sounds only on the third beat). We have seen in

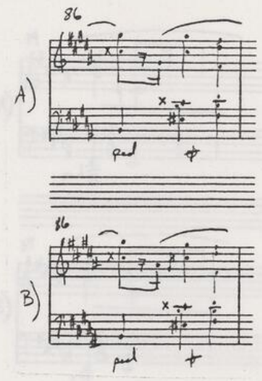
manuscript sources the composer striving to correlate distinctive musical events of differing kinds; likewise Chopin here wished to unify the dynamic gesture with the accompanimental. (Chopin also neglected in the earlier publication to mark the return to "p" in measure 43; this he added in the later state.)



Example 46: Op. 63 no. 1, mm. 40, 50

Chopin made a small melodic change in measure 86 (Example 47). In the earlier conception, measure 86 repeated exactly measure 84. Without making too much out of this alteration, it shows on a miniature scale Chopin's overriding desire to prevent any dulling that might obtain from literal repetition, even of the shortest of melodic motives.

Lastly, Chopin corrected an error of sorts in measure 89 (Example 48). While the f#' in the left hand is

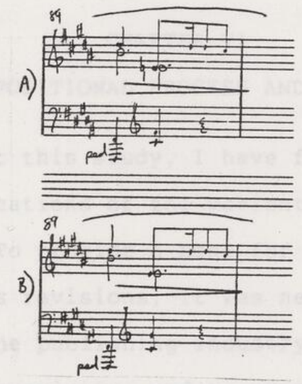


Example 47: Op. 63 no. 1, m. 86

not incorrect grammatically, g#' more fully fleshes out the harmony in the measure. What Chopin intended to be heard in measure 89 is a ii chord over a V pedal. The f#' duplicates needlessly the octave F#'s of the pedal; g#', on the other hand, supplies the otherwise missing fifth of the ii chord.

Summary

Chopin's corrections in the later state of the Mazurkas and in the proofs--too little is known about the glosses in editions to generalize about them--focus on the same sorts of compositional problems that occupied him in manuscript revisions. Relationships of local details to broader effects, unity of gesture, articulation of structural joins; all still may be addressed after manuscripts have left the composer's hands. Absent, from the evidence we have from Chopin's later period, are changes of the



Example 48: Op. 63 no. 1, m. 89

magnitude seen in rejected public manuscripts. Rather, the study of Chopin's revisions in the printed sources paints clearly a composer deeply concerned with honing the finest details of his work, even after publication.

CHAPTER VI

EPILOGUE: COMPOSITIONAL PROCESS AND EDITORIAL CHOICE

Throughout this study, I have focused exclusively on the musical implications of the variants and versions in Chopin sources. To provide a base for this critical exploration of Chopin's revisions, it was necessary to understand the workings of the publishing industry that created the framework for the variants, and to grasp the nature of the sources themselves. These discussions served mainly to orient the treatment of the musical problems revealed in the revisions. Other attempts at understanding the musical processes at work in Chopin's autographs have been hampered by the lack of this solid grounding.[1] Having explained how knowledge of Chopin's methods of publication and his uses of

---

[1]For example, Belotti's contention that the G minor version of the Mazurka op. 59 no. 3 constitutes in some sense a "new Mazurka" derives from a basic misunderstanding of the nature of the manuscript (see his discussion in "Una nuova Mazurca," pp. 198-99). Since Chopin did not destroy the manuscript, Belotti writes, it must have represented more than simply an early version of the work; Chopin thought of it as a work in its own right, with its own particular characteristics. Such reasoning ignores the many other manuscripts of the same type and of different types (such as sketches) that Chopin kept after publication of a more refined version, and consequently weakens much of Belotti's discussion of the musical variants, where he attempts to demonstrate the superiority of the G minor version as a means of proving its uniqueness.

autographs could benefit the critic, the need to dwell here on analytical questions seemed appropriate.

It would be a mistake, however, to insist that the issues and problems raised in this dissertation concern only the analyst and critic; they must influence the perception of what constitutes a proper modern edition as well. To discuss adequately the relevance of a study of Chopin's revisions to edition-making would require a dissertation in itself; here I can only point very briefly, by way of conclusion, to some of the questions and issues that have been ignored or improperly addressed by editors.

Two broad focuses of this study must be understood by those who edit Chopin. The first and most direct lesson concerns the need for complete bibliographic control of the sources; this entails knowledge not only of all extant materials, but also of lost autographs and proofs, of later states of editions, and of the ways these sources function and interrelate. What may be less apparent is the absolute necessity of grasping the musical logic and thought processes followed by the composer when he revised. The implications of the analytical chapters of this study should be as important to editors as those from the first two chapters, for aesthetic judgments unavoidably lie at the heart of editorial choices.

Underlying these aesthetic decisions is the essential concept that, within the general schemata of publishing methods and manuscript types, each individual piece shows a unique source relationship. It is the combination of the

general and the specific that allows one in most cases to understand why the variants occur as they do, and what, if any, musical motivations lay behind them. Knowledge of the archetype informed the reconstruction of the order of manuscripts and editions of the Nocturne, op. 62 no. 1, but only consideration of the special circumstances surrounding the preparation of the Brandus Stichvorlage permitted the understanding of why Chopin left it in significantly different musical shape than the other two versions, and why Chopin when correcting the Brandus proofs omitted some of the changes made in the later engravers' manuscripts.

Questions of the composer's intent in releasing simultaneous editions concern the editor; through critical study of Chopin's revisions, one might approach a better understanding of the problem. Can one claim in, say, the Nocturne, op. 62 no. 1 that Chopin meant the editions released abroad and in France to differ? One must consider the individual circumstances, and distinguish between types of variants. On the one hand are the variants pitting readings in the French engraver's manuscript against those found in the other two (taking the Wessel edition as an accurate representation of what was in the lost English engraver's manuscript), variants the composer presumably intended to bring into agreement in the French proofs. On the other hand are those variants, mostly of performance directions, that occurred between the German and English autographs. These texts Chopin knew he would not alter after they left

his hands, yet still he allowed the differences to stand, even though both autographs were in his possession at the same time before being shipped off. How does one reconcile such cases? Ought one in fact to do so?

Editors should also profit from knowing that Chopin at times tailored pieces for a specific audience, shaping readings to match the skills of a particular student or performer. This process appears to have occurred separately from that of publication; that Chopin distinguished between what was appropriate for an individual performer and what was to be put before the general public ought to encourage editors to consider thoroughly how Chopin's conception of intended audience should influence edition-making. Should variant readings for all manuscripts of the Waltz, op. 64 no. 1 be conflated into one text, or should the versions given to acquaintances stand apart from what was published by the composer?

Modern editions of Chopin's music have proved unsatisfactory for a number of reasons, not the least of which has been an incomplete or flawed knowledge of the sources. In Chapters I and II, I hope my contribution to the solution of this problem is self-evident. But if this study stirs the critical and analytical faculties of future editors, it will have performed a more important task. The greatest limitation of past editions has been an insensitivity to the composer's musical style, manifested in a lack of understanding of the musical motivations behind revisions. Such

an attitude divorces the performer and critic from an essential element of Chopin's oeuvre. His music demands from editors the willingness to pass aesthetic judgments coupled with the ability to present in some fashion the available evidence and the reasoning leading to that judgment. Uncertainties about individual cases will remain and must remain--these too should form part of our perception of the composer's style. What this dissertation has shown directly is that the study of Chopin's manuscripts and editions can and should be an intensely musical activity. If it can persuade editors to think the same about their task, it will have done double duty.

APPENDIX A

BREITKOPF & HÄRTEL RECEIPTS

All receipts, unless indicated below, are printed here for the first time. "F." followed by a three digit number indicates the catalogue number of the receipt in the photographic archives of the Chopin Society in Warsaw. If the receipt does not form part of the collection at the Chopin Society, its provenance is indicated.

No attempt has been made to remedy the misspellings and grammatical errors in the receipts. Inconsistencies in content in the receipts have been allowed to stand as well.

The following receipts have been published elsewhere: 22 January 1839, in Kobylańska, Katalog, 1: 161; 15 January 1840 and 16 July 1844 ("quittance spéciale"), in Jeffrey Kallberg, review of Kobylańska, Katalog, 19th Century Music 3 (1979): 165-66; 10 December 1843, 16 July 1844, 19 November 1846, and 30 June 1847, in Chopin, Korespondencja, 2: 364-65, 369, 404, 415.

28 October 1833
Source: Hartung & Karl, Auktion 10, November 13-14, 1974; item number 1102

Moi soussigné déclare avoir céder la propriété pour l'allemagne des ouvrages suivans de ma composition à MM. Breitkopf et Hartel éditeurs de Musique Leipzig, et j'en ai reçu le montant convenu par M. Schlesinger à Paris le 28 Octobre 1833.
Ces ouvrages sont:
Variations brillantes sur Ludovic op. 12
3. Nocturnes pour le Piano, op. 15

fait à Paris le 28 Octobre 1833

FFChopin

[The receipt is written on Schlesinger stationery.]

18 November 1833
F. 340

Reçu de Monsieur Probst la Somme de Trois Cent francs pour la propriété de l'allemagne de
Chopin 3 Nocturnes op. 15
du même Grandes Variations brillantes sur Ludovic op. 12

Paris
le 18 Novembre 1833

Maurice Schlesinger

B.p. fr. 300

[Verso:]

Trois Nocturnes
pour le Piano
dédiés à son ami
Ferdinand Hiller
par
Fréd. Chopin
op. 15

Paris chez Schlesinger
Londres chez Wessel & Co
Leipzig chez B & H

Publier le 4 Decbr.

27 November 1833
F. 341

Je soussigné Frédéric Chopin, demeurant à Paris Rue de la Chaussée d'Antin No. 5
Déclare avoir vendu et cédé à Messieurs Breitkopf & Härtel Editeurs de Musique à Leipzig en Allemagne tous mes Droits de propriété pour tous les pays excepté pour la France et l'Angleterre sur les deux Ouvrages suivans de ma Composition
Op. 16 Rondo en mi bemol
" 17 Quatre Mazourkas
La quelle Vente et Cession est faite moyennant la somme

de Deux cent francs espèces que je reconnais avoir reçu ce jour.

Dont quittance à Paris le 27 Novbre 1833

FFChopin

13 May 1834
F. 343

Unterzeichneter in Paris Rue de la Chaussée d'Antin No. 5 wohnhaft bestätige hiermit verkauft und überlassen zu haben denen Herren Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig das Eigenthumsrecht für alle Länder mit Ausnahme Frankreichs u. Englands auf meine Composition bititelt

Grande Valse brillante pour le Piano forte dediee a Mademoiselle Laura Horsford, Oeuvre 18

wofür ich von denselben das Honorar von Zweihundert franken empfangen habe und hiermit darüber quitiere.

Paris den 13 Mai 1834

F. Chopin

[Address, verso:]

Messieurs Breitkopf & Härtel
Monsieur Raymond Härtel
Leipzig
Allemagne

3 July 1835
F. 344

Je soussigné Frédéric Chopin demeurant Rue de la Chaussée d'Antin No. 5 à Paris

Déclare avoir vendu à Messieurs Breitkopf & Härtel Editeurs de Musique à Leipzig en Saxe mes droits de propriété sur les Ouvrages suivants de ma composition, pour par eux les éxercer dans l'Allemagne et tous les autres pays excepté la France et l'Angleterre

Scherzo pour le Pianoforte Oeuvre 20
Concerto pour le Pianof. av. " 21
Accomp. d'orchestre

Laquelle vente et cession est faite moyennant la Somme de Mille Francs pour les deux Ouvrages quelle Somme j'ai reçu Comptant en Espèces dont je donne ici la Quittance fait à Paris le 3 Juillet 1835.

FFChopin

14 November 1835
F. 345

Je soussigné Frédéric Chopin, demeurant à Paris rue de la Chaussée d'Antin No. 5, déclare avoir vendu et cédé à MMrs. Breitkopf & Härtel à Leipsic (Allemagne) la propriété et les droits d'édition pour l'Allemagne et pour tous les autre pays excepté la France et l'Angleterre, d'un manuscrit de ma Composition intitulé

Deux Nocturnes pour le piano forté, op. 27

pour en disposer comme de chose à lui appartenante, moyennant la Somme de trois cents francs, qu'ils m'ont comptée en espèces par Mr. H. A. Probst, et dont quittance à Paris le 14 Novembre milhuit cent trente cinq.

FFChopin

26 November 1835
F. 346

Je soussigné, Frédéric Chopin, demeurant à Paris rue de la Chaussée d'Antin, No. 5, déclare avoir vendu et cédé à MMrs. Breitkopf & Härtel à Leipsic (Allemagne) la propriété et les droits d'édition pour l'Allemagne et pour tous les autre pays excepté la France et l'Angleterre d'un manuscrit de ma composition intitulé:

Polonaise avec introduction pour piano avec Orchestre, op. 22

pour en disposer comme de chose à leur appartenante, moyennant la Somme de Cinq cent francs qu'ils m'ont comptée en espèces par Mr. H. A. Probst, et dont quittance à Paris le 26 Novembre mil huit cent trente cinq.

FFChopin

9 January 1836
F. 347

Je soussigné, Fréd. Chopin, demeurant à Paris, rue de la Chaussée d'Antin No. 5, déclare avoir vendu et cédé à Mrs. Breitkopf & Härtel à Leipsic (Allemagne) la propriété et les droits d'édition pour l'Allemagne et pour tous les autre pays excepté la France et l'Angleterre d'un manuscrit de ma Composition intitulé:

Ballade pour le Piano seul Op.23

pour en disposer comme de chose à leur appartenante

moyennant la somme de Quatre cent francs qu'ils m'ont comptés en espèces par Mr. H. A. Probst et dont quittance à Paris le 9 Janvier 1836.

FFChopin

29 January 1836
F. 348

Je soussigné, Frédéric Chopin, demeurant à Paris rue de la Chaussée d'Antin, No. 5, déclare avoir vendu et cédé à Mrs. Breitkopf & Härtel à Leipsig (Allemagne) la propriété et les droits d'édition pour l'Allemagne et pour tous les autre pays excepté la France et l'Angleterre d'un manuscrit de ma composition, intitulé;

Deux Polonaises mélancoliques pour le piano, Op. 26 pour en disposer comme de chose à eux appartenante, moyennant la Somme de Trois cents francs, qu'ils m'ont comptée en espèces par Mr. H. A. Probst, et dont quittance à Paris, le 29 Jer mil huit cent trente six.

FFChopin

9 April 1836
F. 349

Duplicat

Je soussigné Frédéric Chopin, demeurant à Paris rue de la Chaussée d'Antin no. 5, déclare avoir vendu et cédé à Messieurs Breitkopf & Haertel, à Leipsig (Allemagne) la propriété et les droits d'édition pour l'Allemagne et pour tous les autre pays excepté la France et l'Angleterre d'un manuscrit de ma composition intitulé:

Deux Nocturnes, pour le piano forté, op. 27 pour en disposer comme de chose à leur appartenante, moyennant la Somme de trois cents francs qu'ils m'ont compté en espèces par Mr. H. A. Probst et dont quittance à Paris le 9 avril mil huit cent trente six.

FFChopin

28 February 1837
F. 350

Je soussigné, Frédéric Chopin, demeurant à Paris rue de la Chaussée d'Antin No. [blank], déclare avoir vendu et cédé

à Mrs. Breitkopf & Haertel à Leipsig (Allemagne) la propriété et les droits d'édition pour l'Allemagne et pour tous les autre pays, excepté la France et l'Angleterre, d'un manuscrit de ma composition, intitulé;

Douze Etudes pour le piano, oeuvre 25

pour en disposer comme de chose à eux appartenante, moyennant la Somme de mille francs qu'ils m'ont comptée en espèces, par Mr. H. A. Probst, et dont quittance à Paris le vingt-huit février mil-huit-cent-trente-sept.

FFChopin

11 September 1837
F. 351

Je soussigné, Frédéric Chopin, demeurant à Paris, rue de la Chaussée d'Antin, No. 38, déclare avoir vendu et cédé à Messieurs Breitkopf et Haertel, à Leipzig (Allemagne) la propriété et les droits d'édition pour l'Allemagne et pour tous les autre pays, excepté la France et l'Angleterre de trois manuscrits de ma composition, intitulés:

Impromptu pour le piano		Op. 29
Quatre mazurkas,	"	" 30
Scherzo	"	" 31

pour en disposer comme de choses à eux appartenantes, moyennant la Somme de mille francs qu'ils m'ont comptée en espèces, par Mr. H. A. Probst, et dont quittance à Paris, le onze Septembre mil-huit-cent-trente-sept.

FFChopin

21 June 1838
F. 352

Je soussigné, Fréd. Chopin, demeurant à Paris, rue de la Chaussée d'Antin No. 38, déclare avoir vendu et cédé à Mrs. Breitkopf et Haertel Editeurs de musique à Leipzig (Allemagne) la propriété et les droits d'édition pour l'Allemagne et pour tous les autre pays, la France et l'Angleterre exceptés, d'un manuscrit de ma composition intitulé:

Quatre Masourkas, pour le piano, dédiées à Mlle. Rose Mostowska, op. 33

pour en disposer comme de chose à eux appartenante, moyennant la Somme de trois cents francs qu'ils m'ont comptée en espèces par Mr. H. A. Probst et dont quittance à Paris le

vingt un juin mil-huit-cent-trente-huit.

FFChopin

[Verso:]

Je soussigné

22 January 1839
Source: Kobylańska, Katalog 1: 161

Je vous envoye, Cher Mr. Probst les 24 préludes, vous aurez la bonté de remettre á Mr. Fontana le montant convenu.

t. à v. FFChopin

Je joins un reçu.

Reçu de Mr. Probst mille francs pour les 24 préludes--propriété pour l'Allemagne.

FFChopin

Palma, 22 Janv. 1839

15 January 1840
F. 353

Je soussigné, Frédéric Chopin, demeurant à Paris Rue Tronchet No. 5, déclare avoir vendu et cédé à Messieurs Breitkopf & Haertel Editeurs de Musique à Leipzig la propriété et les droits d'édition pour toute l'Allemagne et les autre pays (la France et l'Angleterre exceptés) de sept Manuscrits de ma composition intitulés:

Sonata pour le Piano		Op. 35
Seconde Ballade pour le Piano		Op. 36
Deux Polonaises pour	"	Op. 37
Troisième Scherzo	pour "	Op. 38
Impromptu	pour "	Op. 39
Deux Nocturnes	pour "	Op. 40
Quatre Mazurkas	pour "	Op. 41

pour en disposer comme de choses à eux appartenantes, moyennant la somme de Deux mille cinq cent Francs qu'il[s] m'ont comptée en espèces par Mr. H. A. Probst, et dont quittance à Paris le Quinze Janvier milhuit cent quarante.

Frédéric Chopin

31 October 1843
F. 363

Hierdurch bescheinige ich den Herren Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig das unbeschränkte Verlagseigenthum für alle Länder mit Ausnahme von Frankreich und England, von folgenden Compositionen:

Ballade	Oeuv.	52
Polonaise	"	53
Scherzo	"	54

überlassen und das bedinge Honorar dafür empfangen zu haben.
Paris 31 October 1843.

Frédéric Chopin
Paris 31 Oct. 1843

10 December 1843
F. 354

Moi soussigné, demeurant à Paris rue St. Lazare No. 34, reconnais d'avoir vendu à Messieurs Breitkopf et Härtel à Leipzig la propriété des ouvrages ci-dessous nommés de ma composition, Savoir:

Oeuvre	12	Variations sur des motifs de Ludovic
"	15	Trois Nocturnes
"	16	Rondeau
"	17	4 Mazourkas
"	18	Grande Valse brillante
"	20	Scherzo
"	21	Deuxième Concerto
"	22	Grande Polonaise
"	23	Ballade
"	24	4 Mazourkas
"	25	12 Etudes en deux livraisons
"	26	Deux Polonaises
"	27	Deux Nocturnes
"	28	24 Préludes
"	29	Impromptu
"	30	4 Mazourkas
"	31	Scherzo
"	33	4 Mazourkas
"	34	Trois Valses nr 1-3
"	35	Sonate
"	36	Deuxième Impromptu
"	37	Deux Nocturnes
"	38	Ballade
"	39	Troisième Scherzo
"	40	Deux Polonaises
"	41	4 Mazourkas
"	42	Valse
"	46	Allegro de Concert
"	47	Troisième Ballade
"	48	Deux Nocturnes

" 49 Fantaisie
" 52 Quatrième Ballade
" 53 Polonaise
" 54 Quatrième Scherzo

Je déclare avoir cédé cette propriété aux dites Messieurs sans aucune réserve ni limite pour tout temps et tous les pays exceptés la France et l'Angleterre, et reconnais en avoir reçû les honoraires convenues, dont quittance spéciale a été faite.

F. Chopin

Paris, ce 10 décembre 1843

16 July 1844
F. 355

Moi soussigné, Frédéric Chopin, demeurant à Paris rue St. Lazare place d'Orleans, reconnais d'avoir vendu à Messieurs Breitkopf & Härtel à Leipsic la propriété des ouvrages ci-dessous designés de ma Composition, Savoir:

oeuvre 55 Deux Nocturnes pour le Piano
" 56 Trois Mazurkas " "

Je déclare que je leur ai cédé cette propriété sans aucune réserve ni limite pour tous temps et tous les pays exceptés la France et l'Angleterre et reconnais en avoir reçu les honoraires convenus dont quittance spéciale a été faite.

F. Chopin

Paris ce 16 Juillet 1844

16 July 1844
F. 356

Reçu de Mr. Maho pour le compte des M.M. Breitkopf & Härtel à Leipsic pour la propriété de mes oeuvres 55 et 56 pour l'Allemagne la somme di Mille deux cent francs. Paris ce 16 Juillet 1844.

F. Chopin

1200 Fr.

21 December 1844
F. 357

Moi soussigné Fréd. Chopin demeurant à Paris rue St.

Lazare place d'Orleans reconnais d'avoir vendu à Messieurs Breitkopf & Härtel à Leipsik la propriété des ouvrages ci-dessous nommés de ma composition, Savoir:

1a Sonata (en si mineur) op. 57
2o La Berceuse 58

Je déclare que je leur ai cédé cette propriété sans aucune réserve ni limite pour tous temps et tous les pays excepté la France & l'Angleterre et reconnais en avoir reçu les honoraires convenus dont Quittance spéciale a été faite.

Paris ce 21 Décbre 1844

F. Chopin

[Titles and opus numbers are in Chopin's hand]

19 November 1846
F. 358

Moi soussigné Fréd. Chopin demeurant à Paris rue St. Lazare No. 34 reconnais avoir vendu à Messieurs Breitkopf & Härtel à Leipzig la propriété des ouvrages ci-après de ma Composition, savoir:

op. 60 Barcarolle pour le Piano
op. 61 Polonaise-fantaisie "
op. 62 Deux Nocturnes "

Je déclare leur avoir cédé cette propriété pour tout temps et tout pays y comprise la Russie et exceptés la France et l'Angleterre et reconnais en avoir reçu les honoraires convenus dont quittance spéciale a été faite.

Paris ce 19 9bre 1846

Fr. Chopin

30 June 1847
F. 359

Moi soussigné Fr. Chopin demeurant à Paris rue St. Lazare No. 35 [sic] reconnais avoir vendu à Messrs. Breitkopf & Härtel Leipzig les ouvrages ci-après designés de ma Composition savoir:

op. 63 Trois Mazurkas pour le Piano
" 64 Trois Valses " "
" 65 Sonata pour Piano & Vclle

Je déclare leur avoir cédé cette propriété sans aucune réserve ni limite pour tout temps et tous les pays excepté

la France et l'Angleterre et reconnais en avoir reçu les honoraires convenus dont quittance spéciale a été faite.

Paris ce 30 Juin 1847

F. Chopin

APPENDIX B

CHOPIN'S CONTRACTS WITH WESSEL

MEMORANDUM. No. **Whereas** I have this day sold to Messrs. Christian Rudolph Wessel & Co. Importers and Publishers of Foreign Music, now carrying on business at No. 6, Frith Street, Soho Square, London, at the price or sum of Eight Pounds, —— Shillings, sterling, all my Copyright and Interest, present and future, vested and contingent or otherwise, for the Kingdom of Great Britain, France, and Germany, of and in

Op. 26. Deux Polonoises dedicated to J. Dessauer

Op. 27 Deux Nocturnes, Les Plaintives, 4th Book, dedicated to Mad. la Comtesse d'Appony

Composed by me. **And Whereas** the said sum of Eight Pounds, —— Shillings, hath been this day paid to me by the said Messrs. Wessel & Co. and for which I have given them a receipt duly stamped,

Now, in consideration of the Premises, and such payment to me, I hereby for myself, my Executors, and Administrators, promise and engage to and with the said Messrs. Wessel & Co. their Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, at their request and costs, to execute a proper Assignment of my aforesaid Copyright and Interest, to the said Messrs. Wessel & Co. their Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, or as they shall direct.

Witness my Hand, this 15th day of June in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty Six

Signed in the presence of
J Fontana

F Chopin

No. **Received** of Messrs. Wessel & Co. No. 6, Frith Street, Soho Square, London, the sum of Eight Pounds, —— Shillings, for the absolute Sale of all my Copyright and Interest, present and future, vested and contingent or otherwise, for the Kingdom of Great Britain, ~~France~~, and ~~Germany~~, of and in

Op. 26, Deux Polonoises, dedicated to J. Dessauer

Op. 27 Deux Nocturnes, Book 4. Les Plaintives

dedicated to Mad. la Comtesse d'Appony

Composed by me.

~~Paris~~ ~~London~~, the 5th Day of April 1836

£9:0:0

F Chopin

MEMORANDUM. No. **Whereas** I have this day sold to Messrs. Christian Rudolph Wessel & Co. Importers and Publishers of Foreign Music, now carrying on business at No. 6, Frith Street, Soho Square, London, at the price or sum of Twenty Pounds, ——— Shillings, sterling, all my Copyright and Interest, present and future, vested and contingent or otherwise, for the Kingdom of Great Britain, ~~France~~, ~~Germany~~, of and in

Op. 13, Fantasie sur des Airs Polonois

Op. 14, Krakowiak

Op. 15 Trois Nocturnes

Op 16 Rondo Ellgard

Op 17 Trois Mazurkas

Composed by me. **And Whereas** the said sum of Twenty Pounds, ——— Shillings, hath been this day paid to me by the said Messrs. Wessel & Co. and for which I have given them a receipt duly stamped,

Now, in consideration of the Premises, and such payment to me, I hereby for myself, my Executors, and Administrators, promise and engage to and with the said Messrs. Wessel & Co. their Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, at their request and costs, to execute a proper Assignment of my aforesaid Copyright and Interest, to the said Messrs. Wessel & Co. their Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, or as they shall direct.

Witness my Hand, this day of November in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty Three

Signed in the presence of
J Fontaine

Chopin

No. **Received** of Messrs. Wessel & Co. No. 6, Frith Street, Soho Square, London, the sum of Twenty Pounds, — . — Shillings, for the absolute Sale of all my Copyright and Interest, present and future, vested and contingent or otherwise, for the Kingdom of Great Britain, France, and Germany, of and in

Op. 13 Fantaisie sur des Airs Polonois
14 Krakowiak
15 Trois Nocturnes.
16 Rondo Elegant
17 Trois Mazurkas

Composed by me.

Paris ~~London~~, the sixth Day of April ~~December~~ 1836

£20: 0: 0

Chopin

MEMORANDUM. No. **Wherras** I have this day sold to Messrs. Christian Rudolph Wessel & Co. Importers and Publishers of Foreign Music, now carrying on business at No. 6, Frith Street, Soho Square, London, at the price or sum of Twenty Eight Pounds, ——— Shillings, sterling, all my Copyright and Interest, present and future, vested and contingent or otherwise, for the Kingdom of Great Britain, ~~France~~ and ~~Germany~~, of and in

Op 18. Grande Valse
Op. 19. Bolero
Op. 20 Scherzo
Op. 21. Quatre Mazurkas
Op. 22 Grande Polonoise with Orchester.
Op. 23 Ballade
Op. 21 Deuxieme Concerto

Composed by me. **And Wherras** the said sum of Twenty Eight Pounds, ——— Shillings, hath been this day paid to me by the said Messrs. Wessel & Co. and for which I have given them a receipt duly stamped,

Now, in consideration of the Premises, and such payment to me, I hereby for myself, my Executors, and Administrators, promise and engage to and with the said Messrs. Wessel & Co. their Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, at their request and costs, to execute a proper Assignment of my aforesaid Copyright and Interest, to the said Messrs. Wessel & Co. their Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, or as they shall direct.

Witness my Hand, this day of November in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty three

Signed in the presence of
J Fontana

No. **Received** of Messrs. Wessel & Co. No. 6, Frith Street, Soho Square, London, the sum of Twenty Eight Pounds, ——— Shillings, for the absolute Sale of all my Copyright and Interest, present and future, vested and contingent or otherwise, for the Kingdom of Great Britain, France, and Germany, of and in

Op. 18. Grande Valse
19. Bolero
20. Scherzo
21. Quatre Mazurkas
22. Grande Polonoise with Orchester
23. Ballade.
day 21 24. Second Concerto.
Composed by me.

Paris ~~London~~ the 6th Day of November 1836

£ 28: 0: 0

MEMORANDUM. No. **Wherras** I have this day sold to Messrs. Christian Rudolph Wessel & Co. Importers and Publishers of Foreign Music, now carrying on business at No. 6, Frith Street, Soho Square, London, at the price or sum of Sixteen Pounds, ——— Shillings, sterling, all my Copyright and Interest, present and future, vested and contingent or otherwise, for the Kingdom of Great Britain, ~~France, and Germany~~, of and in the following (Mr. L.) Compositions viz

Op. 25. Twelve Etudes or Studies, dedicated to ——— in Two Books.

to be published conjointly in France & Germany

& to appear on the 10th October 1837

Composed by me. **And Wherras** the said sum of Sixteen Pounds, ——— Shillings, hath been this day paid to me by the said Messrs. Wessel & Co. and for which I have given them a receipt duly stamped,

Now, in consideration of the Premises, and such payment to me, I hereby for myself, my Executors, and Administrators, promise and engage to and with the said Messrs. Wessel & Co. their Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, at their request and costs, to execute a proper Assignment of my aforesaid Copyright and Interest, to the said Messrs. Wessel & Co. their Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, or as they shall direct.

Witness my Hand, this Twentieth day of July in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty Seven

Signed in the presence of Camillo Sivori — Sivori

No. **Received** of Messrs. Wessel & Co. No. 6, Frith Street, Soho Square, London, the sum of Sixteen Pounds, ——— Shillings, for the absolute Sale of all my Copyright and Interest, present and future, vested and contingent or otherwise, for the Kingdom of Great Britain, ~~France, and Germany~~, of and in the following (Mr. L.) Compositions viz

Op. 25, Twelve Etudes or Studies dedicated to ——— to be published conjointly in France & Germany & to appear on the 10th October 1837

Composed by me.

London, the 20th Day of July 1837

Sivori

£16: 0: 0

MEMORANDUM. No. **Whereas** I have this day sold to Messrs. Christian Rudolph Wessel & Co. Importers and Publishers of Foreign Music, now carrying on business at No. 6, Frith Street, Soho Square, London, at the price or sum of Ten Pounds, ——— Shillings, sterling, all my Copyright and Interest, present and future, vested and contingent or otherwise, for the Kingdom of Great Britain, ~~France, and Germany~~, of and in ~~the following Compositions~~ (viz. M. S.) to be published conjointly in France & Germany viz

Op. 28. Impromptu pour le Piano Solo dedié à Madame la Comtesse d'Lipsick — to appear on the 15th October 1837

Op 30, Quatre Mazurkas being his 5th Sett, dedicated to La Princesse de Wirtemberg, to appear on the

Composed by me. **And Whereas** the said sum of Ten Pounds, ——— Shillings, hath been this day paid to me by the said Messrs. Wessel & Co. and for which I have given them a receipt duly stamped,

Now, in consideration of the Premises, and such payment to me, I hereby for myself, my Executors, and Administrators, promise and engage to and with the said Messrs. Wessel & Co. their Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, at their request and costs, to execute a proper Assignment of my aforesaid Copyright and Interest, to the said Messrs. Wessel & Co. their Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, or as they shall direct.

Witness my Hand, this Twentieth day of July in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty Seven.

Signed in the presence of Jam: Hy: [illegible]

G. Lipsey

No. **Received** of Messrs. Wessel & Co. No. 6, Frith Street, Soho Square, London, the sum of Ten Pounds, ——— Shillings, for the absolute Sale of all my Copyright and Interest, present and future, vested and contingent or otherwise, for the Kingdom of Great Britain, ~~France, and Germany~~, of and in ~~the following Compositions~~

Op. 28 Impromptu pour le Piano Solo dedié à Mad.e la Comtesse d'Lagault — to appear on the 15 October 1837

Op. 30 Quatre Mazurkas (my 5th Sett) dedicated to La Princesse de Wirtemberg, to appear on the

~~——~~ Composed by me.

London, the 20th Day of July 1837

£ 10: 11 :11

G. Lipsey

MEMORANDUM. No. **Whereas** I have this day sold to Messrs. Christian Rudolph Wessel & Co. Importers and Publishers of Foreign Music, now carrying on business at No. 6, Frith Street, Soho Square, London, at the price or sum of Ten Pounds, ——— Shillings, sterling, all my Copyright and Interest, present and future, vested and contingent or otherwise, for the Kingdom of Great Britain, ~~France, and Germany~~, of and in ~~the~~ following two (Nr. 1.) Compositions

Op. 31, 2d. Scherzo in B flat minor, dedicated to Wasielewski

~~entitled~~ ~~Wasielewski~~ Mad.e Adele Kurzbach

~~—~~ entitled La Meditation

Op. 32, Two Nocturnos (the 9 & 10.th) dedicated to

Madame La Baronne de Billing

to appear conjointly in France & Germany & to appear on the

Composed by me. **And Whereas** the said sum of Ten ——— Pounds, ——— Shillings, hath been this day paid to me by the said Messrs. Wessel & Co. and for which I have given them a receipt duly stamped,

Now, in consideration of the Premises, and such payment to me, I hereby for myself, my Executors, and Administrators, promise and engage to and with the said Messrs. Wessel & Co. their Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, at their request and costs, to execute a proper Assignment of my aforesaid Copyright and Interest, to the said Messrs. Wessel & Co. their Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, or as they shall direct.

Witness my Hand, this Fourteenth day of July in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty Seven

Signed in the presence of C. Lloyd

No. **Received** of Messrs. Wessel & Co. No. 6, Frith Street, Soho Square, London, the sum of Ten Pounds, ——— Shillings, for the absolute Sale of all my Copyright and Interest, present and future, vested and contingent or otherwise, for the Kingdom of Great Britain, ~~France and Germany~~, of and in ~~the~~ following (Nr. 1) Compositions

Op. 31, 2d. Scherzo in B flat minor, dedicated to Wasielewski Mad.e Adele Kurzbach

Op. 32 Two Nocturnos (the 9 & 10.th) dedicated to Madame La Baronne de Billing

to appear conjointly in France & Germany & the

Composed by me.

London, the 20.th Day of July 1837

£ 10: 0: 0

MEMORANDUM. No. **Whereas** I have this day sold to Messrs. Christian Rudolph Wessel & Co. Importers and Publishers of Foreign Music, now carrying on business at No. 6, Frith Street, Soho Square, London, at the price or sum of Fifteen Pounds, ——— Shillings, sterling, all my Copyright and Interest, present and future, vested and contingent or otherwise, for the Kingdom of Great Britain, ~~France, and Germany~~, Ireland of and in the following Works:

Opp. 29. Impromptu pour le pianoforte dedié a Madlle la Comtesse de Lobau in the key of A flat. (Breitkopf Haertel No 57)

Opp. 33. Souvenir de la pologne, Sixieme Recueil de Mazurkas pour le piano dedié a Madlle la Comtesse Rose Mostowska

Opp. 34. Trois Grandes Valses Brillantes pour le piano, La 1re Valse in A flat dedié a Madlle de Thun-Hohenstein — La 2e Valse a Madlle L. Baronne de Stockhausen — La 3e Valse a Madlle la Cte d'Eichthal. in the key of F.

Composed by me. **And Whereas** the said sum of Fifteen ——— Pounds, ——— Shillings, hath been this day paid to me by the said Messrs. Wessel & Co. and for which I have given them a receipt duly stamped, **Now**, in consideration of the Premises, and such payment to me, I hereby for myself, my Executors, and Administrators, promise and engage to and with the said Messrs. Wessel & Co: their Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, at their request and costs, to execute a proper Assignment of my aforesaid Copyright and Interest, to the said Messrs. Wessel & Co. their Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, or as they shall direct. **Witness** my Hand, this Fourth day of April in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty Eight,

Signed in the presence of } Frédéric Chopin

No. **Received** of Messrs. Wessel & Co. No. 6, Frith Street, Soho Square, London, the sum of Fifteen Pounds, ——— Shillings, for the absolute Sale of all my Copyright and Interest, present and future, vested and contingent or otherwise, for the Kingdom of Great Britain, France, and ~~Germany~~ Ireland, of and in the following Works

Opp. 29. Impromptu pour le pianoforte dedié a Madlle la Comtesse de Lobau in A flat.

Opp. 33. 3 Souvenirs de la Pologne. Sixieme Recueil de Mazurkas pour le piano ded. a Madlle la Comtesse Rose Mostowska

Opp. 34. Trois Grandes Valses brillantes, la 1re in A flat la 2de en Ab, la 3me F.

Composed by me.

Paris ~~London~~, the 4th Day of April 1838

£ 15: 0: 0 Frédéric Chopin

MEMORANDUM. No. **Whereas** I have this day sold to Messrs. Christian Rudolph Wessel & Co. Importers and Publishers of Foreign Music, now carrying on business at No. 6, Frith Street, Soho Square, London, at the price or sum of Fifteen Pounds, ———— Shillings, sterling, all my Copyright and Interest, present and future, vested and contingent or otherwise, for the Kingdom of Great Britain, ~~France~~, ~~and Germany~~, of and in the following work

24 Grand Preludes pour le Pianoforte

en Deux Livraisons Op. 28, dédiés à

Mons. Camille Pleyel

Composed by me. **And Whereas** the said sum of Fifteen Pounds, ———— Shillings, hath been this day paid to me by the said Messrs. Wessel & Co. and for which I have given them a receipt duly stamped, **Now**, in consideration of the Premises, and such payment to me, I hereby for myself, my Executors, and Administrators, promise and engage to and with the said Messrs. Wessel & Co. their Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, at their request and costs, to execute a proper Assignment of my aforesaid Copyright and Interest, to the said Messrs. Wessel & Co. their Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, or as they shall direct.

Witness my Hand, this Twenty-first day of August in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty Nine

Signed in the presence of

Alfred Novello

Frederic Chopin

No. **Received** of Messrs. Wessel & Co. No. 6, Frith Street, Soho Square, London, the sum of Fifteen Pounds, ———— Shillings, for the absolute Sale of all my Copyright and Interest, present and future, vested and contingent or otherwise, for the Kingdom of Great Britain, ~~France, and Germany~~, of and in

24 Grand Preludes pour le Pianoforte

en Deux Livraisons Op. 28. dédiés à

Mons. Camille Pleyel

Composed by me.

Paris ~~London~~, the 21st Day of August 1839.

£15 : 0 : 0

Frederic Chopin

MEMORANDUM. No. **Whereas** I have this day sold to Messrs. Christian Rudolph Wessel & Co. Importers and Publishers of Foreign Music, now carrying on business at No. 6, Frith Street, Soho Square, London, at the price or sum of Twenty Four Pounds, ~~~~ Shillings, sterling, all my Copyright and Interest, present and future, vested and contingent or otherwise, for the Kingdom of Great Britain, ~~France~~, & Ireland ~~and Germany~~, of and in ~~the following~~ work,

Op. 38. Seconde Ballade pour le pianoforte
Op. 39 Troisieme Scherzo —"—
Op. 40. Deux Polonoises —"—

Composed by me. **And Whereas** the said sum of Twenty Four Pounds, ~~~~ Shillings, hath been this day paid to me by the said Messrs. Wessel & Co. and for which I have given them a receipt duly stamped, **Now**, in consideration of the Premises, and such payment to me, I hereby for myself, my Executors, and Administrators, promise and engage to and with the said Messrs. Wessel & Co. their Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, at their request and costs, to execute a proper Assignment of my aforesaid Copyright and Interest, to the said Messrs. Wessel & Co. their Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, or as they shall direct.
Witness my Hand, this Thirty first day of October in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty Nine

Signed in the presence of
D. Duncan Ludlow — F. Chopin

No. **Received** of Messrs. Wessel & Co. No. 6, Frith Street, Soho Square, London, the sum of Twenty four Pounds, ~~~~ Shillings, for the absolute Sale of all my Copyright and Interest, present and future, vested and contingent or otherwise, for the Kingdom of Great Britain, ~~France and Germany~~, of and in ~~the following~~ work

Op 38. Seconde Ballade pour le pianoforte
39 Troisieme Scherzo do
40. Deux Polonoises do

Composed by me. Received by Gift £24 at 3 Months Date
Pars ~~London~~ the 31 Day of October ~~1839~~ 1839

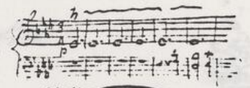
£24: 0: 0

F. Chopin

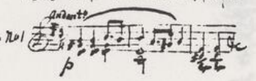
MEMORANDUM. No.

Whereas I have this day sold to Messrs. Christian Rudolph Wessel & Co. Importers and Publishers of Foreign Music, now carrying on business at No. 6, Frith Street, Soho Square, London, at the price or sum of Sixteen Pounds, ~~~ Shillings, sterling, all my Copyright and Interest, present and future, vested and contingent or otherwise, for the Kingdom of Great Britain, ~~France~~, and Ireland and Dependencies, of and in the following works entitled

Grande Valse brillante. Op 42 commencing



Quatre Mazurkas. Op. 41 commencing No 1



Composed by me. **And Whereas** the said sum of Sixteen Pounds, Shillings, hath been this day paid to me by the said Messrs. Wessel & Co. and for which I have given them a receipt duly stamped,

Now, in consideration of the Premises, and such payment to me, I hereby for myself, my Executors, and Administrators, promise and engage to and with the said Messrs. Wessel & Co. their Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, at their request and costs, to execute a proper Assignment of my aforesaid Copyright and Interest, to the said Messrs. Wessel & Co. their Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, or as they shall direct.

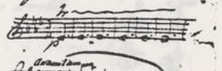
Witness my Hand, this day of March in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty —

Signed in the presence of

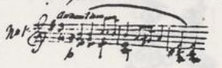
Fred Chopin

No. **Received** of Messrs. Wessel & Co. No. 6, Frith Street, Soho Square, London, the sum of Sixteen Pounds, ——— Shillings, for the absolute Sale of all my Copyright and Interest, present and future, vested and contingent or otherwise, for the Kingdom of Great Britain, ~~France~~, and Ireland and Dependencies, of and in the following works

Grande Valse brillante Op. 42 commencing



Quatre Mazurkas Op. 41 commencing No 1



Composed by me.

Paris ~~London~~, the Day of March 1840

£16:0:0

Fred Chopin

MEMORANDUM. No. **Whereas** I have this day sold to Messrs. Christian Rudolph Wessel & Co. Importers and Publishers of Foreign Music, now carrying on business at No. 6, Frith Street, Soho Square, London, at the price or sum of Twenty four Pounds, ~~~~ Shillings, sterling, all my Copyright and Interest, present and future, vested and contingent or otherwise, for the Kingdom of Great Britain, ~~France~~, & Ireland ~~and Germany~~, of and in the following works

Op. 35 Grande Sonata pour le pianoforte
" 36. Seconde dopromptu &c
" 37 Deux Nocturnes &c

Composed by me. **And Whereas** the said sum of Twenty four Pounds, ———— Shillings, hath been this day paid to me by the said Messrs. Wessel & Co. and for which I have given them a receipt duly stamped,

Now, in consideration of the Premises, and such payment to me, I hereby for myself, my Executors, and Administrators, promise and engage to and with the said Messrs. Wessel & Co. their Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, at their request and costs, to execute a proper Assignment of my aforesaid Copyright and Interest, to the said Messrs. Wessel & Co. their Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, or as they shall direct.

Witness my Hand, this day of May in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty

Signed in the presence of

Geo Thomas Ludlow

F Chopin

No. **Received** of Messrs. Wessel & Co. No. 6, Frith Street, Soho Square, London, the sum of Twenty four Pounds, ———— Shillings, for the absolute Sale of all my Copyright and Interest, present and future, vested and contingent or otherwise, for the Kingdom of Great Britain, ~~& Ireland and Germany~~, of and in the following works

Op. 35. Grande Sonate pour le pianoforte
Op 36. Seconde Sopromptu —
Op. 37 Deux Nocturnes — —

Composed by me.

~~Paris~~ London the Day of May 1840

£ 24: 0: 0

F Chopin

MEMORANDUM, No. ~~Master~~ **Whereas** I have this day sold to Messrs. Christian Rudolph Wessel & ~~Co~~ Importers and Publishers of Foreign Music, now carrying on business at No. 67 Frith Street, Soho Square, London, at the price or sum of 04 Pounds, ——— Shillings, sterling, all my Copyright and Interest, present and future, vested and contingent or otherwise, for the Kingdom of Great Britain, ~~France~~, & Ireland ~~and Germany~~, of and in

The following work

Chopin Barcarolle Op 48

Composed by me. **And Whereas** the said sum of 04 Pounds, ——— Shillings, hath been this day paid to me by the said Messrs. Wessel & ~~Co~~ Master and for which I have given them a receipt duly stamped,

Now, in consideration of the Premises, and such payment to me, I hereby for myself, my Executors, and Administrators, promise and engage to and with the said Messrs. Wessel & ~~Co~~ their Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, at their request and costs, to ~~execute~~ a proper Assignment of my aforesaid Copyright and Interest, to the said Messrs. Wessel & ~~Co~~ their Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, or as they shall direct.

Witness my Hand, this 1st day of August in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and forty one

Signed in the presence of attested Maurice Schlesinger

F Chopin

No. **Received** of Messrs. Wessel & ~~Co~~ Master No. 67 Frith Street, Soho Square, London, the sum of 04 Pounds, ——— Shillings, for the absolute Sale of all my Copyright and Interest, present and future, vested and contingent or otherwise, for the Kingdom of Great Britain, ~~France and Germany~~ Ireland, of and in

Chopin Barcarolle Op 48

F Chopin

Composed by me.

London, the 1st Day of August 1841

£10 : : —

MEMORANDUM. No. **Whereas** I have this day sold to Messrs. Christian Rudolph Wessel & Co. Importers and Publishers of Foreign Music, now carrying on business at No. 67 Frith Street, Soho Square, London, at the price or sum of thirty six Pounds, ——— Shillings, sterling, all my Copyright and Interest, present and future, vested and contingent or otherwise, for the Kingdom of Great Britain, ~~France, Holland and Germany~~, of and in

The following work

Composed by me. **And Whereas** the said sum of thirty six Pounds, ——— Shillings, hath been this day paid to me by the said Messrs. Wessel & Co. and for which I have given them a receipt duly stamped, **Now**, in consideration of the Premises, and such payment to me, I hereby for myself, my Executors, and Administrators, promise and engage to and with the said Messrs. Wessel & Co. their Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, at their request and costs, to execute a proper Assignment of my aforesaid Copyright and Interest, to the said Messrs. Wessel & Co. their Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, or as they shall direct. **Witness** my Hand, this fourteenth day of January in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and forty two

Signed in the presence of

Maurice Schlesinger

F. Chopin

For Self

No. **Received** of Messrs. Wessel & Co. No. 67 Frith Street, Soho Square, London, the sum of thirty six Pounds, ——— Shillings, for the absolute Sale of all my Copyright and Interest, present and future, vested and contingent or otherwise, for the Kingdom of Great Britain, ~~France, and Germany~~ Ireland of and in

Composed by me.

London, the 14th Day of January 1842

£36 : 0 : 0

F. Chopin

MEMORANDUM. No. **Whereas** I have this day sold to Messrs. Christian Rudolph Wessel & Frederic Stapleton, Importers and Publishers of Foreign Music, now carrying on business at No. 67, Frith Street, Soho Square, London, at the price or sum of Forty Nine Pounds, Nineteen Shillings sterling, all my Copyright and Interest, present and future, vested and contingent or otherwise, for the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, of and in the following works for the pianoforte

Op. 52 Quatrième Ballade
Op. 53 8ème Polonaise
Op. 54 Quatrième Scherzo
Op. 55 Deux Nocturnes
Op. 56 Quatre Mazurkas

Composed by me. **And Whereas** the said sum of Forty Nine Pounds, Nineteen Shillings, hath been this day paid to me by the said Messrs. Wessel & Stapleton, and for which I have given them a receipt duly stamped. I **Now**, in consideration of the Premises, and such payment to me, I hereby for myself, my Executors, and Administrators, promise and engage to and with the said Messrs. Wessel & Stapleton, their Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, at their request and costs, to execute a proper Assignment of my aforesaid Copyright and Interest, to the said Messrs. Wessel and Stapleton, their Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, or as they shall direct. **Witness** my Hand, this day of in the year one Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty

Signed in the presence of

Frederic Chopin

RECEIPT.

No. **Received** of Messrs. Wessel & Stapleton, No. 67, Frith Street, Soho Square, London, the sum of Forty Nine Pounds, Nineteen Shillings, for the absolute Sale of all my Copyright and Interest, present and future, vested and contingent, or otherwise, for the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, of and in the following work:

Op. 52 Quatrième Ballade
Op. 53 8ème Polonaise
Op. 54 Quatrième Scherzo
Op. 55 Deux Nocturnes
Op. 56 Quatre Mazurkas

Composed by me.

Paris the day of August 1843

£49:19:0

Frederic Chopin

MEMORANDUM. No. ~~2~~ **Whereas** I have this day sold to Messrs. Christian Rudolph Wessel & ~~Frederick Stapleton~~, Importers and Publishers of Foreign Music, now carrying on business at No. 67, Frith Street, Soho Square, London, at the price or sum of *Twenty* Pounds, ---- Shillings sterling, all my Copyright and Interest, present and future, vested and contingent or otherwise, for the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, of and in the following works *for Pianoforte Solo*

All^o Maestoso

2de Grande Sonata, in *Op 58* *commencing*

ded. to Mad. la Comtesse d'Appony

"La Berceuse" *Op. -- 57*

dedié à Mlle Elise Gavard

Composed by me. **And Whereas** the said sum of *Twenty* Pounds ~~&c~~ Shillings, hath been this day paid to me by the said Messrs. Wessel & ~~Stapleton~~, and for which I have given them a receipt duly stamped. **Now**, in consideration of the Premises, and such payment to me, I hereby for myself, my Executors, and Administrators, promise and engage to and with the said Messrs. Wessel & ~~Stapleton~~, their Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, at their request and cost, to execute a proper Assignment of my aforesaid Copyright and Interest, to the said Messrs. Wessel and ~~Stapleton~~, their Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, or as they shall direct. **Witness** my Hand, this *Second* day of *May* in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty *Five*

Signed in the presence of

Sylvain

Frederic Chopin

RECEIPT.

No. **Received** of Messrs. Wessel & ~~Stapleton~~, No. 67, Frith Street, Soho Square, London, the sum of *Twenty* Pounds, ---- Shillings, for the absolute Sale of all my Copyright and Interest, present and future, vested and contingent, or otherwise, for the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, of and in the following work:

2de Grande Sonata *Op 58*

"La Berceuse" *Op 57 ded. to Mlle*

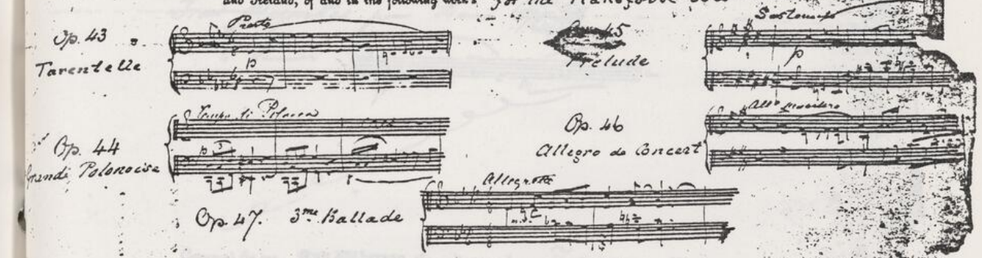
Composed by me.

Paris the *Sixteenth* day of *May* 1845

£ 20: 0: 0

Frederic Chopin

MEMORANDUM. No. **Whereas** I have this day sold to Messrs. Christian Rudolph Wessel & Frederic Stapleton, Importers and Publishers of Foreign Music, now carrying on business at No. 67, Frith Street, Soho Square, London, at the price or sum of ~~Forty Pounds~~, ——— Shillings sterling, all my Copyright and Interest, present and future, vested and contingent or otherwise, for the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, of and in the following work~~s~~ for the Pianoforte Solo



Composed by me. **And Whereas** the said sum of Forty Pounds, ——— Shillings, hath been this day paid to me by the said Messrs. Wessel & Stapleton, and for which I have given them a receipt duly stamped. **Now**, in consideration of the Premises, and such payment to me, I hereby for myself, my Executors, and Administrators, promise and engage to and with the said Messrs. Wessel & Stapleton, their Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, at their request and costs, to execute a proper Assignment of my aforesaid Copyright and Interest, to the said Messrs. Wessel and Stapleton, their Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, or as they shall direct. **Witness** my Hand, this day of in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty

Signed in the presence of

F. Chopin

RECEIPT.

No. **Received** of Messrs. Wessel & Stapleton, No. 67, Frith Street, Soho Square, London, the sum of Forty Pounds, Seven Shillings, for the absolute Sale of all my Copyright and Interest, present and future, vested and contingent, or otherwise, for the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, of and in the following work:

July 1842.

Op. 43 Tarentelle
Op. 44 Grande Polonoise
Op. 45 Prelude
Op. 46 Allegro de Concert
Op. 47 Troisième Ballade

for the Pianoforte Solo

Stamp

Composed by me.

Paris the day of June 1845

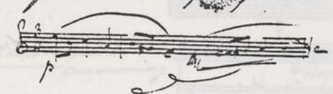
£47: 0: 0

F. Chopin

MEMORANDUM. No. Whereas I have this day sold to Messrs. Christian Rudolph Wessel & Frederic Stapleton, Importers and Publishers of Foreign Music, now carrying on business at No. 67, Frith Street, Soho Square, London, at the price or sum of Ten Pounds, — Shillings sterling, all my Copyright and Interest, present and future, vested and contingent or otherwise, for the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, of and in the following work:

Trois Mazurkes pour Piano Op 59

6 Premier



Composed by me. And Whereas the said sum of Ten Pounds, — Shillings, hath been this day paid to me by the said Messrs. Wessel & ~~Stapleton~~, and for which I have given them a receipt duly stamped. Now, in consideration of the Premises, and such payment to me, I hereby for myself, my Executors, and Administrators, promise and engage to and with the said Messrs. Wessel & ~~Stapleton~~, their Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, at their request and costs, to execute a proper Assignment of my aforesaid Copyright and Interest, to the said Messrs. Wessel and ~~Stapleton~~, their Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, or as they shall direct. Witness my Hand, this day of August in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty Five

Signed in the presence of

RECEIPT.

No. Received of Messrs. Wessel & ~~Stapleton~~, No. 67, Frith Street, Soho Square, London, the sum of Ten Pounds, — Shillings, for the absolute Sale of all my Copyright and Interest, present and future, vested and contingent, or otherwise, for the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, of and in the following work:

Trois Mazurkas pour le Piano Op 59

le Premier



Composed by me.

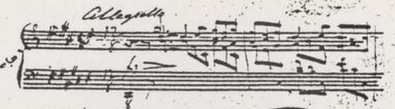
Paris the day of August 1845

£10 : 0 : 0

No._____

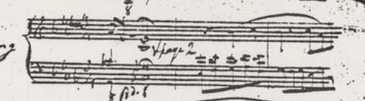
MEMORANDUM. Whereas I have this day sold to Messrs. Christian Rudolph Wessel and Co. ~~Edward Dupleon~~, Importers and Publishers of Foreign Music, ~~now~~ late carrying on business at No. 67, Frith Street, Soho Square, London, at the price or sum of Thirty Pounds, ~~~~ Shillings, sterling, all my Copyright and Interest, present and future, vested and contingent or otherwise, for the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, ~~France, and Germany~~, of and in the following Musical Works, entitled:

Op. 60. Barcarolle pour le Piano



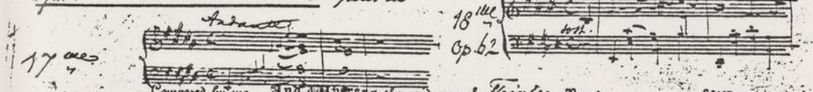
Commencing

Op. 61. Polonoise-Fantaisie pour do



Commencing

Op. 62. Deux Nocturnes pour do



Composed by me. And Whereas the said sum of Thirty Pounds, ~~~~ Shillings, hath been this day paid to me by the said Messrs. Wessel & ~~Dupleon~~, and for which I have given them a receipt duly stamped,

Now, in consideration of the Premises, and such payment to me, I hereby for myself, my Executors, and Administrators, promise and engage to and with the said Messrs. Wessel & ~~Dupleon~~, their Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, at their request and costs, to execute a proper Assignment of my aforesaid Copyright and Interest, to the said Messrs. Wessel & ~~Dupleon~~, their Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, or as they shall direct.

Witness my Hand, this Thirteenth day of August in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty Six

Signed in the presence of } Signatures of the Author } Fred Chopin

A. Hallé
C. Broadwood

Receipt.

No. Received of Messrs. Wessel and Co late of ~~Dupleon~~, 67, Frith Street, Soho Square, London, the sum of Thirty Pounds, ~~~~ Shillings, for the absolute Sale of all my Copyright and Interest, present and future, vested and contingent or otherwise, for the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, ~~France, and Germany~~, of and in the following Musical Works, entitled:

Op. 60 Barcarolle pour le Piano
Op. 61 Polonoise Fantaisie do
Op. 62. Deux Nocturnes do

Composed by me. Paris the 30 day of September 46

£ 30: 0: 0

The alterations in the foregoing Memorandum & Receipt were made previous to my signing

Signatures of the Author } Fred Chopin

APPENDIX C

AN OVERVIEW OF PAPER FROM CHOPIN'S LATE PERIOD

One of the legacies of the past generation of musical scholarship has been the establishment of the study of paper as an important tool for research. Scarcely a major composer prior to Schubert has not seen chronologies revised or dismembered sources reconstructed on the basis of watermark or rastrological evidence. Paper studies have made a fundamental contribution to our perception of the music of these composers: one hardly need stress the extent to which our views on Bach depend on the new chronology of his works prepared in the 1950s, or how much we owe to the bibliographical work of a bevy of scholars for our understanding of Beethoven the composer.

Comparatively little has been written on the paper used in music written after the death of Schubert.[1] That penetrating studies of any sort on music from the latter three-fourths of the nineteenth century have only recently begun to appear with relative frequency doubtless accounts for much of the lack of attention towards paper. Then too, the major impact of paper studies in nineteenth-century music began to be felt only in the mid-1970s, and the techniques applied to the manuscripts of Beethoven and Schu-

---

[1]Among the few to attempt more sophisticated analyses of paper have been D. Kern Holoman, The Creative Process in the Autograph Musical Documents of Hector Berlioz, c. 1818 - 1840, Studies in Musicology, no. 7, ed. George Buelow (Ann Arbor, 1980), pp. 97-110, and Sharon Winklhofer, Liszt's Sonata in B Minor: A Study of Autograph Sources and Documents, Studies in Musicology, no. 29, ed. George Buelow (Ann Arbor, 1980), pp. 53-84, 95-112.

bert--primarily precise descriptions of the twin molds of watermarks and measurements of stave dimensions--needed to be absorbed and refined. For though these methods often yielded stunning results for their composers, it was not immediately clear that they could be extended to music written after 1828.

It was a changing world in which composers of the second quarter of the century lived. Age-old manufacturing processes and business practices gave way to mechanized alternatives. Rail transportation began slowly supplanting the old system of diligences which had linked the cities and towns of Europe. Telegraph communication began to take hold--Chopin himself commented in a letter to his family on the establishment of a telegraph line between Baltimore and Washington.[2] Industrial production became the rule in factories.

No less susceptible to new methodologies was the papermaking industry. For centuries a craft performed almost entirely by hand, the entry of papermaking into the mechanized age took place in 1799 with Nicolas Louis Robert's patent of a paper machine.[3] Though some time passed before the production of paper by machine exceeded that of

---

[2]See letter of 18-20 July 1845; Chopin, Korespondencja z Rodziną, pp. 142-43.

[3]On the history of the paper machine, see R. H. Clapperton, The Paper-Making Machine: Its Invention, Evolution, and Development (Oxford, 1967).

paper by hand,[4] and though machine-made paper seems to have taken longer still to win over composers, the ancient two-man, twin-mould system of making paper eventually fell by the wayside, a lesser casualty of the Industrial Revolution. As a result, the usefulness of one of the central techniques for analyzing hand-made paper--the identification and pairing of the twin forms of watermarks--is greatly reduced for music written after 1830. For even though ways of adding watermarks and laid patterns to machine-made paper were rapidly developed (patterns could be stitched onto the revolving wire mesh on which the paper was formed, or the marks could be imprinted by means of a special device called the "dandy roll," which was set above the rolling mesh),[5] the eventual layout of watermarks on the finished sheet, the number of watermark patterns used at a given time, and the way in which these patterns decayed all vary so much that

---

[4]Even in Britain, where much of the developmental work on the paper machine was carried out, it was only in the late 1820s and early 1830s that machine-made paper outnumbered hand-made. See D. C. Coleman, The British Paper Industry 1495-1860 (Oxford, 1958), pp. 195-99.

[5]Clapperton, The Paper-Making Machine, 109-114, describes the various ways used to add watermarks to paper-making machines. The dandy roll, though invented in 1825, was, according to Clapperton, first employed as a watermark device only in 1839, when William Joynson patented a method for fixing onto the roll wires to form the watermarks. But it seems odd that such an obvious solution should have taken so long to be discovered (Philip Gaskell, A New Introduction to Bibliography [Oxford, 1972], p. 218, terms this late discovery "surprising"), and one wonders if the patent was not anticipated by some year's use in the field. It is possible also that Continental makers preceded Joynson by some time in the use of dandy rolls for watermarking purposes.

the relatively precise results obtained from analysis of hand-made paper become nearly impossible.

Chopin, at different times in his life, used three varieties of paper: hand-made; machine-made with any combination of laid lines, chain lines, and watermarks; and machine-made without watermarks, laid lines, and chain lines. Hand-made paper derives principally from his Polish period,[6] and his earlier years in Vienna and Paris. Machine-made paper with watermarks and/or chain and laid lines dates mainly from his first years in Paris, disappearing around the time of his departure for Majorca, or in late 1838. After this time, all of his autograph music paper lacks watermarks, laid lines, and chain lines.[7] For the period of this study, then, watermarks obviously cannot be invoked.

Rastrological evidence offers more help, though of a rather general sort. That stave dimensions in Chopin's manuscripts yield results less precise than those obtained through a combination of rastrological and watermark documentation in the manuscripts of Beethoven and Schubert may

---

[6]The first paper-making machines were not installed in Poland until 1836, five years after Chopin's departure. See Jadwiga Siniarska-Czaplicka, "Spécialistes anglais dans les papeteries Polonaises," VII International Congress of Paper Historians: Communications, ed. J. S. G. Simmons (Typescript; Oxford, 1967), p. 141.

[7]Some of the papers used by his copyists after 1838 do have watermarks. See, for example, the manuscripts of the Nocturnes, op. 37 and the Mazurkas, op. 41, prepared by the same scribe, and now in PL-Wn (Mus. 223 and Mus. 226).

be attributed to a number of factors. Sheer numbers of works play a major role: Chopin wrote far less than Beethoven or Schubert, and consequently purchased paper less often. Whereas a batch of paper might last Chopin two or more years, someone like Beethoven evidently needed to buy paper more often, perhaps every six months or so.[8] The more rapid the turnover of paper, the greater the precision possible in fixing dates.

Furthermore, to assess the rastrological data requires a number of inferences about the nature of the staff-drawing device (about which we have precious little contemporary testimony), inferences that could prove utterly wrong if we discover more about the nature of the tool. Some margin of error must be allowed to compensate for misdirected suppositions.

From evidence derived from the manuscripts themselves, one may deduce some of the features of the device used to rule Chopin's music paper. It was large enough to mark twelve or fourteen staves at once, as one may tell from the even spacing of the staves. Had a smaller ruling tool, say of four staves, been drawn three times across the page, the distance between staves four and five and staves eight and nine would likely not be consistent over a number of

---

[8]See Douglas Porter Johnson, Beethoven's Early Sketches in the 'Fischhof Miscellany' Berlin Autograph 28, Studies in Musicology, no. 22, ed. George Buelow, 2 vols. (Ann Arbor, 1980), 1: 77-293 passim.

pages. That the length of the staves often varies inconsistently in a manuscript suggests that the device was either quilled and drawn across the page, or made of a roller and rolled across the page. Chopin's papers do not show the uniform details and flaws characteristic of staves printed by a lithographic process.[9] Further evidence for an ink-drawn rather than a lithographic process comes from the frequent blots found at the ends of staves, which were likely caused by lifting the nibs or rollers off the paper. The ruling device was guided by some sort of straight-edge or template, for the staves never show the wavy pattern characteristic of a rastral pulled freely across the page by hand alone. Furthermore, this guiding tool must have set approximate limits on the distance the ruling device could be pulled, for the lengths of staves, while they vary, seldom do so by more than four millimeters. Small variants, both within a single manuscript and between different manuscripts, in the size of the total span--the distance from the top of the top staff to the bottom of the bottom staff--seem to suggest that the ruling device was supple enough to allow the span to change slightly, perhaps as a function of hand pressure (more on this below). Stave dimensions for the manuscripts from the period of this study, and for some manuscripts from other periods that appear to share certain

---

[9]Winklhofer, Liszt, pp. 99-106, describes thoroughly the varieties of ruling devices and techniques known to exist in the mid-nineteenth century.

of the dimensions appear in Table 5 (twelve-stave papers) and Table 6 (fourteen-stave papers). Some manuscripts that bear watermarks also share total spans with manuscripts from Chopin's later period, but these have been omitted, since they obviously--by virtue of their watermark--belong to an earlier period.

The major obstacle to a straightforward interpretation of the rastrological data comes in trying to determine just how much leeway the guiding tool left for the length of staves, and, more importantly, just what range of total spans a single, supple ruling device could allow. That at least 1 millimeter of play was possible in the vertical dimension is clear in a brief sketch on fourteen-stave paper for the Barcarolle, op. 60 (PL-Wtifc M/233), in which the total span at the left margin is 180 millimeters, and at the right 181 millimeters. That the total spans of the Breitkopf & Härtel Stichvorlagen for the Ballade, op. 52 (GB-Ob MS M. Deneke Mendelssohn, b. 2, fol. 52-53) and the Scherzo, op. 54 (PL-Kj)--both on twelve-stave paper)--differ by 1.5 millimeters might allow us to increase the range of possible vertical dimensions deriving from the same rastral to at least this amount, for the two manuscripts were prepared and sent to Leipzig at the same time.[10] On the other hand, the third manuscript sent to Leipzig, that for the

---

[10]See letter of 15 October 1843 to Breitkopf & Härtel in Kobylańska, Katalog, 1: 294.

TABLE 5

TWELVE-STAVE PAPERS

TS (mm.)	LS (mm.)	Works	Kobylańska Number	Dates
175	230	46	673	
		49	702	
	234	65sk	870	
	238	65sk	870	
175.5	234	56/2sk	765	late 43?
		65sk	870	
	236	54		fall 43
176	230	35/IV	571	"23.V.46"
	234	65sk	870	
		exercises	1368	
	235	55/1	749	spr. 44
		55/1copy	753	"20.V.44"
		57	775	
		57copy	778	sum. 45
		60	805	sum. 46
		70/2	1017	
		sketch	878	
		sketch	1354	
		Draft for piano method	1371	
177	235	52	734	fall 43
	237	51	725	early 43

KEY: TS = Total span
LS = Length of staves
mm. = millimeters
56/2 = Op. 56 no. 2
35/IV = Op. 35, fourth movement
sk = sketch
copy = scribal copy

Dates in quotation marks are in Chopin's hand

Polonaise, op. 53 (US-NYpm), is on fourteen-stave paper, which might indicate that Chopin was drawing on his paper reserves, and that the two twelve-stave papers for ops. 52 and 54 comprise distinct types deriving from different ruling devices.

Interpretation of the rastrological data thus proves a rather treacherous business. (We will look first at twelve-stave papers.) For depending on the way one suspects the ruling device or devices worked, one could read the information in Table 5 four ways: 1) If all the papers were ruled with one rastral that allowed two millimeters flux in the vertical dimension (I am here supposing that if 1.5 millimeters of play is possible, 2 millimeters is as well), then only one type of paper is shown in Table 5. Chopin could have bought this paper in one batch or in several during the three-and-a-half year period from early 1843 to the summer of 1846. 2) If 2 millimeters play seems excessive, but 1.5 millimeters acceptable, then two varieties of paper might be represented, the first ranging from 175.5 millimeters to 177 millimeters, and the second spanning from 175 to 176 millimeters. Grouped in this way, the twelve-stave papers fall into two periods, the first covering the whole of 1843, the second beginning around the spring of 1844 and extending into the summer of 1846. An obvious problem with such a categorization is that the ranges for the two types overlap, and that the paper having a total span of 176 millimeters might just as well belong to one period as the

TABLE 6

FOURTEEN-STAVE PAPERS

TS (mm.)	LS (mm.)	Works	Kobylańska Number	Dates
178	227.5	40copy	618	
	229	74/17copy	1180	
	230	35copy	573	
		36sk	581	
		38copy	602	
		39copy	611	
	232	50	709	fall 42
		55	750	sum. 42
	233	65/IIsk	872	
		sketch	880	
	234	65/IIsk	871	
		65/IIsk	874	
178+	230	65/IIsk	870	
	234	65/IIsk	870	
		65/IIsk	878	
178.5	228	46copy	675	
		48copy	690	
		49wrapper	702	
	232	50/3	718	sum. 42?
	232.5	58sk	783	late 44?
	233-35	70/2	1015	late 42?
	233.5	53	740	fall 43
		56	761	sum. 44
		58	785	sum. 45
		Draft for piano method.	1371	
	239	61sk	816	
178.5+	228	43	655	
	234	65sk	870	
	236	68/4sk	980	
179-	230	40	617	

TABLE 6--Continued

TS (mm.)	LS (mm.)	Works	Kobylańska Number	Dates
179	232	50/1	710	42?
	234-35	Largo	1229	"6.VII"
		Doŷna	1402	
179+	234	sketch	1356	
179.5	234	65/IIsk	873	
		Draft for piano method	1371	
180	234	65sk	870	
	235	67/4	955	"46"
		Noct. in c sk	1233	
	235-37	63/1	836	"sum. 46"
	236	65sk	870	
180.5	236	62	823	sum. 46
	236-37	59/2	796	sum. 45?
	237.5	61	817	sum. 46
180.5+	236	64/1sk	849	
		65sk	875	
		74/2	1103	"5.II.46"
		59/2sk	796	
	237	64/2	860	sum. 45?
181	236	59/3	804	sum. 45?
		60sk	807	
		64/1	852	
		Noct. in c, Waltz in a	1234,38	
		Noct. in c	1235	
		64/2sk	858	
		64/3sk	865	
	236-37	59/2	798a	"8.X.45"
		60	809	sum. 46
	237	59/3	802	late 45
		62/1	824	sum. 46
181+	237-39	64/1		
		64/1-3	850	47

other. 3) If only one millimeter play is possible, then the paper falls into two categories, one lasting all of 1843 (177 millimeters), the other beginning in the fall of 1843 and ending in the summer of 1846 (175-76 millimeters). Again, papers with total spans of 176 millimeters could belong to either group, if the earlier rastral was as flexible as the later. 4) If the case of the sketch for op. 60 represents an insignificant exception to the behavior of the ruling device, or is a characteristic confined to the fourteen-stave rastral, then the ruling device might have allowed little or no play, in which case each of the total spans would represent a distinct type of twelve-stave paper.

Very little supporting evidence of any kind exists to help decide between these four options,[11] and one is forced to draw conclusions from the data alone. That the known dates in three of the four categories fall into plausible internal patterns might suggest that the simplest explanation of the way in which the rastral worked might be number (4), or that it allowed very little variance in the vertical dimension. If so, then the evidence would indicate that Chopin did not always buy the same amounts of paper in his trips to the stationers. In late 1842 or early 1843 and in the fall of 1843 he apparently purchased two small

[11] One can, for example, distinguish earlier non-watermark papers from later ones on the basis of thickness, texture, and, sometimes, color, as well as on the basis of stave dimensions, but the paper in Table 5 presents a relatively homogenized picture in this regard.

batches of paper having total spans of 177 and 175.5 millimeters respectively, both of which were used up in 1843. In the spring of 1844 he bought a larger amount of paper, with a total span of 176 millimeters, which he used primarily in 1844 and 1845, although a few remnants were still around in 1846. But this explanation remains hypothetical. Conclusions about Chopin's use of twelve-stave paper must admit two levels of certainty: 1) It is reasonably clear that twelve-stave paper with total spans measuring between 175 and 177 millimeters were used only from early 1843 to the summer of 1846, and 2) it is furthermore possible that the correspondance of dates with discrete total spans within this range reflects the actual way in which Chopin purchased and used the paper.

Manuscripts with total spans of 175 millimeters and stave lengths of 230 millimeters may appear to contradict the range of dates for twelve-stave papers proposed above. However, that the length of the staves is significantly less than what is found in other papers (which otherwise range between 234 and 238 millimeters) likely indicates that this is a separate variety of paper that predates that in the rest of Table 5. The presentation manuscript of the beginning of the last movement of the Sonata, op. 35 (PL-Wtifc M/611) probably belongs with this earlier paper, Chopin using a leaf from an old batch of paper rather than "wasting" a new integral bifolio.

Rastrological data for fourteen-stave paper, which,

to judge from the amount used, was clearly preferred by Chopin, comports itself differently from that for twelve-stave paper. One first observes a general trend whereby the total spans of fourteen-stave papers in the period 1842-47 grow larger with time. Furthermore, two clear divisions in the fourteen-stave papers emerge immediately: those papers with a total span measuring 180 millimeters or more, which Chopin used only after the spring of 1845, and those measuring 178 to 179.5 millimeters, which he used from the fall of 1842 to the summer of 1844, with some exceptions to be noted below. For the later period, the evidence suggests that a single, supple ruling device (or multiple ruling devices of nearly the same dimensions) were employed to draw the staves. For example, the total spans for the Sketch of the Nocturne in C minor, op. posth. (PL-Wtifc M/300) and the fragmentary clean copy and complete clean copy of it (F-Pc Mss. 119B and 118) differ by 1 millimeter. Likewise the two Stichvorlagen for the Nocturne, op. 62 no. 1 (US-Cn Albrecht Ms. 550 and PL-Wn Mus. 234), prepared in Nohant during the summer of 1846 have total spans that differ by 0.5 millimeters. Several other such groups of manuscripts exist in which different copies of the same work prepared at roughly the same time have slightly different total spans within the range of 180 to 181+ millimeters, enough to suggest strongly that this range constitutes a single paper type.

Internal coherence may be found in the earlier division of fourteen-stave papers as well. That the Schlesinger

Stichvorlage of the Mazurkas, op. 50 (US-NYpm), the rejected public autograph for op. 50 no. 3 (PL-Kj) and what is perhaps the beginning of a rejected public manuscript for op. 50 no. 1 (PL-Wtifc M/243) have total spans of 178, 178.5, and 179 millimeters respectively suggests that a single paper type is represented here as well. But allowing for a 1 or 1.5 millimeter range within this type, there still remain a number of manuscripts whose dates lie outside the period 1842-44 proposed above. Most of these, however, are copies, not autographs (ops. 35, 38, 39, 40, 43, 46, 48, and 74/17), the paper of which may have been purchased by the copyist at a different time and place than Chopin. But even if Chopin did provide the paper, these manuscripts do not contaminate the data in Table 6. Rather, they form a distinct variety of fourteen-stave paper that predates the rest of the papers of Table 6, and whose total spans range from 178 to just under 179 millimeters and whose staves measure between 227.5 and 230 millimeters in length. The stave length here proves crucial in differentiating this earlier variety of paper from the later; also significant is the somewhat darker color and heavier texture of the earlier paper (a fact that allows us to include the sketch for op. 65/II, whose total span measures 178+ millimeters and whose staves are 230 millimeters in the later category of paper). The one anomaly that remains is the short sketch for the Polonaise-Fantasy, op. 61 (PL-Wtifc M/1341) whose staves run significantly longer (239 millimeters) than others having an

equivalent total span. Staves of this length fit with the manuscripts in the later division, but the total span is too short. Perhaps the guiding tool of the 178-179.5 millimeter rastral malfunctioned, allowing it to continue too far across the page, but this is only speculation. However, that the manuscript holds on a single leaf a sketch of only a few measures suggests that the leaf was a remnant of some earlier paper (presumably Chopin would not want to use a bifolio in this way), and thus not central to establishing the date of a paper type.

In summary, then, the data from fourteen-stave papers points to an interpretation that allows a certain flexibility in the vertical dimension, in contrast to the data for twelve-stave papers. Troubling as this contradiction is, our current ignorance of the true nature of the ruling device limits our ability to unravel this problem.

Assembling tables of data should be more than an exercise in interpreting patterns of numbers, for while Tables 5 and 6 demonstrate that paper evidence in Chopin will not yield the precise results a student of the manuscripts of Beethoven or Schubert might expect, it is equally clear that the numbers tell us something about the ways in which Chopin used his paper, the periods of gestation for various works, and the approximate dates of composition for some undated works.[12] For instance, though the presence of

---

[12]A potentially fascinating application of the paper evi-

the posthumously-published Nocturne in C minor among the manuscripts of Table 6 only narrows its date of composition to within a two-year period, this knowledge is still valuable, for most scholars have placed the work in Chopin's early or middle years. Only Jan Ekier has assigned the work to Chopin's later period, in fact putting it after the dates suggested by the paper, or in 1847-48.[13] Much of the confusion over the date of this work stems from its readily apparent musical weaknesses, which led some to feel that it was a product of Chopin's youth. Yet armed with the rastrological data, one can look away from the flawed passages and find convincing stylistic evidence to confirm the lateness of the piece.

At the same time, dates derived from paper evidence cannot always be taken at face value. Enough remnants from large purchases of paper were employed well after the main period of use for a given paper type to require a cautious

---

dence would be as an aid in sorting out the various layers of composition and revision represented in the sketches for the Violoncello Sonata, op. 65. In a study devoted to the revisions Chopin made after sketching, however, such an exploration would be out of place.

[13]See Ekier, Wstęp, p. 63. In the preface to his edition of the Nocturnes (Fryderyk Chopin, Nocturnes, ed. Jan Ekier [Vienna, 1980], xii), Ekier writes that "[all] the objective evidence (paper, source, handwriting) suggests . . . that the piece was written in Paris, and internal evidence in fact points to Chopin's last years." Ekier does not state what he means by "paper evidence," but presumably he is referring to the clear difference in appearance between the green, coarse paper commonly used by Chopin in Poland with the more fragile, cream-colored paper he used in Paris.

approach to sketches on individual leaves. That the sketch for the Mazurka, op. 68 no. 4 (PL-Wtifc M/235) is written on paper used primarily beteen 1842 and 1844 contradicts a large body of contemporary testimony that claims that the work was composed in the last year of Chopin's life.[14] Now this contemporary evidence may prove to be wrong and the paper evidence right, but to date the work without considering all types of available evidence would be to arrive at a possibly distorted conclusion.

What emerges from this brief overview of paper, then, is that while much of value may be derived (and still remains to be derived) from the study of rastrological data in Chopin, enough questions remain about the significance of many of the numbers that such evidence should generally be used only in conjunction with other kinds of information when establishing dates. Said succinctly, the evidence from Chopin's paper tends to be suggestive rather than conclusive.

---

[14]See Wojciech Nowik, "Próba rekonstrukcji Mazurka f-moll op. 68 nr. 4 Fryderyka Chopina," Rocznik Chopinowski 8 (1969): 44-85. The article was also published as "Chopins Mazurka in F moll, op. 68, Nr. 4 'Die letzte Inspiration des Meisters'," in Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 30 (1973): 109-127.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abraham, Gerald. Chopin's Musical Style. London: Oxford University Press, 1939.

Atwood, William G. The Lioness and the Little One: The Liaison of George Sand and Frédéric Chopin. New York: Columbia University Press, 1980.

Barnes, James J. Authors, Publishers and Politicians: The Quest for an Anglo-American Copyright Agreement 1815-1854. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1974.

Beethoven, Ludwig van. The Letters of Beethoven. Edited and translated by Emily Anderson. 3 vols. London: Macmillan Co., 1961.

Belotti, Gastone. "L'asimmetria ritmica nella Mazurka chopiniana." In Saggi sull'arte e sull'opera di F. Chopin, pp. 77-108. Bologna: FARAP, 1977.

_____. F. Chopin l'uomo. 3 vols. Milan - Rome: Sapere, 1974.

_____. "La fortuna in Italia dell'opera di Chopin durante la vita del compositore." In Saggi sull'arte e sull opera di F. Chopin, pp. 419-51. Bologna: FARAP, 1977.

_____. "Una nuova Mazurca di Chopin." Studi Musicali 6 (1977): 161-206.

_____. "Il problema delle date dei Preludi di Chopin." Rivista Italiana di Musicologica 5 (1970): 159-215.

_____. "Die rhythmische Asymmetrie in den Mazurken von Chopin." In Chopin-Jahrbuch, pp. 109-137. Vienna: Notring-Verlag, 1970.

Benton, Rita. "Bemerkungen zu einem Pleyel-Werkverzeichnis." Die Musikforschung 29 (1976): 280-87.

_____. Ignace Pleyel: A Thematic Catalogue of his Compositions. New York: Pendragon Press, 1977.

Birrell, Augustine. Seven Lectures on the Law and History of Copyright in Books. London: Cassel & Co., 1899.

Bourges, Maurice. "Soirée musicale de M. Chopin." Revue et gazette musicale de Paris, 27 février 1842, pp. 82-83.

Bowker, Richard Rogers. Copyright: Its History and Its Law. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1912.

Briggs, William. The Law of International Copyright. London: Stevens & Haynes, 1906.

Brown, Maurice J. E. Chopin: An Index of his Works in Chronological Order. London: Macmillan Co., 1960; revised ed., 1972.

_____. "Chopin and his English Publisher." Music & Letters 39 (1958): 363-71.

Chomiński, Józef M. Fryderyk Chopin. Translated by Bolko Schweinitz. Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1980.

_____. Preludia Chopina. Cracow: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1950.

Chopin, Frédéric. Impromptus. Edited by Jan Ekier. Vienna: Universal Edition, 1977.

_____. Mazurken. Edited by Ewald Zimmermann. Munich: Henle Verlag, 1975.

_____. Nocturnes. Edited by Jan Ekier. Vienna: Universal Edition, 1980.

_____. Scherzi. Edited by Jan Ekier. Vienna: Universal Edition, 1979.

Chopin, Fryderyk. Korespondencja Fryderyka Chopina. Edited by Bronisław Edward Sydow. 2 vols. Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1955.

_____. Korespondencja Fryderyka Chopina z Rodziną. Edited by Krystyna Kobylańska. Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1972.

_____. Selected Correspondence of Fryderyk Chopin. Edited and translated by Arthur Hedley. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963.

Clapperton, R. H. The Paper-Making Machine: Its Invention, Evolution, and Development. Oxford, N.Y.: Pergamon Press, 1967.

Clasen, Theo. "Die musikalischen Autographen der Universitäts-Bibliothek Bonn." In Festschrift Joseph Schmidt-Görg zum 60. Geburtstag, pp. 26-65. Edited by Dagmar Weise. Bonn: Verlag des Beethovenhauses, 1957.

Coleman, D. C. The British Paper Industry 1495-1860. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958.

Cortot, Alfred. Aspects de Chopin. Paris: A. Michel, 1949.

Curtis, George Ticknor. A Treatise on the Law of Copyright. Boston: C.C. Little and J. Brown, 1847.

Dadelsen, Georg von. "Die 'Fassung Letzter Hand' in der Musik." Acta Musicologica 33 (1961): 1-14.

Delacroix, Eugène. Journal. Edited by André Joubin. 3 vols. Paris: Plon, 1932.

Devilleneuve, L. M., and Carette, A. A. Recueil général des lois et des arrêts. 156 vols. Paris, Recueil Sirey, 1801-1964.

Devriès, Anik. "Un éditeur de musique 'à la tête ardente.' Maurice Schlesinger." Fontes Artis Musicae 27 (1980): 125-36.

_____. "Les éditions musicales Sieber." Revue de musicologie 55 (1969): 20-46.

Devriès, Anik, and Lesure, François. Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique français. Archives de l'édition musicale française, no. 4. 2 vols. Geneva: Éditions Minkoff, 1979.

Drath, Jan Bogdan, comp. and ed. Waltzes of Fryderyk Chopin: Sources. Volume I: Waltzes Published During Chopin's Lifetime. Kingsville: Texas A & I University Publications, 1979.

Duvergier, J. B., ed. Collection complète des lois, décrets, ordonnances, réglemens, et avis du Conseil d'État. 67 vols. Paris: Guyot et Scribe, 1824-67.

Eigeldinger, Jean-Jacques. Chopin vu par ses élèves. 2nd ed. Neuchâtel: La Baconnière, 1979.

_____. "Le prélude 'de la goutte d'eau' de Chopin. État de la question et essai d'interpretation." Revue de musicologie 61 (1975): 70-90.

Ekier, Jan. Fryderyk Chopin: Ballady. Kommentarze źródłowe. Cracow: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1970.

Ekier, Jan. Wstęp do Wydania Narodowego Dzieł Fryderyka Chopina. Część 1: Zagadnienia edytorskie. Cracow: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1974.

The English Reports. 176 vols. Edinburgh: W. Green & Sons, 1900-1930.

Friedland, Bea. "Gustave Vogt's Souvenir Album of Music Autographs: A Beguiling Glimpse of Musical Paris in the 1840s." Notes 31 (1974): 262-77.

"Für Eigenthumsrecht." Leipziger Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung, 14 July 1830, cols. 461-62.

Fuld, James J. The Book of World-Famous Music. Revised ed. New York: Crown Publishers, 1971.

Gajewski, Ferdinand Jan. "The Worksheets to Chopin's Violoncello Sonata." Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1980.

Gamble, William. Music Engraving and Printing. London: Pitman, 1923.

Ganche, Édouard. Dans le souvenir de Frédéric Chopin. Paris: Mercure de France, 1925.

Garvelmann, Donald M., ed. Thirteen Transcriptions for Piano Solo of Chopin's Waltz in D flat, op. 64 no. 1 (The Minute Waltz). New York: Music Treasure Publications, 1969.

Gaskell, Philip. A New Introduction to Bibliography. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972.

Gastambide, [Joseph] Adrien. Traité théorique et pratique des contrefaçons en tous genres. Paris: Legrand et Descauriet, 1837.

Gieseke, Ludwig. Die geschichtliche Entwicklung des deutschen Urheberrechts. Göttinger Rechtswissenschaftliche Studien, Band 22. Göttingen: O. Schwartz, 1957.

Hase, Oskar von. Breitkopf & Härtel. 5. Auflage. 2 vols. Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1968.

Hedley, Arthur. "Some Observations on the Autograph Sources of Chopin's Works." In The Book of the First International Musicological Congress Devoted to the Works of Frederick Chopin, pp. 474-77. Edited by Zofia Lissa. Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1963.

Higgins, Thomas. "Chopin Interpretation: A Study of Performance Directions in Selected Autographs and Other Sources." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1966.

_____. "Tempo and Character in Chopin." The Musical Quarterly 59 (1973): 106-120.

_____. "Whose Chopin?" 19th Century Music 5 (1981): 67-75.

Hilmar, Rosemary. Der Musikverlag Artaria & Comp.: Geschichte und Probleme der Druckproduktion. Tutzing: Schneider, 1977.

Hitzig, Wilhelm. "'Pariser Briefe.' Ein Beitrag zur Arbeit des deutschen Musikverlags aus den Jahren 1833-1840." In Der Bär. Jahrbuch von Breitkopf & Härtel 1929/30, pp. 27-73. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1930.

Holoman, D. Kern. The Creative Process in the Autograph Musical Documents of Hector Berlioz, c. 1818-1840. Studies in Musicology, no. 7. Edited by George Buelow. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980.

Jaeger, Bertrand. "Les manuscrits de Chopin." Schweizerische Musikzeitung/Revue musicale suisse 119 (1979): 193-97.

_____. "Quelques nouveaux noms d'élèves de Chopin." Revue de musicologie 64 (1978): 76-108.

Johnson, Douglas Porter. Beethoven's Early Sketches in the "Fischof Miscellany" Berlin Autograph 28. Studies in Musicology, no. 22. Edited by George Buelow. 2 vols. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980.

Jonas, Oswald. "On the Study of Chopin's Manuscripts." In Chopin-Jahrbuch, pp. 142-55. Vienna: Notring-Verlag, 1956.

Kallberg, Jeffrey. "Marketing Rossini: Sei lettere di Troupenas ad Artaria." Bolletino del centro rossiniano di studi, nos. 1-3 (1980), pp. 41-63.

_____. Review of Frédéric Chopin: Thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis, by Krystyna Kobylańska. Journal of the American Musicological Society 34 (1981): 357-65.

_____. Review of The Lioness and the Little One: The Liaison of George Sand and Frédéric Chopin, by William G. Atwood. 19th Century Music 5 (1982): 244-47.

Kallberg, Jeffrey. Review of Rękopisy Utworów Chopina. Katalog, by Krystyna Kobylańska. 19th Century Music 3 (1979): 163-69.

Klein, Marie. "Karl Filtsch." Ostland 2 (1920): 604-8; 638-44; 663-71.

Kobylańska, Krystyna. Frédéric Chopin: Thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis. Edited by Ernst Herttrich. Translated by Helmut Stolze. Munich: Henle Verlag, 1979.

_____. "George Sands Musikempfinden und ihr Verhältnis zu Chopins Musik." In Musik-Edition-Interpretation: Gedenkschrift Günter Henle, pp. 250-63. Edited by Martin Bente. Munich: Henle Verlag, 1980.

_____. Rękopisy Utworów Chopina. Katalog. Documenta Chopiniana, no. 2. 2 vols. Cracow: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1977.

Krummel, D. W., comp. Guide for Dating Early Published Music. Hackensack, N.J.: J. Boonin, 1974.

Kuhe, Wilhelm. My Musical Recollections. London: R. Bentley and son, 1896.

Leichtentritt, Hugo. Analyse der Chopin'schen Klavierwerke. 2 vols. Berlin: Max Hesses Verlag, 1921.

Levarie, Siegmund. "Tonal Relations in Verdi's Un Ballo in Maschera." 19th Century Music 2 (1978): 143-47.

Linnemann, Richard. Fr. Kistner 1823/1923. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Musik-Verlages. Leipzig: Fr. Kistner, 1923.

Lissa, Zofia. "Chopin im Lichte des Briefwechsels von Verlegern seiner Zeit gesehen." Fontes Artis Musicae 7 (1960): 46-57.

_____. "Klavierpolonaise und -mazurka im 19. Jahrhundert." In Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen: Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade, pp. 813-39. Erste Folge. Edited by Wulf Arlt, Ernst Lichtenhahn, and Hans Oesch. Berne: Francke Verlag, 1973.

Lockwood, Lewis. "On Beethoven's Sketches and Autographs: Some Problems of Definition and Interpretation." Acta Musicologica 42 (1970): 32-47.

Mallefille, Félicien. "Á M. F. Chopin, sur sa Ballade Polonaise." Revue et gazette musicale de Paris, 9 septembre 1838, pp. 362-64.

Marco, Guy A. "On Key Relations in Opera." 19th Century Music 3 (1979): 83-88.

Marshall, Robert L. The Compositional Process of J.S. Bach. 2 vols. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972.

Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Felix. Briefe an deutsche Verleger. Edited by Rudolf Elvers. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1968.

Mirska, Maria, and Hordyński, Władysław. Chopin na obczyźnie. Cracow: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1965.

"Der Musikalien-Nachdruck in rechtlicher und staatspolitischer Beziehung." Cäcilia 13 (1831): Heft 50, pp. 90-106.

Niecks, Frederick. Frederick Chopin as a Man and Musician. 2 vols. London: Novello and Co., 1902; reprint ed., New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1973.

Nowell-Smith, Simon. International Copyright Law and the Publisher in the Reign of Queen Victoria. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968.

Nowik, Wojciech. "Autografy muzyczny jako podstawa badań źródłowych w Chopinologii." Muzyka 16 (1971): 65-84.

_____. "Chopins Mazurka F moll, op. 68 nr. 4 'Die letzte Inspiration des Meisters'." Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 30 (1973): 109-127.

_____. "Do związków Chopina z Bellinim. Chopinowski autograf arii Belliniego 'Casta Diva'." Pagine 4 (1980): 241-71.

_____. "Proces twórczy Fryderyka Chopina w świetle jego autografów muzycznych." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Warsaw, 1978.

_____. "Próba rekonstrukcji Mazurka F-moll op. 68 nr. 4 Fryderyka Chopina." Rocznik Chopinowksi 8 (1969): 44-85.

_____. "The Receptive-Informational Role of Chopin's Musical Autographs." In Studies in Chopin, pp. 77-89. Warsaw: n.p., 1973.

Nowik, Wojciech. "Studium autografów mazurka 'palmejskiego'." In Studia Musicologica: Aesthetica, Theoretica, Historica, pp. 359-65. Edited by Elżbieta Dziębowska, et al. Cracow: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1979.

Partridge, R. C. Barrington. The History of the Legal Deposit of Books throughout the British Empire. London: The Library Association, 1938.

Patten, Robert L. Charles Dickens and his Publishers. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Pierre, Constant. Le conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation. Documents historiques et administrifs recueillis ou reconstitués. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1900.

Plesske, Hans-Martin. "Das Leipziger Musikverlagswesen und seine Beziehungen zu einigen namhaften Komponisten: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Musikalienhandels im 19. und zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Leipzig, 1974.

Rosen, Charles. The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven. New York: W.W. Norton, 1972.

Sachs, Joel. "Authentic English and French Editions of J.N. Hummel." Journal of the American Musicological Society 25 (1972): 203-229.

_____. "Hummel and the Pirates: The Struggle for Musical Copyright." The Musical Quarterly 59 (1973): 31-60.

_____. "Hummel in England and France: A Study in the International Musical Life of the Early Nineteenth Century." Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1968.

Saint-Saëns, Camille. "A Chopin M.S.: the F Major Ballade in the Making." In Outspoken Essays on Music, pp. 97-105. Translated by Fred Rothwell. London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1922; reprint ed., Westport: Greenwood Press, 1970.

Sand, George. Correspondance. Edited by Georges Lubin. 15 vols. to date. Paris: Editions Garnier, 1964-.

_____. Oeuvres autobiographiques. 2 vols. Edited by Georges Lubin. Paris: Gallimard, 1978. Vol. 1 and Vol. 2, pp. 1-465: Histoire de ma vie.

Schumann, Max. Zur Geschichte des deutschen Musikalienhandels seit der Gründung des Vereins der deutschen Musikalienhändler. Leipzig: n.p., 1929.

Siemienowski, S. "Russkie znakomstwa Shopena." Sovetskaia Muzyka, no. 10 (1953), pp. 50-51.

Sietz, Reinhold. Aus Ferdinand Hillers Briefwechsel (1826-1861). Beiträge zur Rheinischen Musikgeschichte, Heft 28. Cologne: A. Volk, 1958.

Simon, Alicja. "Przyczynek genetyczny do Grande Valse Brillante op. 34 no. 1 Fryderyka Chopina." Kwartalnik Muzyczny 7 (1949): 48-94.

Siniarska-Czaplicka, Jadwiga. "Spécialistes anglais dans les papeteries Polonaises." In VII International Congress of Paper Historians, pp. 133-42. Edited by J.S.G. Simmons. Typescript. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967.

Talfourd, T. N. Three Speeches Delivered in the House of Commons in Favour of a Measure for an Extension of Copyright. London: E. Moxon, 1840.

Trois Manuscrits de Chopin. Edited by Alfred Cortot and Édouard Ganche. Paris: Dorbon aîné, 1932.

Tyson, Alan. The Authentic English Editions of Beethoven. London: Faber and Faber, 1963.

Unger, Max. "Muzio Clementi and his Relations with G. Chr. Haertel of Leipsic, as shown by Letters of Clementi." The Monthly Musical Record 38 (1908): 246-47; 270-73.

Wackernagel, Peter. "Handschriften Chopins." In Chopin-Almanach, pp. 125-33. Leipzig: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1949.

Winklhofer, Sharon. Liszt's Sonata in B Minor: A Study of Autograph Sources and Documents. Studies in Musicology, no. 29. Edited by George Buelow. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980.

Wróblewska-Straus, Hanna. "'Za miesiąc z Paryża więcej Wam napiszę'." Ruch muzyczny, 3 December 1978, pp. 3-5; 26 December 1978, pp. 16-18.

Zimmermann, Ewald. "Textvarianten und harmonische Ambivalenz bei Chopin." In Musik-Edition-Interpretation: Gedenkschrift Günter Henle, pp. 463-71. Edited by Martin Bente. Munich: Henle Verlag, 1980.

Zimmerschied, Dieter. "Die Kammermusik Johann Nepomuk Hummels." Innaugural-Dissertation, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, Mainz, 1966.

_____. Thematisches Verzeichnis der Werke von Johann Nepomuk Hummel. Hofheim am Taunus: F. Hofmeister, 1971.

BIBLIOTEKA

399

Zimmerschied, Dieter. "Die Kammermusik Johann Nepomuk Hummels." Inaugural-Dissertation, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, Mainz, 1956.

_____. Thematisches Verzeichnis der Werke von Johann Nepomuk Hummel. Hofheim am Taunus: F. Holmeister, 1971.

F 7241
Narodowy
Instytut
Fryderyka
Chopina

Akc. 46/83

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE CHOPIN SOURCES
VARIANTS AND VERSIONS IN LATER MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTED EDITIONS

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF MUSIC

BY

JEFFREY KALLBERG

BIBLIOTEKA INSTYTUT FRYDERYKA CHOPINA
BIBLIOTEKA UNIWERSYTETU WARSZAWSKIEGO
7241
C/4/76

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

AUGUST 1982