

The début recording of Leopold Koželuch's 50 Solo Keyboard Sonatas: portfolio of recorded performances and exegesis

by

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VOLUME TWO: SOUND RECORDINGS

CD 1.

Sonata 44 in F major	(1773)
Sonata 1 in F major op. 1, no. 1	(1780)
Sonata 8 in F major op. 5	(1781)
Sonata 16 in G minor op. 15, no. 1	(1784)

CD 2.

Sonata 20 in A major op. 17, no. 2	(1785)
Sonata 23 in C major op. 20, no. 2	(1786)
Sonata 32 in A major op. 35, no. 2	(1791)
Sonata 36 in F minor op. 38, no. 3	(1793)

CD 3.

Sonata 38 in E \flat major op. 51, no. 1	(1803)
Sonata 42 in F major op. 53, no. 2	(1806)
Sonata 49 in A major	(after 1810)
Sonata 50 in E minor	(after 1810)

CD 4.

Sonata 1 in F major op. 1, no. 1	(1780)
Sonata 37 in G major	(?)
Sonata 9 in C major op. 8, no. 1, <i>Adagio cantabile</i>	(1784)
Sonata 15 in E minor op. 13, no. 3 <i>Cantabile</i>	(1784)
Sonata 31 in F major op. 35, no. 1 <i>Adagio</i>	(1791)
Sonata 33 in G minor op. 35, no. 3 <i>Allegretto</i>	(1791)
Sonata 35 in C major op. 38, no. 2 <i>Allegro</i>	(1793)
Sonata 17 in F major, Op. 15, no. 2 <i>Poco adagio</i>	(1785)
Sonata 41 in G major op. 53, no. 1 <i>Allegretto</i>	(1806)

CD 5.

Sonata 1 in F major op. 1, no. 1	(1780)
Sonata 2 in E \flat major op. 1, no. 2	(1780)
Sonata 3 in D major op. 1, no. 3	(1780)
Sonata 4 in B \flat major op. 2, no. 1	(1780)

CD 6.

Sonata 5 in A major op. 2, no. 2	(1780)
Sonata 6 in C minor op. 2, no. 3	(1780)
Sonata 7 in D major	(1780)
Sonata 8 in F major op. 5	(1781)

CD 7.

Sonata 9 in C major op. 8, no. 1	(1784)
Sonata 10 in F major op. 8, no. 2	(1784)
Sonata 11 in E \flat major op. 10, no. 1	(1784)

CD 8.

Sonata 12 in C major op. 10, no. 2	(1784)
Sonata 13 in E \flat major op. 13, no. 1	(1784)
Sonata 14 in G major op. 13, no. 2	(1784)
Sonata 15 in E minor op. 13, no. 3	(1784)
Sonata 16 in G minor op. 15, no. 1	(1784)

CD 9.

Sonata 17 in C major op. 15, no. 2	(1785)
Sonata 18 in A \flat major op. 15, no. 3	(1785)
Sonata 19 in F minor op. 17, no. 1	(1785)
Sonata 20 in A major op. 17, no. 2	(1785)

CD 10.

Sonata 21 in E \flat major op. 17, no. 3	(1785)
Sonata 22 in F major op. 20, no. 1	(1786)
Sonata 23 in C major op. 20, no. 2	(1786)
Sonata 24 in D minor op. 20, no. 3	(1786)

CD 11.

Sonata 25 in D major op. 26, no. 1	(1788)
Sonata 26 in A minor op. 26, no. 2	(1788)
Sonata 27 in E \flat major op. 26, no. 3	(1788)
Sonata 28 in B \flat major op. 30, no. 1	(1789)

CD 12.

Sonata 29 in G major op. 30, no. 2	(1789)
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Sonata 31 in F major op. 35, no. 1	(1791)
Sonata 32 in A major op. 35, no. 2	(1791)

CD 13.

Sonata 33 in G minor op. 35, no. 3	(1791)
Sonata 34 in E \flat major op. 38, no. 1	(1793)
Sonata 35 in C major op. 38, no. 2	(1793)
Sonata 36 in F minor op. 38, no. 3	(1793)
Sonata 37 in G major	(?)

CD 14.

Sonata 38 in E \flat major op. 51, no. 1	(1803)
Sonata 39 in C minor op. 51, no. 2	(1803)
Sonata 40 in D minor op. 51, no. 3	(1803)
Sonata 41 in G major op. 53, no. 1	(1806)

CD 15.

Sonata 42 in F major op. 53, no. 2	(1806)
Sonata 43 in E \flat major	(1806)
Sonata 44 in F major	(1773)
Sonata 45 in A major	(1776)
Sonata 46 in C major	(?)

CD 16.

Sonata 47 in E \flat major	(?)
Sonata 48 in B \flat major	(?)
Sonata 49 in A major	(after 1810)
Sonata 50 in E minor	(after 1810)

NOTE:

16 CDs containing 'Recorded Performances' are included with the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

The CDs must be listened to in the Music Library.

ABSTRACT

This submission for the PhD degree at the Elder Conservatorium of Music, University of Adelaide, made in two volumes in the form of a portfolio of recorded performances supported by an explanatory exegesis, presents the first complete set of recordings of all fifty solo keyboard sonatas by Leopold Koželuch.

While a great deal of scholarly research and recorded performance has been devoted to the keyboard music of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven and Schubert, and these composers have deservedly come to represent the pinnacle of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Viennese keyboard tradition, many of their contemporaries have suffered unjustifiable neglect. One such *Kleinmeister* is the Bohemian Leopold Koželuch. In the latter part of the eighteenth-century Koželuch was a celebrated composer throughout Europe and an esteemed member of the Viennese musical elite, often ranked above Mozart and considered the first fortepianist of the imperial city.

Yet, until 2011, only a small number of his 50 surviving solo keyboard sonatas had been available in modern editions. This dearth of editions had resulted in a paucity of recordings; prior to the present study only a handful of the sonatas had been commercially available. However, in 2011 a whole new world began to open up for the Koželuch scholar-performer, with the gradual publication (by Bärenreiter) of Christopher Hogwood's new complete edition of the Koželuch keyboard sonatas. The purpose of this research has been to take the next logical step from Christopher Hogwood's impeccable scholarship and make the first complete recording of Koželuch's 50 solo keyboard sonatas. These performances have been based on pre-publication copies of the new edition and the completion of this recording project has come before the publication of the final volume of the Hogwood edition.

This comprehensive corpus of recordings makes a major contribution to Koželuch scholarship and to the understanding of his works in relation to the repertoire of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century keyboard music. The Koželuch scholar (and a wider audience) will now be able to follow the development of the classical sonata in Koželuch's hands over a period of nearly four decades (1773 -1810). It will also be possible to enter into the multilayered sound-world of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century fortepiano. Original and reproduction instruments have been used throughout the recording process with each instrument chosen to match the appropriate stylistic phase.

DECLARATION

This thesis contains no material that has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text of the thesis.

I give consent to this copy of my exegesis, when deposited in the University Library, being made available for photocopying and loan. I do not give consent to the copying or any form of digital storage of the CDs contained in Volume Two of this submission. It should be noted that Naxos Rights US, Inc., own all rights to the CDs in Volume Two. Any reproduction of these, without Naxos Rights approval, will be infringing copyright laws.

Kemp English
October 2013

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I dedicate this body of work to my late parents, Alfred John and Landa English. They gave me the freedom to pursue whatever I wanted and the tenacity to stick at it. I would also like to include two other seminal influences: My father-in-law, John Wesley Barker and my dear friend, Pat Cressey. They may no longer be living, but for me their influence will be everlasting.

The financial implications of producing such a large body of recorded works are considerable. My thanks go to the Commonwealth of Australia: without an Australian Postgraduate Award I would not have had the time or the mental space to prepare these works, nor the exemplary intellectual support from the Elder Conservatorium of Music. For all the recording costs, I acknowledge the generous support of Creative New Zealand. I would particularly like to thank their Music Advisor, Chris Archer: his enthusiasm for this project from the outset and to its completion has been heartening.

Without the help and encouragement of Emeritus Hon. Prof. Christopher Hogwood, CBE, I may never have managed to get this recording project off the ground. Professor Hogwood gave me access to pre-publication copies of all the Koželuch sonatas in his new edition for Bärenreiter. He was also exceptionally kind in supporting my application for funding. Many thanks also to his assistant, musicologist Ryan Mark.

My heartfelt thanks go to my two supervisors, Professor Charles Bodman Rae and Emeritus Professor David Lockett. I have been constantly inspired by their optimism, practicality, good humour and matchless musicianship - I could not have found a better guiding team throughout this whole process.

A work like this can never be produced in isolation. Having a superb recording engineer and fortepiano technician has been crucial. Thank you Mike Clayton and Paul Downie for your tremendous skills, endless good fun and never-ending attention to detail.

Locating exceptionally good original and reproduction instruments for these recordings was always going to be a challenge. I will be forever indebted to Kenneth and Mary

Mobbs for bequeathing part of their magnificent early keyboard collection to my wife and I at a crucial stage in this project. To have day-to-day access to such outstanding original instruments is an ongoing privilege. I am also most grateful to the universities of Otago and Auckland for allowing me to use their reproduction instruments.

My thanks to Bärenreiter for granting me permission to use musical examples from their complete edition of the Koželuch keyboard sonatas.

Now that the recording work is over, it is gratifying to know that this complete cycle of Koželuch sonatas will reach further afield than the confines of academic circles. I am grateful to Naxos International for having the vision to release this important cycle on their premium, Grand Piano label (details of the first volume of this cycle can be found in Appendix A). As they now own the rights to these recordings I am also grateful to them for allowing me to include them as part of this submission.

Finally, and most importantly, I would like to thank my wonderful wife Helen for her unending love and support. She has been there at every stage, from note learning to recording, from recording to writing up, always encouraging, and always available to help. This project would not have been possible without her.

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Prescribed component on 4 CDs with Track Listings

CD 1

Sonata 44 in F major (1773) [Harpichord by Longman & Broderip (T. Culliford) 1785]



CD 1. Track 1: (6:50)
 CD 1. Track 2: *Andante molto con espressione* (4:04)
 CD 1. Track 3: *Finale – Presto* (3:50)

Sonata 1 in F major op. 1, no. 1 (1780) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by T & B Wolf, USA]



CD 1. Track 4: (5:52)
 CD 1. Track 5: *Cantabile* (7:14)
 CD 1. Track 6: *Rondeau- Presto* (3:40)

Sonata 8 in F major op. 5 (1781) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by T & B Wolf, USA]



CD 1. Track 7: (6:42)
 CD 1. Track 8: *Andante con variazioni* (9:08)
 CD 1. Track 9: *Rondeau – Presto* (3:51)

Sonata 16 in G minor op. 15, no. 1 (1784) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by T & B Wolf, USA]



CD 1. Track 10:

- *Allegro molto* - *Largo*

(9:08)

CD 1. Track 11: *Rondeau – Allegro*

(4:34)

CD 2

Sonata 20 in A major op. 17, no. 2 (1785) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by P. Downie, NZ]



CD 2. Track 1:

(7:34)

CD 2. Track 2: *Adagio*

(6:39)

CD 2. Track 3: *Allegro molto*

(3:50)

Sonata 23 in C major op. 20, no. 2 (1786) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by T & B Wolf, USA]



CD 2. Track 4:

(5:44)

CD 2. Track 5: *Adagio*

(3:28)

CD 2. Track 6: *Rondeau – Allegretto*

(4:24)

Sonata 32 in A major op. 35, no. 2 (1791) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by P. Downie, NZ]



CD 2. Track 7:	(9:20)
CD 2. Track 8: <i>Adagio</i>	(4:32)
CD 2. Track 9: <i>Rondo – Allegro</i>	(5:29)

Sonata 36 in F minor op. 38, no. 3 (1793) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by P. Downie, NZ]



CD 2. Track 10:	
- <i>Allegro agitato</i>	(12:19)
CD 2. Track 11: <i>Allegretto</i>	(6:18)

CD 3

Sonata 38 in E \flat major op. 51, no. 1 (1803) [Fortepiano by Johann Fritz c. 1815]



CD 3. Track 1:	(9:01)
CD 3. Track 2: <i>Adagio</i>	(4:20)
CD 3. Track 3: <i>Rondo – Vivace</i>	(6:18)

Sonata 42 in F major op. 53, no. 2 (1806)

[Fortepiano by Johann Fritz c. 1815]



CD 3. Track 4:

- *Allegro molto*

(6:25)

CD 3. Track 5: *Rondo – Allegretto*

(4:23)

Sonata 49 in A major (after 1810)

[Grand Pianoforte by Joseph Kirckman, c. 1798]



CD 3. Track 6:

(8:59)

CD 3. Track 7: *Andante sostenuto*

(4:22)

CD 3. Track 8: *Rondeau – Allegretto*

(7:11)

Sonata 50 in E minor (after 1810)

[Fortepiano by Johann Fritz c. 1815]



CD 3. Track 9:

- *Allegro molto con fuoco*

(9:42)

CD 3. Track 10: *Larghetto**Rondo – Presto*

(6:18)

CD 4

Sonata 1 in F major op. 1, no. 1 (1780) [Grand Pianoforte by Joseph Kirckman, c.1798]



CD 4. Track 1: (5:56)
 CD 4. Track 2: *Cantabile* (7:43)
 CD 4. Track 3: *Rondeau- Presto* (3:44)

Sonata 37 in G major (?) [Harpisichord by Longman & Broderip (T. Culliford) 1785]



CD 4. Track 4: (2:05)
 CD 4. Track 5: *Menuetto & Trio* (2:29)
 CD 4. Track 6: *Allegro* (1:48)

Sonata 9 in C major op. 8, no. 1 (1784) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by T & B Wolf, USA]
 CD 4. Track 7: *Adagio cantabile* (6:39)

Sonata 15 in E minor op. 13, no. 3 (1784) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by T & B Wolf, USA]
 CD 4. Track 8: *Cantabile* (6:18)

Sonata 31 in F major op. 35, no. 1 (1791) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by P. Downie, NZ]
 CD 4. Track 9: *Adagio* (2:59)

Sonata 33 in G minor op. 35, no. 3 (1791) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by P. Downie, NZ]
 CD 4. Track 10: *Allegretto* (6:12)

Sonata 35 in C major op. 38, no. 2 (1793) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by P. Downie, NZ]
 CD 4. Track 11: *Allegro* (7:51)

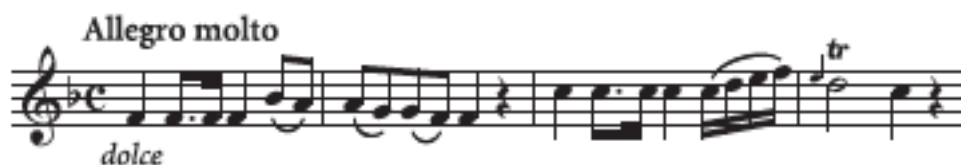
Sonata 17 in F major, Op. 15, no. 2 (1785) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by T & B Wolf, USA]
CD 4. Track 12: *Poco adagio* (4:36)

Sonata 41 in G major op. 53, no. 1 (1806) [Fortepiano by Johann Fritz c. 1815]
CD 4. Track 13: *Rondo – Allegretto* (3:06)

Complete cycle on 12 CDs with Track Listings

CD 5

Sonata 1 in F major op. 1, no. 1 (1780) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by T & B Wolf, USA]



CD 5. Track 1: (5:58)
 CD 5. Track 2: *Cantabile* (7:14)
 CD 5. Track 3: *Rondeau- Presto* (3:35)

Sonata 2 in E \flat major op. 1, no. 2 (1780) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by T & B Wolf, USA]



CD 5. Track 4 (6:36)
 CD 5. Track 5: *Poco adagio* (5:27)
 CD 5. Track 6: *Allegro* (3:45)

Sonata 3 in D major op. 1, no. 3 (1780) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by T & B Wolf, USA]



CD 5. Track 7: (5:37)
 CD 5. Track 8: *Poco adagio* (6:49)
 CD 5. Track 9: *Rondeau - Prestissimo* (3:45)

Sonata 4 in B \flat major op. 2, no. 1 (1780) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by T & B Wolf, USA]



CD 5. Track 10:	(7:14)
CD 5. Track 11: <i>Adagio</i>	(4:54)
CD 5. Track 12: <i>Allegretto scherzando</i>	(3:49)

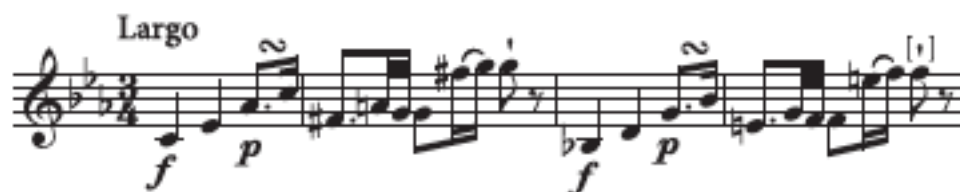
CD 6

Sonata 5 in A major op. 2, no. 2 (1780) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by T & B Wolf, USA]



CD 6. Track 1:	(6:22)
CD 6. Track 2: <i>Andante</i>	(6:01)
CD 6. Track 3: <i>Allegretto</i>	(4:16)

Sonata 6 in C minor op. 2, no. 3 (1780) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by T & B Wolf, USA]



CD 6. Track 4:	
- <i>Poco presto - Largo</i>	(8:32)
CD 6. Track 5: <i>Allegretto</i>	(3:54)

Sonata 7 in D major (1780) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by T & B Wolf, USA]

CD 6. Track 6:	(4:54)
CD 6. Track 7: <i>Menuetto & Trio</i>	(4:41)
CD 6. Track 8: <i>Rondo. Allegro</i>	(3:22)

Sonata 8 in F major op. 5 (1781) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by T & B Wolf, USA]

CD 6. Track 9:	(6:42)
CD 6. Track 10: <i>Andante con variazioni</i>	(9:14)
CD 6. Track 11: <i>Rondeau – Presto</i>	(3:45)

CD 7**Sonata 9 in C major op. 8, no. 1** (1784) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by T & B Wolf, USA]

CD 7. Track 1:	(4:43)
CD 7. Track 2: <i>Andante</i>	(6:33)
CD 7. Track 3: <i>Rondeau</i>	(3:47)
CD 7. Track 4: <i>Allegretto</i> (alternative mvt. 3)	(2:59)

Sonata 10 in F major op. 8, no. 2 (1784) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by T & B Wolf, USA]



CD 7. Track 5:	(5:22)
CD 7. Track 6: <i>Poco adagio</i>	(4:46)
CD 7. Track 7: <i>Menuetto & Trio</i>	(4:39)
CD 7. Track 8: <i>Aria con variazione</i> (alternative mvt. 3)	(8:53)

Sonata 11 in E \flat major op. 10, no. 1 (1784) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by T & B Wolf, USA]



CD 7. Track 9:	(7:55)
CD 7. Track 10: <i>Andante</i>	(5:44)
CD 7. Track 11: <i>Allegretto</i>	(4:15)

CD 8

Sonata 12 in C major op. 10, no. 2 (1784) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by T & B Wolf, USA]



CD 8. Track 1:	(6:34)
CD 8. Track 2: <i>Andante espressivo</i>	(5:00)
CD 8. Track 3: <i>Rondeau – Allegretto</i>	(3:56)

Sonata 13 in E \flat major op. 13, no. 1 (1784) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by T & B Wolf, USA]



CD 8. Track 4:	(6:35)
CD 8. Track 5: <i>Poco adagio</i>	(5:32)
CD 8. Track 6: <i>Rondeau – Presto</i>	(4:06)

Sonata 14 in G major op. 13, no. 2 (1784) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by T & B Wolf, USA]



CD 8. Track 7:	(4:47)
CD 8. Track 8: <i>Andante</i>	(4:33)
CD 8. Track 9: <i>Rondeau</i>	(3:40)

Sonata 15 in E minor op. 13, no. 3 (1784) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by T & B Wolf, USA]



CD 8. Track 10:	(5:59)
CD 8. Track 11: <i>Cantabile</i>	(6:15)
CD 8. Track 12: <i>Presto</i>	(3:28)

Sonata 16 in G minor op. 15, no. 1 (1784) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by T & B Wolf, USA]



CD 8. Track 13:

- *Allegro molto - Largo*

(9:08)

CD 8. Track 14: *Rondeau - Allegro*

(4:34)

CD 9

Sonata 17 in C major op. 15, no. 2 (1785) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by T & B Wolf, USA]



CD 9. Track 1:

(8:25)

CD 9. Track 2: *Poco adagio*

(4:28)

CD 9. Track 3: *Presto*

(5:06)

Sonata 18 in A♭ major op. 15, no. 3 (1785) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by T & B Wolf, USA]



CD 9. Track 4:

(13:52)

CD 9. Track 5: *Allegro molto*

(6:12)

Sonata 19 in F minor op. 17, no. 1 (1785) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by T & B Wolf, USA]



CD 9. Track 6:	(3:56)
CD 9. Track 7: <i>Allegro agitato</i>	(8:07)
CD 9. Track 8: <i>Finale – Allegretto</i>	(6:36)

Sonata 20 in A major op. 17, no. 2 (1785) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by P. Downie, NZ]



CD 9. Track 9:	(7:34)
CD 9. Track 10: <i>Adagio</i>	(6:39)
CD 9. Track 11: <i>Allegro molto</i>	(3:42)

CD 10

Sonata 21 in E \flat major op. 17, no. 3 (1785) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by P. Downie, NZ]



CD 10. Track 1:	(9:14)
CD 10. Track 2: <i>Rondeau – Allegretto</i>	(6:06)

Sonata 22 in F major op. 20, no. 1 (1786) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by T & B Wolf, USA]



CD 10. Track 3:	(5:21)
CD 10. Track 4: <i>Adagio</i>	(3:17)
CD 10. Track 5: <i>Rondeau – Allegretto</i>	(3:28)

Sonata 23 in C major op. 20, no. 2 (1786) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by T & B Wolf, USA]



CD 10. Track 6:	(5:44)
CD 10. Track 7: <i>Adagio</i>	(3:28)
CD 10. Track 8: <i>Rondeau – Allegretto</i>	(4:15)

Sonata 24 in D minor op. 20, no. 3 (1786) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by T & B Wolf, USA]



CD 10. Track 9:	(6:11)
CD 10. Track 10: <i>Poco adagio</i>	(2:38)
CD 10. Track 11: <i>Rondeau – Allegretto</i>	(4:15)

CD 11

Sonata 25 in D major op. 26, no. 1 (1788) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by P. Downie, NZ]



CD 11. Track 1: (6:42)
 CD 11. Track 2: *Adagio* (4:43)
 CD 11. Track 3: *Rondeau – Allegro* (3:53)

Sonata 26 in A minor op. 26, no. 2 (1788) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by P. Downie, NZ]



CD 11. Track 4: (7:12)
 CD 11. Track 5: *Andante con variazione* (12:59)

Sonata 27 in E \flat major op. 26, no. 3 (1788) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by P. Downie, NZ]



CD 11. Track 6: (8:41)
 CD 11. Track 7: *Largehetto alla siciliana* (3:28)
 CD 11. Track 8: *Rondeau – Allegro con fuoco* (3:50)

Sonata 28 in B \flat major op. 30, no. 1 (1789) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by P. Downie, NZ]



CD 11. Track 9:	(6:14)
CD 11. Track 10: <i>Poco adagio</i>	(3:39)
CD 11. Track 11: <i>Rondeau – Allegretto</i>	(6:42)

CD 12

Sonata 29 in G major op. 30, no. 2 (1789) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by P. Downie, NZ]



CD 12. Track 1:	(7:46)
CD 12. Track 2: <i>Andante</i>	(2:45)
CD 12. Track 3: <i>Rondeau – Allegretto</i>	(5:44)

Sonata 30 in C minor op. 30, no. 3 (1789) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by P. Downie, NZ]



CD 12. Track 4:	(10:50)
- <i>Allegro – Largo</i>	
CD 12. Track 5: <i>Rondeau – Allegretto</i>	(5:49)

Sonata 31 in F major op. 35, no. 1 (1791) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by P. Downie, NZ]



CD 12. Track 6:	(7:26)
CD 12. Track 7: <i>Adagio</i>	(2:52)
CD 12. Track 8: <i>Rondo – Allegretto</i>	(6:31)

Sonata 32 in A major op. 35, no. 2 (1791) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by P. Downie, NZ]



CD 12. Track 9:	(9:20)
CD 12. Track 10: <i>Adagio</i>	(4:32)
CD 12. Track 11: <i>Rondo – Allegro</i>	(5:22)

CD 13

Sonata 33 in G minor op. 35, no. 3 (1791) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by P. Downie, NZ]



CD 13. Track 1:	(10:16)
- <i>Allegro agitato</i>	
CD 13. Track 2: <i>Allegretto</i>	(6:04)

Sonata 34 in E \flat major op. 38, no. 1 (1793) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by P. Downie, NZ]



CD 13. Track 3:	(9:45)
CD 13. Track 4: <i>Adagio</i>	(2:57)
CD 13. Track 5: <i>Rondeau – Allegro molto</i>	(5:47)

Sonata 35 in C major op. 38, no. 2 (1793) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by P. Downie, NZ]



CD 13. Track 6:	(7:43)
CD 13. Track 7: <i>Adagio</i>	(2:57)
CD 13. Track 8: <i>Rondeau – Allegretto</i>	(4:25)

Sonata 36 in F minor op. 38, no. 3 (1793) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by P. Downie, NZ]



CD 13. Track 9:	
- <i>Allegro agitato</i>	(12:19)
CD 13. Track 10: <i>Allegretto</i>	(6:18)

Sonata 37 in G major (?) [Harpichord by Longman & Broderip (T. Culliford) 1785]



CD 13. Track 11:	(2:05)
CD 13. Track 12: <i>Menuetto & Trio</i>	(2:29)
CD 13. Track 13: <i>Allegro</i>	(1:40)

CD 14

Sonata 38 in E \flat major op. 51, no. 1 (1803) [Fortepiano by Johann Fritz c. 1815]



CD 14. Track 1:	(8:58)
CD 14. Track 2: <i>Adagio</i>	(4:16)
CD 14. Track 3: <i>Rondo – Vivace</i>	(6:17)

Sonata 39 in C minor op. 51, no. 2 (1803) [Fortepiano by Johann Fritz c. 1815]



CD 14. Track 4:	
- <i>Allegro molto</i>	(10:57)
CD 14. Track 5: <i>Rondeau – Allegretto</i>	(6:12)

Sonata 40 in D minor op. 51, no. 3 (1803)

[Fortepiano by Johann Fritz c. 1815]



CD 14. Track 6:

- *Allegro molto e agitato*

(11:22)

CD 14. Track 7: *Rondeau – Allegretto*

(5:43)

Sonata 41 in G major op. 53, no. 1 (1806)

[Fortepiano by Johann Fritz c. 1815]



CD 14. Track 8:

(7:38)

CD 14. Track 9: *Andante espressivo**Rondo – Allegretto*

(5:25)

CD 15**Sonata 42 in F major op. 53, no. 2** (1806)

[Fortepiano by Johann Fritz c. 1815]



CD 15. Track 1:

- *Allegro molto*

(6:25)

CD 15. Track 2: *Rondo – Allegretto*

(4:23)

Sonata 43 in E \flat major (1806)

[Fortepiano by Johann Fritz c. 1815]



CD 15. Track 3: (5:20)

CD 15. Track 4: *Rondo – Allegretto* (3:44)**Sonata 44 in F major** (1773) [Harpichord by Longman & Broderip (T. Culliford) 1785]

CD 15. Track 5: (6:47)

CD 15. Track 6: *Andante molto con espressione* (4:01)CD 15. Track 7: *Finale – Presto* (3:50)**Sonata 45 in A major** (1776) [Harpichord by Longman & Broderip (T. Culliford) 1785]

CD 15. Track 8: (7:25)

CD 15. Track 9: *Menuetto – Vivace* (5:46)CD 15. Track 10: *Rondeau – Allegretto* (5:19)

Sonata 46 in C major (?) [Harpichord by Longman & Broderip (T. Culliford) 1785]



CD 15. Track 11: (6:33)

CD 15. Track 12: *Allegro ma non tanto* (3:31)

CD 16

Sonata 47 in E \flat major (?) [Harpichord by Longman & Broderip (T. Culliford) 1785]



CD 16. Track 1: (6:15)

CD 16. Track 2: *Allegro* (2:39)

Sonata 48 in B \flat major [Grand Pianoforte by Joseph Kirckman, c. 1798]



CD 16. Track 3:
- *Allegro molto* (11:54)

CD 16. Track 4: *Rondeau – Allegretto* (6:22)

Sonata 49 in A major (after 1810)

[Grand Pianoforte by Joseph Kirckman, c. 1798]



- | | |
|---|--------|
| CD 16. Track 5: | (8:54) |
| CD 16. Track 6: <i>Andante sostenuto</i> | (4:17) |
| CD 16. Track 7: <i>Rondeau – Allegretto</i> | (7:05) |

Sonata 50 in E minor (after 1810)

[Fortepiano by Johann Fritz c. 1815]



- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------|
| CD 16. Track 8: | |
| - <i>Allegro molto con fuoco</i> | (9:40) |
| CD 16. Track 9: <i>Larghetto</i> | |
| <i>Rondo – Presto</i> | (6:16) |

INTRODUCTION

Background

The present Koželuch recording project has had a long gestation period. In 1995 I was teaching fortepiano, harpsichord and organ at the University of Otago in Dunedin, New Zealand. Rather than prescribe my fortepiano students the possibly over-worked mainstream repertoire of Haydn, Mozart and early Beethoven, I encouraged them to explore music written by lesser-known figures from the late eighteenth century. Although often overshadowed by the aforementioned triumvirate, many highly gifted composers were living and working in Vienna at that time.¹ By prompting students to explore unusual repertoire and to think independently and along historically informed performance lines, I sought to free them from the ingrained influences of mainstream recordings on modern instruments and a predisposition to play the music in a way their former, invariably ‘modern piano’ tuition dictated.² Naturally, this mindset would subsequently inform my own approach to this whole research project.

One of my students unearthed a Supraphone edition (edited by Milan Poštolka) of five of Leopold Koželuch’s keyboard sonatas.³ This proved to be one of only a handful of modern editions that selected a few of the mainly more dramatic minor key sonatas.⁴ These works were a revelation to me and they became the catalyst for my own investigation into Koželuch’s other forty five sonatas. For a number of years the idea of a large-scale recording project showcasing all the sonatas remained dormant, only

¹ Koželuch (1747-1818), Pleyel (1757-1831), Vanhal (1739-1813), Diabelli (1781-1858), Wölfl (1773-1812), Martínez (1744-1812), Hoffmeister (1754-1812), Dittersdorf (1737-99), Gelinek (1758-1825), Gyrowetz (1763-1850) amongst others.

² I am reminded of a radio interview I heard featuring the eminent Israeli conductor and violinist Pinchas Steinberg. Steinberg was lamenting the fact that so often modern day performances are just copies of one another. Steinberg believes, as I do, that the score, together with an understanding of performance practice issues, tells us what to do - not another person’s realization of the score through a recorded medium.

³ Leopold Koželuch, *Pět Sonát/Fünf Sonaten*. Musica Viva Historica 51. (Editio Supraphon 1959, reprinted 1984).

⁴ Sonate d-moll für Klavier, Op. 51 Nr. 3. Edited by Hans Albrecht (Kistner & Siegel & Co Lippstadt, 1958). 3 *Sonates* Op.1 and 3 *Sonates* Op. 2, *facsimile edition*, Musica Repartita vol. MR351B, (Utrecht 1998).

occasionally re-surfacing when further tantalizing glimpses of Koželuch's keyboard style emerged.⁵ However, in 2010, five years after relinquishing my university teaching post to embark on a free-lance performing and recording career, the time seemed right to commence this important study.

With the apparent dearth of modern editions, I was faced with the daunting task of obtaining first and subsequent editions of the sonatas from European libraries (there are no autograph copies extant, although the majority were published under Koželuch's supervision in Vienna⁶). Fortunately - during my initial investigations - I discovered that Christopher Hogwood was preparing a complete modern edition of the sonatas for Bärenreiter and that the first volume was due to be published imminently. However, upon approaching the publisher, I was told that the edition had been cancelled. I decided to contact Christopher Hogwood directly. He replied immediately, informing me that although the publishers were having problems with the first volume, the project had certainly not been cancelled. He was also delighted to hear about my proposed recordings and very kindly arranged for Bärenreiter to send me pre-publication copies of the first two volumes. Subsequently he very generously supported my application for funding from Creative New Zealand (Appendix B).

This was the start of a long and fruitful association with Christopher Hogwood and his team. After discovering a number of errors in the first two volumes I duly became part of the proofreading team. I then had pre-publication access to the remaining two volumes in addition. At the time of writing, the first three volumes of this edition have been published and the fourth is 'in press'. I feel privileged to have been the only performer in the world to have exclusive access to these editions from the outset.

With such an advantage and personal involvement in the editorial process, I had overcome some significant hurdles. While it was still rewarding to consult facsimile copies of first editions and to compare and contrast Professor Hogwood's approach with

⁵ Katalin Komlós. *Fortepianos and their Music: Germany, Austria and England, 1760-1800*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995): 59-60 etc. David Yeomans. *Piano Music of the Czech Romantics: A Performer's Guide*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006): 11-26.

⁶ Christopher Hogwood. "The Keyboard sonatas of Leopold Koželuch". *Early Music* 40. 4 (2013). 627.

others, much of the important groundwork had been covered. Nonetheless, I still had many choices to make during the lengthy process that transforms the symbols on paper into an aural experience. My task was clear: to bridge the gap between composer and audience - to complete the four-link chain that produces a musical work of art: composer, editor, performer and audience. To be sure, including the role of the editor in this process may be contentious, but without any extant autograph scores and with the available sources so widely dispersed, an intermediary is often vital. But just as the editor sifts through the available material trying to pinpoint the composer's authentic written expression, likewise the performer is faced with countless possibilities in the pursuit of the composer's authentic aural expression.

The University of Adelaide's PhD in Performance program provided the ideal vehicle for this important research. By placing the emphasis on recorded performances, Koželuch's music could be examined in a tangible way principally through the medium of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century fortepiano. Performance practice issues could then be explored as an aural investigation with secondary written support. Approached from this direction, research questions arose from, and were answered by, the instruments themselves.

The Sound recordings

This complete cycle of 50 sonatas was recorded between April 2011 and April 2013 over the course of five sessions. I used my own recording studio, which now houses part of The Mobbs Early Keyboard Collection [www.earlykeyboards.co.nz]. With a vaulted ceiling, wooden flooring and plasterboard walls this resonant recording space was designed to produce a very natural sounding acoustic that would enhance early keyboard instruments. I was keen to create a sound that would approximate that of the eighteenth-century salon - a medium sized room with high ceilings and reflective surfaces. By careful microphone placement I tried to recreate a sense of the room's ambiance without any loss of clarity. As each of the five instruments varied considerably in terms of resonance, it was often necessary to make slight changes to the microphone placement. The studio is not sound proofed. Being in a rural location it was often necessary to work around countryside noises and while great pains were taken to avoid such extraneous sounds, the occasional distant rumble was inevitable. Likewise -

in terms of mechanical noise from the instruments - despite having a fortepiano technician present during all of the recording sessions for tuning and maintenance, some clicks and buzzes were often impossible to identify. Since three of the instruments are over 200 years old this is hardly surprising. Even the two replica fortepianos required careful voicing and the occasional use of candle wax to free up knee levers and damper/moderator rails.

With only five sessions and often less than five days per recording session, there was a great deal of repertoire to record. In some sessions we managed 12 sonatas, in others less. Each movement was recorded two or three times to cover any eventuality and to experiment with interpretative choices. The broad outlines of the editing were then mapped out and I dealt with the finer details at a later date, listening through takes and identifying the relevant areas that needed revision. These Studio recordings were always destined for commercial distribution and were therefore professionally produced and edited according to industry standards.

Occasionally the final published versions of the scores differ slightly from the versions I used in the preparation stages. Moreover, I made editorial decisions myself when the scores available were still works in progress (particularly the early harpsichord sonatas 44-47). For one particular sonata I consulted all the available first editions and manuscripts and formulated my own conclusions. I take full responsibility for any decisions made.

The primary aim of this research has been to record Leopold Koželuch's Complete Solo Keyboard Sonatas utilizing the new Bärenreiter edition of these works edited by Christopher Hogwood. As such, the success of the project depends largely upon the sum total of all of its parts. Every sonata in the cycle is important: Whether it display Koželuch's mastery of the late eighteenth-century sonata or his command of the fortepiano, every work 'counts'. For this reason I have included the complete 12 CD cycle intact in Volume Two of this submission (CDs 5-16). However, for the purposes of the University of Adelaide's PhD in Performance, 12 CDs exceeds the recorded component requirement of the doctoral submission by a considerable margin. In order to satisfy the University's guidelines and to make the examination process more manageable, I have, therefore, chosen works from the complete cycle and compiled the

requisite four CD package. CDs 1 – 3 contain three chronologically selected sonata programmes and CD 4 is made up of sonata movements that illustrate relevant points in the exegesis.

Exegesis structure

Chapter One is an outline of Koželuch's life and reception. In Chapter Two I have focused on a more philosophical background to this set of recordings. In this on-going research it is important to establish the broad outlines that informed these performances rather than to justify the realization of every ornament, embellishment, rhythmic inflection or dynamic marking. Even if space permitted, such issues can be addressed more succinctly and with greater clarity in a performing edition, which is the next stage on my Koželuch journey. However, in Chapter Three I have included a set of commentaries that are designed to illuminate certain aspects of the preparation process, be they technical or interpretative and to complement works drawn from the four CDs that form the prescribed recorded component of this submission.⁷ I hope that they will provide an interesting adjunct that occurs *post facto* to listening to as much of the 12 CD cycle as possible or, at the very least, to the four prescribed CDs. The Conclusion will outline the many insights I have gained from this research and suggest possible future avenues for investigation. As this has been a very personal journey I felt that it was appropriate to write in the first person throughout the Introduction, Commentaries and Conclusion; any other approach appeared contrived and artificial.

⁷ However, as I have pointed out and as the exegesis title suggests, this research is about the *complete* cycle of keyboard sonatas, not selections there from, regardless of University protocols.

CHAPTER ONE:
LEOPOLD KOŽELUCH IN PERSPECTIVE

Life

Leopold Koželuch was born in 1747, in Velvary, northwest of Prague. He was christened Jan Antonín but changed his name to Leopold to avoid confusion with his older cousin, also a musician, of the same name. His Czech family name of Koželuh ('tanner') became Koželuch to make it more manageable in the German language.⁸ Cousin Jan Antonín became one of Leopold's earliest teachers, along with František Xavier Dušek, a noted Czech keyboard player and composer.⁹ In 1778, after some success as a composer of ballet music and having relinquished law studies, Koželuch moved to Vienna: 'Clavier Land.'¹⁰ He soon established a fine reputation as a fortepianist, composer and teacher.¹¹ By 1781 he was regarded so highly that the Archbishop of Salzburg offered him Mozart's former post as court organist. He declined, later stating to a friend 'the Archbishop's conduct toward Mozart deterred me more than anything; for if he could let such a man as that leave him, what treatment should I have been likely to meet with?'¹² In 1784 he founded his own publishing house (*Musikalisches Magazin*) in the same year as Hoffmeister and slightly behind Artaria (1778) and Torricella (1781).¹³ This was to provide an ideal vehicle for his own

⁸ Similar transliterations include: Wranitzky for Vranický, Gyrowetz for Jiřovec and Stamitz for Stamic. I am grateful to Ivan Marton of Naxos Rights for this information.

⁹ Not to be confused with Jan Latislav Dussek – also of Czech decent – the noted late eighteenth-century pianoforte virtuoso.

¹⁰ Mozart's letter to his father, June 2, 1781. *Mozart's Letters Mozart's Life*. Selected letters edited and newly translated by Robert Spaethling. (London: Faber and Faber, 2000). 260.

¹¹ In addition to the blind virtuoso Maria Theresia von Paradis, pupils included Princess Elisabeth of Württemberg (the later wife of Emperor Franz II) and the Emperor's daughter Marie-Louise, who became Napoleon's second wife.

¹² Harold C. Schonberg. *The Great Pianists*. (London: Victor Gollancz, 1965). 65.

¹³ Jones, David Wyn. "Introduction: new challenges, new perspectives. In *Music in Eighteenth-Century Austria*. David Wyn Jones ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). 1.

compositions and those of other notable names.¹⁴ He also forged valuable and profitable links with European publishers in Paris (Boyer, Leduc and Sieber), London (Birchall, Longman and Bland),¹⁵ Amsterdam and Berlin. In 1792 he succeeded Mozart as *Kammer Kapellmeister* and *Hofmusik Compositor* to Emperor Franz II¹⁶ and remained in the post until his death in 1818.¹⁷ These court duties took up much of his time. Schönfeld reports in 1796 that ‘It is a pity this great master has almost completely given up teaching in the past years.’¹⁸ After 1802 Koželuch became associated with George Thomson, a man with an insatiable appetite for Scottish, Irish and Welsh folk song arrangements. Other contributors to these sets of arrangements were Pleyel, Haydn, Beethoven and Hummel.¹⁹

Milan Poštolka, who produced the first major study of Koželuch’s works with a thematic catalogue,²⁰ divided Koželuch’s output into three stylistic categories:

- (1) Traits of the Viennese Rococo and characterized by the vocal compositions of the 1780’s.
- (2) The modest development of the Viennese Classical style in the form of the symphonies and piano concertos.
- (3) Those compositions (notably piano and chamber music) that pave the way

¹⁴ In 1789 (letter to Michael Puchberg), Mozart was not averse to using Koželuch’s publishing house: “In the meantime I’m composing 6 easy piano sonatas for Princess Friederika and 6 quartets for the King, which I’m going to have engraved at my own expense at Koželuch.” It is important to note that this engraving of plates at the *composers own expense* was common practice amongst music publishers at that time; it simply was not financially viable for a music publisher to bear such an expense with often slim rewards. De Val, Dorothy Jean. *Gradus ad Parnassum: The Pianoforte in London, 1770-1820*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of London, 1991. 91. www.ethos.bl.uk

¹⁵ Christopher Hogwood. “The Keyboard sonatas of Leopold Koželuch.” *Early Music* 40. 4 (2013): 627.

¹⁶ At double Mozart’s salary. H.C. Robbins Landon. *1791 Mozart’s Last Year*. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988). 121.

¹⁷ Franz Krommer (1752-1831) succeeded Koželuch as *Hofkapellmeister* to the Viennese court. Engel has the date as 1812. Carl Engel. “Music We Shall Never Hear”. *Music Quarterly* 4. (1918): 500. This would mean Milan Poštolka was mistaken since he states that Koželuch stayed in the post until his death in 1818. Milan Poštolka. *Leopold Koželuh, Život a dílo*. (Prague: 1964).

¹⁸ Johann Ferdinand Ritter von Schönfeld. *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag (Wien, 1796)*. 33. Trans. Katherine Talbot as “A Yearbook of the Music of Vienna and Prague, 1796.” In *Haydn and His World*. 289-320. Ed. Elaine Sisman. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997). 304.

¹⁹ See Donald W. MacArdie. “Beethoven and George Thomson.” *Music & Letters* 37. 1 (1956): 27-49. Joel Sachs. “Hummel and George Thomson of Edinburgh.” *The Music Quarterly* 56. 2 (1970): 270-287.

²⁰ Milan Poštolka. *Leopold Koželuh, Život a dílo*. (Prague: 1964).

for ‘Beethovenesque expression’ and foreshadowing ‘the musical language’ of the Romantic period. Most of these latter compositions date from the last decade of the eighteenth-century.

Reception

Regarding Koželuch’s output, his contemporaries often complained that he composed too much, inferring inferior quality. Beethoven’s often-quoted remark to George Thomson in a letter of 1812 just adds to the myth:

Haydn himself assured me, that he also got 4 ducats in gold for each song, yet he wrote only for violin and pianoforte without ritornellos or violoncello [Beethoven was wrong]. As regards Herr Koželuch, who delivers each song to you for 2 ducats, I congratulate you and the English and Scottish publishers on a taste which approves him. In this field I esteem myself a little higher than Herr Koželuch (*Miserabilis*), and I hope and believe that you have sufficient discrimination to do me justice.^{21 22}

Such snide remarks were unjustified on many different levels.²³ Koželuch’s output is a modest 250 works,²⁴ mainly made up of keyboard related sonatas, trios and concertos. Although his symphonies were played regularly²⁵ and his sacred works also appeared on concert programmes, they form a smaller part of his output. None of his operas are extant and their existence is only known from bibliographical information.

As to the quality of Koželuch’s work, the primary sources are consistently flattering. In

²¹ Alexander Wheelock Thayer. *The Life of Ludwig van Beethoven*. Ed. And rev. Henry E. Krehbiel (3 vols.; New York, 1921; rev. Elliot Forbes, Princeton, 1964). 530.

²² At another time Thomson reminded Beethoven ‘You must write the variations in a familiar, easy and slightly brilliant style; so that the greatest number of our ladies can play and enjoy them.’ Pamela J. Willetts. *Beethoven and England: An Account of Sources in the British Museum*. (London: Published by the Trustees of the British Museum, 1970).

²³ Mozart obviously had his own axe to grind, writing to his father in 1781 he mentions Herr von Moll who had been spreading rumours about him and Constanze. “I can pretty much guess why he’s saying these things; he is a strong supporter of Koželuch; - Oh! How simpleminded!-...” Spaethling, *Mozart’s Letter’s*, 274.

²⁴ Poštoľka, *Zivot a dilo*, 153.

²⁵ They appear four times between 1780-90 in the available Public Calendar listings: Sep. 80; Dec. 83; Mar. 87 and Apr. 90. Mary Sue Morrow. *Concert Life in Vienna: 1780-1810*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Indiana University, 1984. (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 2010). 292-314.

1790, Gerber's *Lexicon* proclaimed that his works displayed 'liveliness and grace, the noblest melody combined with the purest harmony, and of the most pleasing organization blended with rhythm and modulation.'²⁶ Charles Burney identified another valuable trait, his ability to avoid sounding like Haydn, describing his compositions as 'in general excellent, abounding with solidity, good taste, correct harmony; and the imitations of Haydn are less frequent than in any other master of that school.'²⁷ Burney returns to these themes of originality and fluency at a later date, declaring that:

[Koželuch's] style is more easy than that of Emanuel Bach, Haydn, or Mozart; it is natural, graceful, and flowing, without imitating any great model, as almost all his contemporaries have done. His modulation is natural and pleasing, and what critics of the old school would allow to be warrantable. His rhythm is well phrased, his accents well placed, and harmony pure.²⁸

Koželuch was singularly adept at producing what was considered to be the ideal piano sonata. All the elements Burney mentions above had become part and parcel of what contemporary music criticism demanded.²⁹ Perhaps the Beethoven and Mozart (previously footnoted 15) comments came about for a couple of reasons. Firstly, Koželuch was undeniably more successful than Mozart³⁰ and consequently a little bit smug.³¹ He was also of a 'higher social station'³² and had the tact and social graces to win friends and influence people,³³ not a noted trait of Mozart. Secondly, he satisfied

²⁶ Ernst Ludwig Gerber. *Historisch-Biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1790), 750. Quoted in David Yeomans. *Piano Music of the Czech Romantics: A Performer's Guide*. (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006). 12.

²⁷ Charles Burney. *A General History of Music*. (London, 1789). vol. IV, 602. Quoted in Christopher Hogwood. Introduction to *Koželuch: Complete Sonatas for Keyboard, III*. (Praha: Bärenreiter, 2010). VIII.

²⁸ Charles Burney. "Koželuch, Leopold." In *The Cyclopaedia: or, Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature*, ed. Abraham Rees (London, 1802-19), vol. 20, p. 1771. Quoted in Christopher Hogwood. Introduction. VII.

²⁹ See Mary Sue Morrow. *German Music Criticism in the late Eighteenth Century: Aesthetic Issues in Instrumental Music*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

³⁰ William S. Newman. *The Sonata in the Classic Era*. 3rd edition (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1983). 544.

³¹ Schönfeld remarks that 'he is accused of being too pleased with himself.' Schönfeld/Talbot, 304.

³² Newman, 558 (footnote).

³³ Dittersdorf refers to 'Koželuch, however, put on the usual professional face.' *The Autobiography of Karl Von Dittersdorf: Dictated to His Son*. Tran. A.D. Coleridge. (New York: Da Capo Press, 1970). 45.

popular taste, something Beethoven derided.³⁴ Koželuch knew exactly what he was doing:

The [accompanied] sonatas which you asked for have succeeded perfectly; they are not too difficult, they are melodious and brilliant and the passage-work in them falls automatically under the fingers; they are not long. I have composed them in such a way that they are complete when played on the pianoforte alone.³⁵

And the critics responded accordingly:

Herr Koželuch is an excellent composer. In his sonatas there is much invention, good melody and a style of progression all his own. The fast movements are very brilliant and naïve, the slow ones very tuneful. Therefore we can certainly recommend them to amateurs of the *Clavier*.³⁶

Mary Sue Morrow's important research into Viennese concert life helps to explain how Koželuch rose from being just another Bohemian import into Vienna to one of the cities leading musical figures.³⁷ She highlights the distinction between public and private concerts and the ways in which the class system in Vienna at the end of the eighteenth century influenced music making. Vienna, unlike other European cities, lacked a designated concert hall or music room before 1831. Public concerts were held in the theatres, restaurants, parks, pubs, hotels and ballrooms. The theatres often had limited availability. In 1794 when Baron Braun took over the management of the court theatres, independent virtuoso concerts were not allowed to take place.³⁸ Herr von Braun was also a noted champion of C. P. E. Bach and naturally resistant to current tastes: 'He admires the music of the great Philipp Emanuel Bach especially. Needless to say he has the greater part of the Viennese public against him in this matter. I myself have heard many otherwise eager and skillful music-lovers in Vienna speak of Bach not only with

³⁴ Although Beethoven was certainly not averse to pandering to popular taste when it suited him.

³⁵ Letter to the publisher Birchall, 22 November 1817. Quoted in Hogwood, Introduction, X.

³⁶ *Magazin de Musik*, i (Hamburg), 1783), 71. Quoted in Komlós, 110.

³⁷ Mary Sue Morrow. *Concert Life in Vienna: 1780-1810*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Indiana University, 1984. (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 2010). See also: Mary Sue Morrow. *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna: Aspects of a Developing Musical and Social Institution*: (New York: Pendragon, 1989).

³⁸ Morrow, 55.

indifference, but with outright hostility. Koželuch and Steffan are their idols among keyboard composers.³⁹ It was often a laborious business staging a public concert. While Mozart and Beethoven made large sums of money from such enterprises,⁴⁰ they involved negotiating with the venue, gaining official and police permission and paying the performers.⁴¹ A one person, one instrument concert was unheard of at that time. Concert programmes invariably involved an orchestra and associate artists and contained three symphonies (an overture replaced one of these after 1800), at least one concerto, some concert arias from the latest opera and improvised instrumental solos. Such immense variety was expected and certainly made concerts lasting two to three hours manageable. The marathon four-hour all-Beethoven concert (December 22, 1808) reported by Reichardt was the exception rather than the rule. With such drawbacks, public concerts made up only a very small part of the concert scene in Vienna.

On the other hand, private concerts in the homes of the aristocracy and bourgeoisie were a much more appealing proposition and suited the structure of Viennese society:

In an intimate setting, before a select group of listeners who most likely knew each other, a performance could exact an amount of involvement not possible in the cold, impersonal atmosphere of a concert hall. The two functions – social and musical – combined to provide a type of experience peculiar to the private concert world.... All the categories of performance in the private world embody... both listening and participating. Though ... amateur performances did extend to the public realm, private soirées provided the perfect setting for the realization of this idea.⁴²

Such musical events were very common: ‘Innumerable so-called private academies (music in the great houses) are given throughout the winter. There is no name-day or

³⁹ Freidrich Nicolai, *Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz im Jahre 1781* (Berlin, 1784), iv. 556. Quoted in Hans-Gunter Ottenberg, *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach* (Leipzig, 1982), 254; Eng. Trans. Philip Whitmore (Oxford, 1987). 186.

⁴⁰ Mozart earned 1044 Gulden for a series of three concerts in 1784, and 1400 Gulden for six concerts in 1785 (Morrow, 141). A bricklayer would only take home between 75 and 135 Gulden *per year* and a lower level bureaucrat between 400-1000 (Morrow, 113-114).

⁴¹ Additionally, if a musician chose to give a concert at one of the theatres they may well have foregone the takings from the boxes - these were often rented by the nobility on a yearly basis. (Morrow, 137).

⁴² Morrow, 37-38.

birthday for which music is not given.⁴³ And as a general rule, each stratum of society attracted its own audience. However, boundaries became more flexible over time. There was also a clear difference in musical style between the public and the private events.

Critical writings and books on musical style towards the end of the [eighteenth] century seemed to recognize a fundamental difference in approach between the vigorous rhythms, thick textures, and generalized melodies of the more public style, which they referred to for convenience as a “symphony style,” and the more nuanced, delicately individualized, and expressive gestures of the private realm exemplified by the “sonata style,” a distinction that sometimes transcended genre when symphonic gestures appeared in works for the keyboard. Other oppositions can similarly be shown to be related to qualities of style between and within genres, such as difficult vs. accessible, gallant vs. learned, elevated vs. plain, serious vs. popular, and tragic vs. comic. These ideas lead to the rich field of rhetoric, which guided speakers and writers – and, in the eighteenth century, composers and artists as well – towards choosing a stylistic “level” commensurate with occasion and audience, finding “topics,” that is, subjects and arguments, and enhancing persuasive power of the whole with appropriate figures.”⁴⁴

For the professional musician, such private performing opportunities were legion and if the musician was also a good networker they could make some valuable contacts and gain influential pupils. It must have been at such gatherings that Koželuch made his name. The *Pfeffer und Salz* periodical of 5 April 1786, is misleading when it states: ‘It is no secret that Herr Leopold Koželuch competes with Mozart. His art on the pianoforte is not to be judged, for he is perhaps the only virtuoso in Vienna who never plays in public.’⁴⁵ As we have seen, in July 1792, Koželuch assumed the role of *Kammer Kapellmeister* and *Hofmusik Compositor (Maitre de Chapelle)* to Emperor Franz II. As a court musician his public appearances would have been restricted to benefit concerts⁴⁶ as a matter of social etiquette, and before that date his professional development strategy obviously dictated that the private salon was the place to make his

⁴³ Carol Padgham Albrecht. *Music in Public Life: Viennese Reports from the Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Kent State University, 2008. (ProQuest: 2009). 60-61.

⁴⁴ Elaine Sisman. ‘“The spirit of Mozart from Haydn’s hands”: Beethoven’s musical inheritance.’ In *The Cambridge Companion to Beethoven*. Glenn Stanley, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). 46.

⁴⁵ *Pfeffer und Salz*, Salzburg (Vienna) 1786. Quoted in Otto Erich Deutsch. *Mozart: A Documentary Biography*. (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1965). 270.

⁴⁶ For example Koželuch organised two benefit concerts on the 25 and 27 March 1793 with the proceeds going to the “Taubstummeninstitut,” a school for deaf and dumb children. (Morrow, 59).

way in life. Koželuch could well have been the doyen of the Viennese private musical soirée.⁴⁷ He was obviously a fine player: ‘I went one evening to a concert of the celebrated Koželuch’s, a great composer for the piano-forte, as well as a fine performer on that instrument,⁴⁸ and as his playing was generally described as “fiery” this must have been an added attraction.⁴⁹

Decline

However, all good things come to an end and the very attributes that once made Koželuch popular gradually became things of scorn: ‘Before going to bed, played over some of Haydn’s Quartetts [sic], and a lesson or two of Koželuch’s – I used to like Koželuch as a boy, & expected more in him now than I find – This is the way in every thing – the pleasure of being easily pleased seldom survives our youth.’⁵⁰ This 1818 journal entry, in the year Koželuch died, simply highlights a fading star. Times were changing:

...the polished paragraphs of Koželuch did not measure up to the frenzy required for a creature of the 19th century...Even his innovations were dismissed as chance pre-echoes of Beethoven and Schubert, although he substantially anticipated both their tragic-pathetic manner (as in the openings to [almost] all his sonatas in minor keys) and created the internationally praised *cantabile* idiom.⁵¹

He became lost in the blaze of adoration afforded to the three giants of the Classical Viennese style: Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven. As early as 1806 William Crotch was lamenting Koželuch’s fate and perhaps hinting at the dangers of ‘genius’ status:

[He has] enjoyed a very ample portion of celebrity – But Koželuch no more than he deserves[,] tho’ now he has sunk in unmerited neglect...while Mozart’s reputation is daily increasing altho’ it seems already to have attained a degree of

⁴⁷ In his *Jahrbuch*, Schönfeld devotes 63 lines to Haydn, who he describes as a “great genius” and 61 lines to Koželuch. Elaine Sisman. “Beethoven’s musical inheritance.” In *The Cambridge Companion to Beethoven*. Ed. Glenn Stanley. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). 51.

⁴⁸ Michael O’Kelly. *Reminiscences* (1826). Quoted in Clementi’s ‘*Musical Characteristics*’ *Opus 19*. Eva Badura-Skoda, *Studies in eighteenth-century music a tribute to Karl Gerlinger on his seventieth birthday*. ed. H.C. Robbins Landon in collaboration with Roger E. Chapman. (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1970). 53

⁴⁹ Hogwood, Introduction, 3. XVI.

⁵⁰ Thomas Moore. *The Journal of Thomas Moore*. Ed. Wilfred S. Dowden (Newark, 1983), vol. 1, 76. Quoted in Hogwood, *Early Music* 40. 4 (2013): 622.

⁵¹ Hogwood, Introduction. 3. VIII.

splendour beyond what in the rigid eye of sober criticism he will perhaps be ultimately found to deserve[.]⁵²

This reflects a ‘hero’ based society that often turns a blind eye to human imperfections, preferring instead to idolize, immortalize and canonize a handful of individuals at the expense of their many fine musical colleagues. Ernest Newman was already highlighting such a phenomenon in 1927 (the centenary of Beethoven’s death) with the publication of his book *‘Unconscious Beethoven: An Essay in Musical Psychology’*. ‘... a centenary is always an ubiquitous temptation to indulge in rhapsody at the expense of veracity.’⁵³

Such ‘genius’ worship began to appear towards the end of the eighteenth century, developed rapidly in the nineteenth century and continues to flourish to this day. The burgeoning of Romanticism had a contributory effect. The whole fabric of society began to change with the steady blurring of social boundaries.⁵⁴ Musicians, who were once little more than servants prior to 1800,⁵⁵ began to assume a loftier status. They wrote music on *their* terms and not to satisfy public demand:

Thus, by 1799, I would suggest, we can see the demarcation between popular and serious music being widened and underlined; what is significant is that this distinction is being debated long before the conventional turning point cited by most scholars who describe the bifurcation of serious and light music as occurring some time during the middle of the nineteenth century. The gap between *Kenner* (connoisseurs) and *Liebhaber* (dilettantes) began to widen far earlier than many historians have been willing to recognize; it is clearly visible at this stage in the public debate over Beethoven’s music.⁵⁶

Beethoven became the epitome of a freethinking, follow-your-artistic-instincts movement: ‘Beethoven’s style, as depicted by his contemporaries, emerged for the first time as something distinctive, a way of proceeding *in opposition to* other approaches

⁵² Quoted in Hogwood, *Early Music*, 623.

⁵³ Ernest Newman. *The Unconscious Beethoven: An Essay In Musical Psychology*. (London: Leonard Parsons, 1927). 9.

⁵⁴ However, it would be wrong to conclude that the Musical Salon contributed to this: ‘While some patrons may have cultivated a more democratic atmosphere, the majority of patrons and guests alike simply felt more comfortable among people of their own rank and background.’ (Morrow, 37).

⁵⁵ ‘Separate entrances were often arranged for the musicians [at private Musical Salons]’ (Morrow, 29).

⁵⁶ Tia DeNora. “The Beethoven-Wölfl piano duel.” In *Music in Eighteenth-Century Austria*. David Wyn Jones ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). 268.

and, in particular ... to a more dilettante ideology.⁵⁷ Even his earlier sonatas contained passages ‘ladies do not want to play because they are incomprehensible and too difficult’.⁵⁸ The very physicality of these works alienated the lady dilettante, and, as Beethoven’s music was increasingly representative of ‘manly’ and ‘virile’ virtues - so typical of a genius in the making - it was unseemly fare for the fairer sex.⁵⁹ Originality became the new calling card and anything derivative was frowned upon. Haydn and Mozart worked on the cusp of this new wave of artistic freedom, tailoring their work to fit into the confines of the Age of Enlightenment - a society that espoused order and reason over chaos and emotion. Beethoven’s music was the very antithesis of Enlightenment ideals: ‘[His ‘Eroica’ Symphony] was difficult, disorderly and startling, rather than accessible, orderly and pleasant; and expressive and self-consciously profound rather than rapid, light, bright and entertaining.’⁶⁰ Koželuch’s music (and that of many of the other now forgotten *Kleinmeister*) helps to make sense of this Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven transition: ‘His music provides the bridge between these famous names that is so often needed for a proper understanding of earlier music in this age that has dangerously homed in on the “great men”(a tendency first promoted by Friedrich Rochlitz in the early 19th century).’⁶¹

⁵⁷ DeNora, 260.

⁵⁸ Anreas Streicher, *Kunze Bemerkungen uber das Spielen, Simmen und Erhalten der Fortepiano, welche von Nannette Streicher geborne Stein in Wien verfertigt werden* (Vienna, 1801). Quoted in Hogwood, *Early Music*, 629.

⁵⁹ Tia DeNora. “Music into action: performing gender on the Viennese concert stage, 1790–1810.” *Poetics: Journal of Empirical Research on Literature, the Media and the Arts* 30. 2 (2002): 19-33.

⁶⁰ DeNora, *Duel*, 273.

⁶¹ Hogwood, *Early Music* 40. 4 (2013): 62.

CHAPTER TWO:
DEVELOPING A PERFORMANCE CONCEPT

Background

In recent years there has been a welcome shift from biographical musicology and its subsequent ‘Life and Works’ derivatives to a more palpable performance-based approach. Shai Burstyn explores this shift in focus:

The romantic glorification of the inspired composer, creator of musical edifices, has only gradually (and sometimes grudgingly) receded, leaving a little space on library shelves overloaded with biographies of the great composers for studies concentrating on their works. This shift accorded with New Criticism’s notion of the ‘intentional fallacy’ and its insistence on viewing texts as individual art works. Mediating the two interests, the ‘Life and Works’ variety has emerged as a substantial genre of writing about music. With the growing success of the early music movement, interest has shifted from the composer and the composition to its performance, thus engendering performance practice as a new and thriving field which has managed to bring together musicological research and actual music making. Among other achievements, performance practice studies have drawn a new picture of the relationships of composer and performer, a picture at once more complex and subtle than the simplistic division of labour previously assumed.⁶²

In his book *Understanding Mozart’s Piano Sonatas*,⁶³ John Irving continues to stretch the boundaries of performance-based studies. While his observations are directed at Mozart’s music they are equally applicable to Koželuch’s. He points to the crucial role performance practices have in the way the music speaks, and ‘most crucial of all, perhaps, the *sound* – in particular the realization that modern pianos are inadequate vehicles for capturing Mozart’s musical language and that if we seek as performers to enable an understanding of this language that imposes the barest minimum of historical anachronisms in the listener’s way then we should abandon compromise and play Mozart’s sonatas on a fortepiano.’⁶⁴ He makes a strong case for renouncing a hero-worship culture that sanctifies the text and ultimately produces the ‘Great Work’ being

⁶² Shai Burstyn. “In Quest of the Period Ear.” *Early Music* 25. 4 (1997): 693.

⁶³ John Irving. *Understanding Mozart’s Piano Sonatas*. (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010).

⁶⁴ John Irving. *Understanding Mozart’s Piano Sonatas*. 3/4.

interpreted by the ‘Great Performer’. For him ‘performance emerges not as an adjunct, but as a vital historical context for the understanding of Mozart’s sonatas.’⁶⁵

Irving manages to encapsulate the very essence of performance practice ideals - ideals that have a strong bearing on the present research. At this point it is important to include a more extensive example of his thinking:

Like analysis, performance relates to a text. We might say of their common characteristics that they each refer to an object. Analysis conceives of that object as something sufficiently fixed in nature as to allow systematic investigations of it according to chosen methodology, leading to verifiable conclusions publicly demonstrated. The usual presumption of performance is also of a text that is studied and then exhibited to public scrutiny through the agency of the performer. The nature of the object is subtly different in each case, though. A historically-informed performance of a piano sonata by Mozart will pay particular attention to the means by which its vocabulary might be spoken through a creative application of relevant performance practices recorded in contemporary treatises taken alongside the sound world and sound production of – say – a Viennese fortepiano of the 1780’s (or, more practically, a good modern copy). Necessarily, then, it will conceive of its object (the text) rather flexibly, incorporating an intellectual grasp and expression of sound as well as notation, viewing Mozart’s notation indeed as a basis for negotiation (rather than an end-point to be passively accepted). Its methods of engagement with that object are not by nature systematic, though the process still ultimately results in a public demonstration. It will accept Mozart’s notation as a challenge to be engaged with in order to achieve its completion, not as something ‘definitive’ in the sense that some interpreters have taken it to be, arguably applying a tradition of performance that grew up in the wake of a nineteenth-century construct that Lydia Goehr has so memorably characterized as the ‘Work Concept’. Works in this sense achieve the status of icons, objects of definitive generic identity, meaning, value – above all, individuality. According to Goehr, music around 1800 attained a status analogous to that of literature, the visual arts and sculpture in that one might now regard it as a finished embodiment of a musical thought. It changed from being an occupation or skill which was first and foremost a *practice*, leading to no fixed product, to being instead an art form that was ultimately objectified and thus capable of placement within a philosophical arena alongside those other arts that invoke in the beholder the attitude of reverence. That translates, in the sphere of performance, into a conception of the text representing that *Work-with-a-capital-‘W’* as being on the one hand definitive in every detail (so the performer must not alter its content at all), and on the other as something containing within it a mystery to be revealed.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Irving. *Understanding Mozart’s Piano Sonatas*. 6.

⁶⁶ Irving. 7/8

Mozart and Koželuch (for the most part) predate this Work Concept threshold. Although Koželuch continued to write after 1800, his roots were firmly in the work concept (lower case) ideals of the late eighteenth-century. Both composers worked at a time when music was a *practice*, something jobbing musicians did to earn a living. As such, their sonatas were written with a particular kind of player in mind and without any grandiose thoughts of any art work immortality.⁶⁷ This point of difference is reflected in the texts themselves. In terms of dynamic markings⁶⁸ and performance directions the keyboard sonatas of Koželuch and Mozart are relatively lean beasts. They are, as Irving quite rightly points out, a basis for negotiation rather than a passively accepted end point.⁶⁹ However, the present writer believes that this ‘basis for negotiation’ is within rather narrower parameters than Irving goes on to suggest. By the time Koželuch was composing the majority of his keyboard sonatas - from the 1780’s onward - there is quite enough in the texts to interpret in terms of taste and feeling, without adding additional offerings. In the penultimate chapter of his book, Irving grapples with the issues of ‘Embellishing Mozart’s Texts’. He argues that ‘Our practice expresses a belief that to play Mozart’s notated texts ‘straight’, as if they were anything other than provisional, is not (for us) a historically defensible or sustainable position to adopt.’⁷⁰

In this respect the historically informed performance movement has reinvented itself. The one-time call for fidelity to the text has given way to the new epiphany of John Irving, Geoffrey Lancaster, Robert Levin⁷¹ et al who espouse florid outpourings

⁶⁷ Quite unlike Beethoven, who embraced and was largely responsible for, the Work Concept.

⁶⁸ But not in matters of articulation: Malcolm Bilson points out that Mozart may have left out dynamic markings but he never failed to add articulation slurs. Malcolm Bilson. “Keyboards.” In *Performance Practice: Music after 1600*. Howard Mayer Brown and Stanley Sadie ed. (London: Macmillan, 1989). 223-38.

⁶⁹ One striking exception to this notational deficiency is Mozart’s A minor Rondo K 511 which may well represent a special case. ‘Works such as these [Mozart Rondo in A Minor, K 511] raise the interesting idea that certain composers of the late eighteenth century might well have been artfully “composing against the grain” relative to the theoretical norms, expecting the skillful performer to realize such effects implicit in the notation.’ Nancy November, review of *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice, 1750-1900*, by Clive Brown; *The Historical Performance of Music: An Introduction*, by Colin Lawson; Robin Stowell. *Notes, Second Series* 57. 3 (Mar., 2001): 590.

⁷⁰ Irving. *Understanding Mozart’s Piano Sonatas*. 117.

⁷¹ Robert D. Levin. “Improvised embellishments in Mozart’s keyboard music.” *Early Music* 20. 2 (1992): 221-233.

sometimes verging on the Chopinesque.⁷² One wonders if such embellishments – often very beautifully executed and conceived – are representative of the average dilettante fortepianist living and performing in Vienna towards the end of the eighteenth-century? Do they reflect the capabilities of these performers or even the aspirations of Koželuch and Mozart who had such executants in mind? Perhaps not. Koželuch was certainly writing for the dilettante: ‘for the lady dilettantes it is Koželuch who counts the most on the pianoforte.’⁷³ He was aware of their possible shortcomings and keen to provide music that was self-sufficient and eminently successful without added graces or embellishments. One can – as Irving has done – always find an appropriate quotation from C. P. E. Bach,⁷⁴ Türk⁷⁵ or Quantz⁷⁶ (to name but a few) to reinforce the embellishment and ornament arguments, but at the same time the number of treatises warning against the overuse of such ‘graces’ is legion. C. P. E. Bach himself cautioned that they are like spices flavouring a delicate meal:⁷⁷ place a ladle full of chilli in your beef bourguignon and you may as well eat the carpet. Milchmeyer wrote along similar lines:

This much is certain, that if I want to beautify the melody of a piece by means of decorations and fillings of my own, then I must be giving myself credit for more taste than the composer who created it. Now, if the music I play is truly bad, then I am to be reproached for learning it at all; but if it is good, then the composer has written everything that was necessary, and I spoil the piece with my decorations, like a nourishing sauce that is ruined by needless spices. In a word, neither masters, nor amateurs, nor beginners should play any music other than the music of great masters, and then they must not alter it on their own in the least. Whoever has sufficient skill to perform such music just as it is written

⁷² Andreas Staier even treats us to a Volvodos inspired ‘alla turka’. Mozart Piano Sonatas (Harmonia Mundi).

⁷³ *Journal des Luxus und der Modern* (1788), 230. Quoted in Komlós, 110.

⁷⁴ Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach. *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*. Trans. William J Mitchell. (New York: Norton, 1949). 79.

⁷⁵ Daniel Gottlob Türk. *Klavierschule, oder Anweisung zum Klavierspielen für Lehrer und Lernende, mit kritischen Anmerkungen*. (Leipzig & Halle: Schwickert; Hemmerde und Schwetschte, 1789). Trans. Raymond Haggh as *School of Clavier Playing, or, Instructions in Playing the Clavier for Teachers & Students*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982).

⁷⁶ Johann Joachim Quantz., *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flote tranversiere zu spielen*. (Berlin: Johann Friedrich Voß, 1752). Trans. Edward R. Reilly as *On Playing the Flute*. (London: Faber, 1985).

⁷⁷ C. P. E. Bach, 81.

has done all that can be demanded of him. Only in music of his own composition is the performer allowed to do anything he likes.”⁷⁸

Unquestionably, the majority of keyboard music written at the end of the eighteenth-century was written for amateurs. It was written primarily for the daughters of wealthy businessmen, officials, aristocracy, royalty and their associated courts. It was not written for a select breed of performers.⁷⁹ Furthermore, the average eighteenth-century young lady was not taught the harmonic and compositional skills that would make a Levin or a Lancaster realization feasible. Such rigours would be unseemly, befuddling the young ladies’ delicate minds and sully their elegant demeanors.⁸⁰ As for the composer-performers themselves, their livelihood depended on being able to produce for publication and for their students use, keyboard compositions that lay neatly under the hands, that were instantly appealing, and which primarily showed the young lady off to her best advantage.⁸¹

[Mozart] lived in an age when composers still felt that if the performers looked good, then the composer looked good.⁸²

Compositions that were too technically challenging and musically ‘difficult’ would not be well received. Moreover, the students of such composer-performers would switch allegiance if their staple fare were unflattering. Perhaps Koželuch’s success as a composer and teacher was founded on his ability to write perfect examples of the

⁷⁸ Robert Rhein. *Johann Peter Milchmeyer’s Die wahre Art das Pianoforte zu spielen: An Annotated Translation*. DMA. Dissertation, University of Nebraska, 1993. (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1993). 23.

⁷⁹ Granted, there were always the exceptions: Mozart’s pupil Barbara von Ployer and Koželuch’s blind pupil Maria Theresia Paradis were certainly nearest to our present day idea of a concert pianist. But these, and the handful of others like them, were definitely rare. See Hermann Ullrich. “Maria Theresia Paradis and Mozart.” *Music & Letters* 27. 4 (1964): 224-233.

⁸⁰ For some delightful descriptions, see Elizabeth Natalie Morgan. *The Virtuous Virtuosa: Women at the Pianoforte in England, 1780-1820*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, 2009. (Ann Arbor: University Microforms, 2009).

⁸¹ ‘... musical talent was considered a definite social asset. Girls especially were encouraged to learn to sing or play the keyboard, since a modicum of success in those areas might help to attract a suitable husband.’ Mary Sue Morrow. *Concert Life in Vienna: 1780-1810*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Indiana University, 1984. (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 2010). 3.

⁸² Levin, Robert. “Speaking Mozart’s Lingo.” In *Inside Early Music: Conversations with Performers*. Bernard D. Sherman. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997). 318.

eighteenth-century keyboard sonata. With the benefit of hindsight, modern scholars are certainly coming to this conclusion:

Koželuch's sonatas might indeed be called models of Classic perfection in form, line and fluency ... No skill is lacking, not even that of true 'development,' which proves to be little more than repetition and transposition in so many of the sonatas of the minor composers. In fact, Koželuch's writing might be called the ideal of the high-Classic style.⁸³

The solo sonatas and keyboard trios of Koželuch (he wrote the greatest number of trios in the Classical period) show thematic invention, sense of form, and an ability to organize the musical material through the use of counterpoint. His keyboard idiom lies naturally for the hands; the passage-work is brilliant but not vapid. The best works of Koželuch should be in the classical piano repertory today.⁸⁴

The evidence was clear in Koželuch's own lifetime. He was an important figure all over Europe. In 1796 Johann Ferdinand von Schönfeld declared in the *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag* that Koželuch had become 'the most celebrated [composer] in all of musical Europe during the past ten years or so'.⁸⁵ Not only were his compositions published in Vienna (by his own publishing company and others) but also in Paris, Amsterdam and London. By providing what the market demanded and with consummate social skills, Koželuch became the premier teacher in the imperial city. It seems clear that Koželuch's success was based upon producing works that would satisfy an essentially 'dilettante' market. But as with Haydn and Mozart's works, these are not lightweight sonatas, but beautiful examples of the form that exemplified good taste while avoiding unnecessary difficulties.

In some ways John Irving is at odds with himself. On the one hand he espouses a freer approach to the score, but on the other he immediately takes away such liberties by demanding embellishments that may well be beyond all but the best capabilities. On the

⁸³ William S. Newman. *The Sonata in the Classic Era*. 3rd edition (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1983). 557.

⁸⁴ Katalin Komlós. *Fortepianos and their Music : Germany, Austria, and England, 1760–1800*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995). 60.

⁸⁵ Johann Ferdinand Ritter von Schönfeld. *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag (Wien, 1796)*. 33. Trans. Katherine Talbot as "A Yearbook of the Music of Vienna and Prague, 1796." In *Haydn and His World*. 289-320. Ed. Elaine Sisman. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997).

one hand he identifies the Great Work Concept as a post 1800 phenomenon and yet by continuing to discuss Mozart's sonatas in reverential tones elevates them into a Work Concept that is alien to their genesis.

So, how should one approach these works as a recording artist? Should they be performed like masterworks in the making, with all the attendant reverence that goes with this, or should a more practical approach be taken, one that recreates the works as if they were simply yet another piece of new music to be enjoyed? Such issues as extemporized embellishments and added graces are just the tip of the iceberg, and indicative of an increasingly complicated and confusing approach to music of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century.

Complicating issues

This obfuscation has come about for a number of reasons. Firstly, in an attempt to purge the music of the perceived excesses of the nineteenth-century, the founding fathers of the 'authentic' movement searched far and wide for original sources that contained every marking the composers wrote themselves. The editions of Mozart sonatas that contained nineteenth-century long legato slurs and obliterated Mozart's detailed articulation were rejected; this was not authentic Mozart, this was re-composition.⁸⁶ Michael Davidson in his book 'Mozart and the Pianist' summarizes the issue well:

From Mozart's death until the more recent Urtext editions (the first Mozart edition terming itself an *Urtext* appeared in 1895) there was a gradual transformation of precise indications that misled generations of interpreters. Short articulation slurs, very precisely indicated by the composer, were melted down into longer phrasing slurs, robbing the music of much enlivening detail. *Appoggiature* and chordal notation were frequently and not always logically changed. Pedaling more suitable to Chopin was added. Worst of all, peculiar dynamic indications and bizarre tempo indications were added to "clarify" the text.⁸⁷

Complication No. 1: We cannot trust our scores so we must go out and buy the most *urtext* of *urtext* edition and make sure it has not been tampered with by the editor-

⁸⁶ See George Barth. "Mozart performance in the 19th century." *Early Music* 19. 4 (1991): 538-556.

⁸⁷ Michael Davidson. *Mozart and the Pianist*. (2nd. Ed. London: Kahn & Averill, 2001). 14.

compiler. We must also make sure that the correct sources were consulted on the way; not always an easy task, as Richard Taruskin has noted:

The tacit aim of most editorial guidelines is to build a fence around a text that will exclude the editor's person. My experience is that the only way of achieving this is indiscriminately to photograph and publish all the sources. Otherwise, even the best-intentioned, most puritanical editor will find himself willy-nilly inside the fence, not out. For editing is interpretation. Period.⁸⁸

Complication No. 2: Now that we have a scrupulous, pristine, state-of-the art, totally un-fiddled-with 'Urtext' edition, we have to learn how to use it. We cannot play ornaments carelessly; they have precise realizations according to placement and context. We must know how to interpret the articulation marks, understanding, for example, that the notes under a slur (be it 2, 3 or 4) are played with a slight push on the first and a diminuendo towards the last. We need to learn about tempo rubato, finger pedalling, colouristic pedalling (*vis-à-vis* the fortepiano), agogic accents and countless other related issues. In short, we must reserve a copy of Bach's *Versuch*,⁸⁹ Türk's *Klavierschule*,⁹⁰ Clementi's *Introduction to the Art of Playing on the Forte Piano*,⁹¹ or at the very least obtain a book that does the research for us, perhaps Rosenblum's *Performance Practices in Classic Piano Music: Their Principles and Applications*?⁹²

Complication No. 3: We must only use instruments the composer-performers used themselves (originals or replicas). If we are really going to be faithful to the score and the composer's intentions we need to be playing the correct instrument. In terms of size, tone quality and action weight, the modern piano would be alien to Koželuch, so it cannot possibly make any sense of his music. No, out goes the beautifully even toned

⁸⁸ Taruskin, Richard. "Down with the Fence." In *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995). 84.

⁸⁹ Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach. *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen*. (2 vols.; Berlin, 1773, 1762); Eng. Trans. William J Mitchell as *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*. (New York: Norton, 1949).

⁹⁰ Daniel Gottlob Türk. *Klavierschule, oder Anweisung zum Klavierspielen für Lehrer und Lernende, mit kritischen Anmerkungen*. (Leipzig & Halle: Schwickert; Hemmerde und Schwetschte, 1789). Trans. Raymond Hagg as *School of Clavier Playing, or, Instructions in Playing the Clavier for Teachers & Students*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982).

⁹¹ Muzio Clementi. *Introduction to the Art of Playing on the Piano Forte*. (London, 1801).

⁹² Sandra Rosenblum. *Performance Practices in Classic Piano Music: Their Principles and Applications*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988).

and deliciously woolly Steinway, complete with all its power and drama and in comes a Walter fortepiano (original or copy depending on one's finances) with a five, or maybe five and a half octave compass, incisive attack (due to little leather covered hammers) and a rich and varied tonal palette throughout its compass; an ideal instrument for Viennese keyboard music c. 1780 - 1800.

This three-point checklist may sound a trifle fanciful, but the third element in particular is indicative of the type of sentiments that continue to divide the modern and period instrument performance movements. Sadly, many well-intentioned efforts to champion the fortepiano and point out the differences between it and the modern piano have become counterproductive. It is unreasonable to suggest that it is impossible to play a two-note slur on a modern piano. It is possible. We are all familiar with the arguments: On the modern piano the tone *develops* after the note is struck. On the fortepiano the tone *decays*. Sighing, two-note appoggiaturas are thus easier to achieve on the latter instrument. While this makes perfect sense – although its validity is questionable when the appoggiaturas are dispatched very quickly - it is still possible to give the ‘effect’ of a two-note sigh on the modern piano, whatever the scientific reasons.⁹³ It is also possible to make the modern piano sparkle and to interpret a whole host of articulations that are an integral part of this musical language. Such views alienate the modern pianist and effectively deny them access to a large portion of their repertoire. Paradoxically, by proposing that it is impossible to play eighteenth-century music stylistically on the modern piano for x, y or z reasons, this encourages a lacklustre approach to the score, something many historically informed scholar-performers are trying to avoid.⁹⁴

While the “turf wars”⁹⁵ have largely subsided, an ingrained distrust remains on both sides. Unfortunately, such rigid historically informed performance views outlined above

⁹³ In the course of the documentary programme ‘In Search of Beethoven’ the ‘modern’ pianist Paul Lewis was interviewed. He explained some aspects of his approach to a Beethoven score. Interestingly, high on his agenda were the detailed articulation marks and an examination of how they effect his performance. He played one version without observing the markings and another heeding every detail. The performance *with* the slurrings was easily discernable and made perfect sense.

⁹⁴ See Malcolm Bilson and David Owen Norris. *Knowing The Score*. Video Disc, Cornell University, 2005.

⁹⁵ See Bernard D Sherman. “Introduction: An Atmosphere of Controversy.” In *Inside Early Music: Conversations with Performers*. Ed. Sherman, Bernard D. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. 4.

are simply adumbrated by the views of the many staunch supporters of mainstream instruments. With equal force, our champions of the Steinway will assert that piano playing is an intuitive thing and based on a ‘living tradition.’⁹⁶ Even more worrisome are those who claim that the fortepiano is nothing more than a prototype Steinway.

It is easy to see why such entrenched views persist. Often one gets so involved in the minutiae necessary at the preparation stages of a performance that the larger lines become blurred. We worry about getting it ‘right’, about doing justice to the composer’s intentions, about being historically informed. However valuable these considerations may be, they are not an end in themselves, but a means to an end. If the historically informed debate has taught us anything, it has taught us that playing the music ‘historically’ is just another way of trying to bring the music alive:

The object is not to duplicate the sounds of the past, for if that were our aim we would never know whether we had succeeded. What we are aiming at, rather, is the startling shock of newness, of immediacy, the sense of rightness that occurs when after countless frustrating experiments we feel as though we have achieved the identification of performance style with the demands of the music.⁹⁷

Anner Bylsma explains this ‘eureka’ moment admirably:

I’d like to say something about being authentic. ‘Authentic’ means ‘just as alive as it ever was.’ Being authentic is, most of all, Aladdin rubbing his lamp: we rehearse some music, and all of a sudden we have the feeling, ‘Hey! *This is right*. This is the way it must go.’ And I guarantee you that in a year’s time, when we hear the tape of that, we will agree that it’s not at all how it should go. But it’s a very wonderful feeling – ‘*This is how it should go!*’ – and *that’s* authenticity. And I think it’s worthwhile. But it has nothing to do with being historically correct. Maybe the motive behind what we do today *has* something

⁹⁶ The present author was a piano pupil of Guy Jonson at the RAM, who was a pupil of Alfred Cortot, who was a pupil of Emile Descombes (who is thought to have been one of Chopin’s last pupils). Although such lineage is delightful, in reality, being a pupil of a pupil of a pupil of Chopin has little relevance to one’s ability to interpret Chopin effectively and certainly none at all in the realms of Mozart or Koželuch. The distances in time are too great and the resultant playing styles in between so diverse. Malcolm Bilson makes a similar point. See “Jouez le Fortepiano!: An Interview with Malcolm Bilson” Andrew Willis. *Early Music America* 12. 3 (2006): 28-32.

⁹⁷ Taruskin, Richard. “The Limits of Authenticity: A Contribution.” In *Text and Act Essays on Music and Performance*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995). 79.

to do with history – ‘This is how it must have been.’ But one’s view of history changes with the times.⁹⁸

As ever, it is a matter of balance: Do not let the details stifle the overall picture but equally avoid letting one’s imagination run riot.

We need values of our own and the courage to live up to them, whatever music we perform. And we won’t get them by intuition, either, at least at the outset. For our intuitions are not the fine, free, feral things we may think they are. They are thoroughly domesticated beasts, trained to run along narrow paths by long years of unconscious conditioning, endowed with vast reserves of cliché, naïve posture, and nonsense. If you are a trained musician, what you will find if you scratch your intuition will be the unexamined mainstream, your most ingrained responses, treacherously masquerading as imagination.⁹⁹

Of course, an historically informed performance makes perfect sense and resonates with the texts. Tighter rhythms, identifiable articulation and vivid ornamentation are invariably some of the elements that energize eighteenth-century keyboard music. Using instruments (or reproductions) of Koželuch’s time also adds that extra tonal dimension and, to quote Taruskin again, ‘The unfamiliarity of the [“old”] instruments forces mind, hand, and ear out of their familiar routines and into more direct confrontation with the music.’¹⁰⁰ By using period instruments (or copies) the music’s finer details come into relief.

It almost looks as if any period’s idea of Bach, Beethoven, or Mozart told us more about the period than about the composer. If we now imagine that we appreciate Mozart’s [Koželuch’s] greatness more completely and deeply than our grandfathers did, there is only one thing that may entitle us to do so: the ever more prevalent conviction that we must respect composers’ intentions, and that it is impossible to study too fully the text of their music and the customs of their time. In other words, we must do everything possible to ensure that our playing is faithful to the work and to its style.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Bylsma, Anner. “Aladdin’s Lamp.” In *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995). 221.

⁹⁹ Taruskin, 78.

¹⁰⁰ Taruskin, 78.

¹⁰¹ Eva and Paul Badura-Skoda. *Interpreting Mozart: The Performance of His Piano Pieces and Other Compositions*. (2nd ed. New York and London: Routledge, 2010). 3.

Sources of inspiration

In a project as large as this one, a detailed account of the preparation processes and the many sources consulted would create a commentary well beyond the scope of this exegesis. Instead certain areas have been highlighted. There is a vast amount of secondary literature available relating to late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century keyboard music. It is primarily focused on the music of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven - although increasingly the net is spreading wider to encompass other important *Kleinmeister* and the many representatives of the London Pianoforte School.¹⁰² Although the very idea of a 'London Piano School' has recently been questioned.¹⁰³ This literature provides a rich source of information for the Koželuch scholar since the stylistic implications inherent in the music of Haydn and Mozart in particular, have a strong bearing on Koželuch's. However, for this study it has been important to consult as many primary sources as possible. For a long time the keyboard tutors of C. P. E. Bach,¹⁰⁴ Türk¹⁰⁵ and Clementi¹⁰⁶ have been considered the standard reference works for this period.¹⁰⁷ They have been quoted extensively for well over fifty years,¹⁰⁸ and have shaped the way much eighteenth-century keyboard music is played today. While these eminent works demand attention, something a little more tailor-made for Koželuch seemed appropriate.

¹⁰² See Alexander Ringer. "Beethoven and the London Pianoforte School." *Music Quarterly* 56. 4 (1970): 742-758. Also Nicholas Temperly. "The London Pianoforte School." *Musical Times* 126 1703 (1985): 25-27.

¹⁰³ Bart van Oort. "Haydn and the English Classical Piano Style." *Early Music* 28. 1 (2000): 74

¹⁰⁴ *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen.*

¹⁰⁵ *Klavierschule, oder Anweisung zum Klavierspielen für Lehrer und Lernende.*

¹⁰⁶ *Introduction to the Art of Playing on the Piano Forte.*

¹⁰⁷ And the related works for other instruments such as those by Quantz and L. Mozart.

¹⁰⁸ See Fritz Rothschild. *Musical Performance in the times of Mozart & Beethoven.* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1961).

Writers of eighteenth-century keyboard tutors can be arranged into a couple of different camps.¹⁰⁹ There are those who explain every performance detail exhaustively, making few concessions to the dilettante, and there are those who take a more empirical approach, eschewing complicated descriptions in favour of clarity and common sense. The latter have proved to be the preferred sources of reference. When descriptions of rhythmic displacement become so complicated that they actually stifle the music's flow, alarm bells start to ring. C. P. E. Bach, for example, was so concerned with covering every imaginable option he felt it necessary to catalogue them accordingly, writing out the rhythmic subtleties in the best way he could, using musical notation - something which is an essentially flawed vehicle for musical expression.¹¹⁰

Although musical notation is becoming constantly subtler, our way of notating acoustic processes with optical symbols must remain an imprecise transcription. The sequence of tension and relaxation and the wide scale of sensory values can never be exactly pinned down by graphic means. Printed music replaces a continuum by points, and only the intuition and skill of the interpreter can link these up and bring them to life.¹¹¹

C. P. E. Bach was such a fine musician he was clearly aware of this. In the *Versuch* his Chapter on Performance states over and over again that we must be at pains 'to play from the soul, not like a trained bird!'¹¹² And that every ornament and inflection depends on the 'affect' of a piece and that the artist is one who plays with 'taste and feeling'. C. P. E. Bach's tutor is designed to be prescriptive rather than descriptive. It is directed at teaching colleagues rather than dilettantes and often with a nod and a wink that says 'this is the way you *should* be teaching your pupils.'

I divide all keyboard performers into two groups. In the first are those for whom music is a goal, and in the second, all amateurs who seek through instruction. My Essay is intended for the first group; no paragraph is superfluous. In fact it will be seen from the supplements soon to appear that far from having said too much, I have not yet said enough. Teachers must know everything that appears

¹⁰⁹ For a comprehensive survey see Marvin John Bostrom. *Keyboard Instruction Books of the Eighteenth Century*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1960. (Ann Arbor: UMI Publishing, 1961).

¹¹⁰ The early computer programmes that translated what one played directly into musical notation often did this so literally that what came out was effectively musical gobbledygook.

¹¹¹ Eva and Paul Badura-Skoda. *Interpreting Mozart*, 3.

¹¹² *Versuch*, (Haggh trans.), 150.

in my Essay and be clever enough to select the manner and order of instruction best adapted to the students that they teach.¹¹³

He uses rules as building blocks, safe in the knowledge that many of the trickier details will be transferred from teacher to pupil by practical example.¹¹⁴ Likewise, Türk's mammoth *Klavierschule* is not for the faint hearted, containing as it does over 600 pages¹¹⁵ of text and musical examples. The purpose here is not to deride such preeminent eighteenth-century scholarship, but to point out that such treatises were directed primarily at professional musicians rather than dilettantes. As in every generation, there was clearly a well-defined pecking order in the ranks of piano teachers and undoubtedly attendant snobbery and jealousy to boot. C. P. E. Bach certainly considered himself a leader in the field and with very good reason.¹¹⁶ We should always remember that C. P. E. Bach's Chapter on Performance makes it clear that artistry occurs over and above the details he tries to elucidate. Artur Schnabel expressed this idea succinctly: 'The notes I handle no better than many other pianists. But the pauses between the notes – ah, that is where the art resides.'¹¹⁷

At the other end of the scale we have Johann Peter Milchmeyer, producing what is thought to be the first treatise specifically dedicated to the pianoforte.¹¹⁸ It contains the kind of practical advice for the keyboard performer that Michel de Saint Lambert was extolling as early as 1702:

¹¹³ Open letter from C. P. E. Bach. *Hamburg unpartheiischer Correspondent*, 1773, No. 7. Quoted in Hagg translation of the *Versuch*. 8.

¹¹⁴ Perhaps the skeletal nature of scores was at first an advantage, freeing the prospective performers from the confines of prescription, safe in the knowledge that a localized environment propagated the correct performing traditions. This of course gradually changed as music was disseminated widely. A composition written in Berlin or Hamburg was by the end of the eighteenth-century being performed in London, Paris, Amsterdam, and even as far away as the New World. With such geographic distance and resultant cultural diversity, localized traditions were inoperative and the score, as a means of communicating musical ideas, needed to become more informative.

¹¹⁵ This number is in the Raymond Hagg translation; there are 408 pages in the 1789 edition.

¹¹⁶ Mozart said: "He is the father, we are the children." Reported by Rochlitz. Beethoven prescribed the *Versuch* for the young Carl Czerny.

¹¹⁷ Quoted in Chicago Daily News, 1958. *The Wordsworth Dictionary of Musical Quotations*. Compiled by Derek Watson. (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions Ltd, 1994). 12.

¹¹⁸ At least written in German. See Willi Kahl. "Frühe Lehrwerke für das Hammerklavier." *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*. 9. 3-4 (1952): 231-45. Dussek's *Instructions on the Art of Playing the Piano Forte or Harpsichord* appeared in 1796 and his (along with Pleyel) *Nouvelle Méthode de Pianoforte* appeared in 1797.

Although it is not easy to set down in writing what one wants to teach in music because the things concerning execution almost have to be taught orally or to be shown with the hand, the books dealing with it ought nevertheless to be so digestible that the theory might be learned easily, and an author who might have neglected this point would be hard to excuse.¹¹⁹

Published in 1797¹²⁰ under the title of *Die wahre Art das Pianoforte zu spielen* this hitherto neglected document has recently garnered a lot of attention from scholars. Frederick Neumann¹²¹ and Sandra Rosenblum¹²² hold great store by its practical advice. Robert Rhein – who translated the work into English¹²³ - points out that this is probably a treatise that explained ‘how’ the piano had been played for at least a decade before its publication and how it was being played at the end of the eighteenth-century - definitely a *descriptive* tutor rather than a *prescriptive* one. It is hard to say if it was representative of Viennese piano teaching,¹²⁴ but this Dresden based musician certainly had the grass roots dilettante students in mind. By far the biggest chapter is on fingering, explaining over the course of 50 pages the most important aspects of hand position and finger control. Ornaments are ascribed a paltry 19 pages, but in the course of these 19 pages Milchmeyer manages to cover practically every ornament that appears on a regular basis in Koželuch’s music. Many musical examples are given, placing the ornaments in all manner of contexts along with their realization. Musical expression is likewise covered succinctly in an illuminating 30 page discourse that is once again, eminently practical. A tutor like Milchmeyer’s demystifies our over-complicated approach to eighteenth-century keyboard music. Although Milchmeyer’s tutor was not followed slavishly, it was an important source of reference and inspiration in this research.

¹¹⁹ Michel de Saint Lambert. *Principes du clavecin*. (Paris: C. Ballard, 1702). 3. In Bostrom, Inst. Books. 8.

¹²⁰ Parish was mistaken, stating 1787. Carl Parish. “Criticisms of the Piano When It Was New.” *Musical Quarterly* 30. 4 (1944): 440.

¹²¹ Frederick Neumann. *Ornamentation and Improvisation in Mozart*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

¹²² Rosenblum, *Performance Practices in Classic Piano Music*.

¹²³ Robert Rhein. *Johann Peter Milchmeyer’s Die wahre Art das Pianoforte zu spielen: An Annotated Translation*. DMA. Dissertation, University of Nebraska, 1993. (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1993).

¹²⁴ Although Milchmeyer does point out that he has felt it necessary to adjust fingerings to suit German women and mentions the Viennese in particular. Rhein, 82.

As it is hoped these performances really are *performances*, the ultimate aim has been to conceal their evolutionary genesis, producing something spontaneous and full of life rather than academically bloodless and dry.¹²⁵ Regardless of the number of sources one consults or the number of ‘articulation friendly’ fingerings one inserts into the score, a performance must exhibit spontaneity. In this rewarding Koželuch journey many questions have arisen. Should one be using the damper raising device at a certain point? Should a certain fingering be chosen to produce the desired articulation? Were the ornaments realized in the most appropriate manner? In the end, such important questions had so many possible answers that instinct became the decider or, if not instinct, then informed thought - and if not informed thought, then intuition. What *feels* right is right. One cannot give a convincing performance without being convinced. As C. P. E. Bach so aptly commented:

A musician cannot move others unless he too is moved. He must of necessity feel all the affects that he hopes to arouse in his audience, for the revealing of his own humor will stimulate a like humor in the listener'.¹²⁶

Recording

One final comment must be made concerning the nature of recording itself. *Recorded* performances of late eighteenth, early nineteenth-century music are by their very nature, unauthentic - if authentic is taken to mean an activity that the composers, performers and audiences of the time participated in. They are also contrary to the spirit of improvised embellishment because they make permanent that which is designed to be capricious. Even Robert Levin, one of today's leading exponents and champions of the improvised embellishment, has questioned its validity in a recorded format. Asked how he translated improvisation into the recording studio:

It's very difficult, because there has to be a primary version set down. Even in the main body of the concerto, away from the cadenzas, there are many passages that Mozart assumed would be embellished. And the beauty of those

¹²⁵ To use Stravinsky's well worn phrase. Igor Stravinsky. *The Poetics of Music*. Trans. by Arthur Knodel and Ingolf Dahl. (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1947). 80.

¹²⁶ C. P. E. Bach, 152.

embellishments lies in their spontaneity, perishability, and uniqueness. But when you listen to that record fifteen times you may grow to like those embellishments, and you may not like some other ones, even by the same performer, and even though those new embellishments might be, from the performer's (or anyone else's) point of view, better than the ones on the record. So there is something about recording which is antithetical to the freedom of improvisation.¹²⁷

Recordings also provide a permanent record of something that was originally designed to be of only fleeting interest:

With the exception of some sacred music, the Viennese didn't take much interest in anything more than two weeks old. They did not want to hear the piano concerto that Mozart had written three weeks or (heaven forbid [sic]) a year ago; they wanted to hear something that was brand new.... With this appetite for something current comes a zest for it, and an audience that is seeking not to enjoy time-sanctioned masterpieces but to be challenged, to be stimulated, to be astounded, to be confounded, to be overwhelmed with grief or ardor.¹²⁸

The recordings presented as part of this submission are definitely not of 'time-sanctioned masterpieces'. They are 'brand new,' in the sense that few people in this day and age have heard them before; if they can challenge, stimulate, astound, confound and overwhelm with grief or a rdour, much will have been achieved.

Summary

In the course of this chapter we have toyed with a number of different issues and pitted an historically informed perspective against a more mainstream, intuitive approach to performance. The reality is they should be one and the same thing. No self-respecting modern pianist would use anything other than the latest *Urtext* edition, nor would they approach a performance without being thoroughly aware of stylistic issues. In short, both schools (historical and modern) are working towards the same goal: faithfulness to the composer's intentions. An intuitive performance should be the synthesis of intellect and feeling. The intellect choses, sorts and analyses, the subconscious mind then works its magic, adding emotions, feelings, life experiences and whatever else to produce an

¹²⁷ Levin, Robert. "Speaking Mozart's Lingo." In *Inside Early Music: Conversations with Performers*. Sherman, Bernard D. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997). 330.

¹²⁸ Levin, "Speaking Mozart's Lingo." 317.

intuitive performance. This is the way the present author approaches every performance. One reads and assimilates as much information as possible and then incorporates such findings during practice sessions. Experimenting with ornaments, dynamic markings, tempi and articulation. However, *at the point of performance* these issues have no conscious bearing. If the preparation work has been thorough enough the details will speak for themselves and the interpretation will unfold naturally. As a performer, one will then be able to concentrate on the bigger picture and hopefully see the wood for the trees.

An excessively intellectual approach blocks the paths to the unconscious, to the earth, where all musical performance has its roots. For when all is said and done, art can only be grasped intuitively. No amount of historical research alone can make a performance truly stylish; the work must sound as if it had never been played before. Historical discoveries resulting in new perceptions can often increase the liveliness of a performance ... The intellect must support intuition and often guide it too; it organizes, divides, analyses. But these particles, separated by the intellect, can only be molded into a living entity through a long experience of feeling and intuition.¹²⁹

¹²⁹ Eva and Paul Badura-Skoda. *Interpreting Mozart: The Performance of His Piano Pieces and Other Compositions*. (2nd ed. New York and London: Routledge, 2010). 4.

CHAPTER THREE:
TEN COMMENTARIES

Music

As we have seen Koželuch's keyboard sonatas represented the personification of a late eighteenth-century music aesthetic. Not only were they technically accessible (for the most part) but they also displayed all the characteristics that made them intelligible to contemporary audiences. W. Dean Sutcliffe has pointed out that music of this period worked within recognizable parameters, it satisfied particular requirements and its principal aim was as a vehicle for sociability.¹³⁰ Music of the late eighteenth-century espoused 'a sense of propriety that abhorred speaking in excessively serious terms.'¹³¹ It was not the language of the self-centered individual overwhelmed by some personal tragedy which they felt compelled to share (a typically nineteenth-century view of Mozart¹³²), but of the group, and although it may now appear slightly aloof and genteel or even possibly inexpressive, this language tends to transcend boundaries.

We should ... bear in mind that what might now be seen as the relative "inexpressivity" of this repertory could in fact be the key to the social consciousness of the music, the felt need to appeal to as wide a range of listeners as possible, to engage with all sorts of interests and temperaments. This inexpressivity and polish is in fact partly a function of syntax: the emphasis on generally brief and intelligible musical units, the sense of the phrase as a clearly marked event. Indeed, it is surely this very articulated syntax that promotes the variety of style or topic that is so striking in this music. Such features—the variety of musical topic, the clearly articulated phrase units—are listener-friendly. It is as if this music is conscious of being listened to ... We can relate these issues to the "rise of instrumental music" in the eighteenth century.¹³³

¹³⁰ W. Dean Sutcliffe. "Before the Joke: Texture and Sociability in the Largo of Haydn's Op. 33, No. 2." *Journal of Musicological Research* 92, 118 (2009): 92-118.

¹³¹ William Weber. "Did People Listen in the 18th Century?" *Early Music* 25. 4 (1997): 683.

¹³² Wye J. Allenbrook talks about "the Gloomy Mozart" and the Romantic predilection for unearthing the dark and troubled side of his, and other composers' characters. Wye J. Allenbrook. "Mozart's Tunes and the Comedy of Closure." In *On Mozart*. Ed. James M. Morris (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, in association with the Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1994). 170

¹³³ Sutcliffe. "Before the Joke". 97/98.

The audiences of the time recognized the topics inherent in the music. Leonard G. Ratner has written an illuminating discourse on the subject.¹³⁴ He tells us that music is often absorbed by the language and theatrical arts to intensify their effects. In turn music often does its own absorbing, incorporating the suggestion or implication of an image, word or gesture to give colour and enrich musical syntax. This adumbration of the related arts furnished Classic composers with a wide range of referential materials.

These materials formed part of a musical language understood by composers, performers and listeners, and constituted a vast thesaurus of “words” and “phrases” from which anyone could draw.¹³⁵

The vast majority of these referential materials were codified in the theatre since it represented the chief melting pot for word, gesture and music. Since domestic music making craved such consummate expression, the fortepiano became its domestic instrumental surrogate, aping the theatre’s vocal and instrumental resources as best it could. When the fortepiano’s tone quality could not match the richness and sustaining powers of voices or orchestral instruments, such instrumental music resorted to characterization: a cartoon sketch of the real thing that highlighted ‘topics’ throughout the musical discourse.

For Ratner this wealth of topics could include ‘orchestral unison’, ‘brilliant style’, ‘singing style’, ‘march’, ‘fanfare’ and so forth. The composer’s skill consisted in marrying often fleeting glimpses of multifarious topics (sometimes 20 in a sonata exposition) into a cohesive musical argument.

The relevance of the topical component in Classic musical rhetoric has several aspects. For the composer, it is part of the stock-in-trade, material to be identified and selected. For the listener and the scholar, topical content presents a kind of informal iconography – figures that have direct or symbolic meaning. For the performer, the recognition and projection of topical content is of the greatest importance. An awareness of referential implications can have a profound influence upon decisions for performance. Figures and motives would be sharply profiled and subtly nuanced. They would be set against each other in relief by the performer’s control of dynamics, tempo, articulation and emphasis

¹³⁴ Leonard G. Ratner. “Topical content in Mozart’s keyboard sonatas.” *Early Music* 19. 4 (1991): 615-619.

¹³⁵ Ratner, 615.

to mark critical notes and figures for special attention. The result is an articulate performance.¹³⁶

This listener-friendly musical language was tailor made for instrumental music and the environment it flourished in. Its distinctive voice made it a cosmopolitan entity, an international product largely devoid of nationalistic traits but replete with Enlightenment ideals that proffered naturalness and simplicity.¹³⁷ Koželuch's music exemplifies all of these traits and demonstrates what a rich tapestry of topics the eighteenth-century musicians had at their disposal.

Koželuch's keyboard sonatas span a period of nearly four decades: from the earliest work of 1773 to the last three sonatas, unpublished in his lifetime, dating from some time after 1810.¹³⁸ William Newman found 'little difference between Koželuch's late and his early sonatas', which is puzzling.¹³⁹ There is a world of difference between the first and the last. Perhaps for Newman the constant juxtaposition of lighter, more Italianate works, with darker, dramatic sonatas camouflaged any sense of true development – but development and a changing style is clearly discernible. Part of this chopping and changing was undoubtedly market driven. Koželuch wanted to appeal to as many different tastes as possible. In the course of a group of three sonatas (they were generally published this way) he often included a 'lighter' work, with sparing dynamic markings, which would satisfy the harpsichord aficionados (for example Nos. 7, 10, 14, 22); a technically brilliant work for the exhibitionists (for example Nos. 8, 9, 15, 17); and finally a more dramatic work, ideal for the budding Romantic (for example Nos. 6, 16, 19, 24). These 'Romantic' works contain startling foretastes of Beethoven's tragic-pathetic style. With three exceptions (Nos. 15, 24, and 26) all the minor key sonatas begin with a slow introduction, the first from 1780 pre-dating Beethoven's *Pathétique* sonata by nineteen years. None of the sonatas by Haydn and Mozart contain such dramatic introductions. Koželuch was obviously Beethoven's inspiration elsewhere too: the *Allegro agitato* of Sonata No. 36 thunders away like the 'Appassionata' and yet it

¹³⁶ Ratner, 616.

¹³⁷ Sutcliffe. "Before the Joke", 96.

¹³⁸ It is difficult to be more precise as two of the pre 1780 sonatas are undated as are the last two in the cycle.

¹³⁹ William S. Newman. *The Sonata in the Classic Era*. 3rd edition (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1983). 557.

was written twelve years earlier. Additionally, Koželuch conjures up foretastes of Schubert's music: Sonata No. 20, for example, contains the kind of lyrical melodies, sparkling passagework and typically Schubertian harmonic shifts to the flattened submediant that became a hallmark of his keyboard writing (as, for example, Op. 120 in A major, D664). According to Josef von Spaun, Schubert championed the works of Koželuch while at school:

Once when they were playing a symphony by Kozeluch and a lot of people were grumbling about the old-fashioned music he got really excited and cried out in his childish voice: 'There is more rhyme and reason in this symphony than in the whole of Krommer, which you are so fond of playing.'^{140 141}

All in all, these Koželuch sonatas are a very impressive cycle of works that are destined to stand alongside those by Clementi, Dussek, Haydn and Mozart.

Instruments

The three stringed keyboard instruments available towards the end of the eighteenth century were the clavichord, harpsichord and fortepiano.¹⁴² In Germany at least, the clavichord still had a strong following for solo keyboard music, the harpsichord and fortepiano being the preferred instruments for continuo and chamber music respectively.¹⁴³ As late as 1783 Carl Freidrich Cramer was lamenting the demise of the

¹⁴⁰ Joseph von Spaun. "Notes on my Association with Franz Schubert" (1858), trans. Rosamund Ley and John Nowell. In *Schubert: Memories by his Friends*. Ed. Otto Erich Deutsch (London: Macmillan, 1958), 126. Quoted in "Leopold Koželuch and the Viennese 'Quatuor Concertant'". Roger Hickman. *College Music Symposium* 26 (1986): 42-52.

¹⁴¹ Franz Krommer (1752-1831) succeeded Koželuch as *Hofkapellmeister* to the Viennese court. Engel has the date as 1812, which would mean Milan Poštolka was wrong - Milan Poštolka. *Leopold Koželuh, Život a dílo*. (Prague: 1964) - implying Koželuch stayed in the post until his death in 1818. Carl Engel. "Music We Shall Never Hear." *Music Quarterly* 4 (1918): 500.

¹⁴² There is no evidence to suggest that Koželuch intended any of his sonatas to be played on the organ. However, he obviously played this instrument, as he was offered the post of court organist to the Archbishop of Salzburg in 1781. Most professional eighteenth-century keyboard players were indeed 'keyboard' players in the broadest sense and were proficient on all keyboard instruments. Of course Mozart and Beethoven played the organ but even Haydn was reported as giving the young Hummel organ lessons in 1795 but 'warned him against too much practicing on the organ, or else his hands would become too heavy for the fortepiano.' Katalin Komlós. "After Mozart: The Viennese Piano Scene in the 1790s". *Studia Musicologica* 49. 1-2 (2008): 42. Indeed, it has been suggested that Beethoven's early training as an organist accounted for his 'rough' piano playing. Fortunately such theories are being challenged. Tilman Skowronek. *Beethoven the Pianist*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). 150.

¹⁴³ C. P. E. Bach

clavichord in his *Magazin der Musik*:

It is indeed a sad thing for music to find this sort of instrument [fortepiano] so widespread in every country, even in Germany, the real home of the clavichord and especially in the southern districts, where there are twenty good Pianofortes, Fortpiens, Clavecin royals, and whatever else this species of Hackbrett is called, to a single tolerable clavichord.¹⁴⁴

Despite this ‘old school’ allegiance to the clavichord,¹⁴⁵ the fortepiano was clearly in ascendance. Many of the prominent younger generation of keyboard players of the late 1770’s and early 1780’s were clearly favouring it. Principal among these were Koželuch and Mozart. The *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag* of 1796 states:

The vogue of the fortepiano is due to him [Koželuch]. The monotony and muddled sound of the harpsichord could not accommodate the clarity, the delicacy, the light and shade he demanded in music; he therefore took no students who did not want to understand the fortepiano as well, and it seems that he has no small share in the reformation of taste in keyboard music.¹⁴⁶

Although the development of the fortepiano has been outlined exhaustively in recent years, it might be helpful to summarize some of the salient points. As an English pianoforte was used for only 2 out of the 45 sonatas, it seems appropriate to concentrate on the development of the Viennese instrument accordingly.

Stringed keyboard instruments have their genesis in the fourteenth century.¹⁴⁷ Evidence for their existence is at first iconographic and literary¹⁴⁸ with the oldest extant instrument dating from around 1480.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁴ Quoted in Carl Parish. “Criticisms of the Piano When It Was New.” *Musical Quarterly* 30. 4 (1944): 436.

¹⁴⁵ Türk was designating the clavichord in his tutor of 1787.

¹⁴⁶ Johann Ferdinand Ritter von Schönfeld. *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag (Wien, 1796)*, 34-5. Quoted and translated in Katalin Komlós. *Fortepianos and their Music: Germany, Austria and England, 1760-1800*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 59-60.

¹⁴⁷ Stewart Pollens. *The Early Piano*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 7.

¹⁴⁸ Edmund A. Bowles. ‘A Checklist of Fifteenth-Century Representations of Stringed Keyboard Instruments.’ In *Keyboard Instruments: Studies in Keyboard Organology, 1500-1800*. (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1977).

¹⁴⁹ Elizabeth Wells. “An early Stringed Keyboard Instrument: the Clavicytherium in the Royal College of Music.” *Early Music* 4 (October 1978): 568-571.

The three mechanisms that can engage the strings – touching, plucking and striking – coexisted at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The latter fell into disuse¹⁵⁰ until Bartolomeo Cristofori invented the pivoted hammer and escapement action in, or slightly before, 1700.¹⁵¹

Cristofori's invention heralded a period of intense interest in the design and construction of hammer operated stringed keyboard instruments that was to last for more than a century and a half. From Italy news of the invention spread to Germany via Scipione Maffei's celebrated account of what he described as a *gravecembalo col piano e forte* (harpsichord with soft and loud) published in Hamburg in 1725 in Johann Mattheson's *Critica Musica*.¹⁵² There, the organ builder Gottfried Silbermann became the new driving force behind the instrument's development. Silbermann, however, was not alone in his keen interest in the expressive capabilities of a hammer action harpsichord. The Parisian Jean Marius, and Saxon Christoph Gottlieb Schröter, had both worked on designs for such an instrument as early as 1716 and 1717 respectively without much success.¹⁵³ Schröter, however, did come up with a design that had the ingredients of what was to become the 'Viennese action'.

As Maffei's nomenclature suggests, these early pianofortes or fortepianos (the names were interchangeable¹⁵⁴) were essentially harpsichords with hammers. During its early development apart from some strengthening of the case to accommodate thicker strings and higher string tension, the body of the new instrument remained unchanged from that of the harpsichord.¹⁵⁵ It was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that builders

¹⁵⁰ Pollens, 8.

¹⁵¹ Stewart Pollens. 'The Pianos of Bartolomeo Cristofori.' *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 10 (1984): 32-68.

¹⁵² Pollens, *The Early Piano*, 57-62.

¹⁵³ Edwin M. Good. *Giraffes, Black Dragons, and Other Pianos: A Technological History from Cristofori to Modern Concert Grand*. (London: Robert Hale, 1976), 35.

¹⁵⁴ Sandra Rosenblum. *Performance Practices in Classic Piano Music: Their Principals and Applications*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 31.

¹⁵⁵ Cristofori ingeniously placed the strings below the soundboard so that the striking hammers did not dislodge the wrest pins.

began to experiment with different case layouts, some of the earliest simply repositioning the whole case vertically (*Pyramid piano*). Other case designs were modeled on the clavichord and were known as *Square Piano* (England), *Tafelklavier* (Germany), *Piano Carre* (France) and *Pianoforte Rettangolare* (Italy).¹⁵⁶ Such an instrument by Johann Socher is thought to date from as early as 1742¹⁵⁷ although this date must be viewed with some suspicion. This rectangular shape and its variants became the blueprint for mass piano production in the second half of the eighteenth century (they were made up until c. 1900). The upright piano, a more practical version of the early Pyramid, eventually took the Square Piano's place.

Despite the need for increasing structural diversity in the many forms of early piano, it was the new action that presented the most design problems. Cristofori overcame most of these when he produced his first hammer action harpsichord. He managed to design a mechanism with an 'escapement' which allowed the hammer to return to rest after it had been 'pushed' against the string, regardless of whether the key was depressed or not. Additionally, in the instruments dating from 1720 onwards, the hammer was provided with a 'check' that arrests any possible rebound. Previous attempts at hammer action keyboard instruments had neither 'escapement' nor 'check'.¹⁵⁸ Cristofori's achievements are all the more remarkable when one considers how many of the principles inherent in his designs were dropped and subsequently reintroduced throughout the eighteenth century. At about the same time (mid eighteenth century) a group of Bavarian craftsmen were adapting the clavichord. Their experiments produced a completely different action that was to revolutionize fortepiano building in the second half of the eighteenth century. Two mechanisms emerged: the *stossmechanik* or 'pushing action', typical of Cristofori and Silbermann - initially associated with the harpsichord shaped instruments - and the *prellmechanik* or 'flipping action' of Johann Socher and Gottlob Emanuel Růfner (Hůfner) - initially associated with the *tafelklavier* or 'table piano', derived from the clavichord. An unusual example of one of Růfner's instruments survives in the National Museum of American History. It has two sets of hammers. 'The bare hammers are used to play loud passages, and the leather-covered

¹⁵⁶ Good, 42-43.

¹⁵⁷ Pollens, *The Early Piano*, 159.

¹⁵⁸ Pollens, 33.

ones for soft passages.’¹⁵⁹ This ‘Pantalon’ as it was known in Germany (after Pantaleon Hebenstreit the dulcimer virtuoso) received a scathing review in Daniel Schubart’s *Ideen zu einer Aesthetik der Tonkunst*.¹⁶⁰ He called it a ‘dwarf of a piano’ with a rattly, tinny sound that lacks all capacity for musical expression because of its ‘eternal sparrow-like hopping from one tone to another with nothing to fill in the holes between.’¹⁶¹

These actions differed fundamentally in the way the hammer was mounted. The *stossmechanik* had the hammer attached to a fixed rail whereas the *prellmechanik* mounted the hammer on the key itself.

Despite the *prellmechanik*’s obvious advantages – the player has a lot more control over the hammer – the actions of Socher and Růfner did not include an escapement mechanism. When the Austrian Johann Andreas Stein (1728-92) developed an escapement in the 1770’s (an instrument by Stein dated 1773, is thought to be the oldest in existence with *prellmechanik* escapement¹⁶²) he was to instigate a school of piano building that was to dominate the Austrian and German market for the rest of the eighteenth century. Stein’s instruments became representative of the Viennese fortepiano and a benchmark for many other Austrian builders including Anton Walter.

Mozart’s often-quoted letter to his father of 17 October 1777 highlights many of these attributes. It also seems clear that the fortepiano was Mozart’s preferred instrument by at least 1777 and probably earlier.

Let me start right off with Stein’s Piano forte. Before I had seen Stein’s work, I favored Spät’s Claviers. But now I must give Stein’s Claviers preference because they have a much better damper than the Regensburg instruments. If I strike the key hard, I may keep my finger down on it, or lift it up, the sound stops the instant I produce it. No matter how I play the keys, the tone is always

¹⁵⁹ http://americanhistory.si.edu/collections/search/object/nmah_605886

¹⁶⁰ Published in 1806 but obviously written well before as Schubart died in 1791.

¹⁶¹ Quoted in Carl Parish. “Criticisms of the Piano When It Was New.” *Musical Quarterly* 30. 4 (1944): 438.

¹⁶² Philip R. Belt. “Chapter One: Germany and Austria, 1750-1800.” In *The Piano: The New Grove Musical Instrument Series*. (New York and London: W.W Norton and Company, 1997). 13.

even. There is no jangling noise, the sound will not get louder, or softer, or stop altogether, in one word: everything remains even. It is true, he won't sell a Piano forte like this for under 300 gulden [¹⁶³] but the effort and care he puts into the instruments is beyond any price. What distinguishes his instruments from all others is that they are built with an escapement. Not one in a hundred will bother about this, but without escapement action you cannot possibly have a Piano forte that will not have a clanging and vibrating after-effect. When you press down on the keys, the little hammers fall back the moment they have struck the strings, no matter whether you keep the keys down or release them. He told me himself that after he has finished a Clavier, he will first of all sit down and try all sorts of passages, runs and leaps, and then he goes on filing and fitting until the Clavier does everything he wants it to. He works truly for the good of Musique, and not alone for profit, otherwise he would finish them much more quickly. ¹⁶⁴

Stein had been working at improving the fortepiano since 1759 and Mozart's comments reflect the many advances he had made. However, by 1780, Anton Walter had established a workshop in Vienna. He was to become one of the most influential fortepiano builders of the late eighteenth-century. Along with Schantz (Wenzel and Johann) ¹⁶⁵ and Streicher (Nannette and Johann Andreas) he dominated the field. The *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag* in 1796 describes the characteristics of each builder:

[Herr Walter's] fortepianos have a full, bell-like tone, a clear response and a strong, full bass. The tone is a bit dull at first, but later, after one has played the instrument for a certain time, the treble especially becomes very clear. After too much playing, on the other hand, the tone will be sharp and metallic, which can be remedied through the re-leathering of the hammers The tone of [Herr Schantz's] instruments is not as strong as that of Walter's, but it is just as clear, and usually more pleasing; furthermore, the touch is lighter, for the keys do not fall so far, and are not as wide as those [of Walter]....[Madame Stricherinn's] instruments have not the strength of the Walter type, but the evenness, clarity, lightness, sweetness, and softness of their tone are unmatched. The sound is not jarring, but melting; the touch requires a light hand, flexible fingers, and a sensitive heart. ¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ A lower level bureaucrat earned between 400-1000 gulden *per year* (Morrow, 113-114).

¹⁶⁴ Robert Spaethling. *Mozart's Letters Mozart's Life*. Selected letters edited and newly translated. (London: Faber and Faber, 2000). 77.

¹⁶⁵ Haydn preferred the Schantz instruments because they had a lighter touch.

¹⁶⁶ Katalin Komlós. *Fortepianos and their Music: Germany, Austria and England, 1760-1800*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995): 12.

It goes on to identify Walter and Streicher as the two classes of instrument maker. It seems Schantz and the other Viennese makers simply copied these two. It also identifies two classes of the player. The one who would suit the Walter best:

Loves a great musical treat, that is, a powerful sound; to that end they play with a rich texture, extremely fast, study the most difficult runs and the fastest octaves.... The other class of player seeks nourishment for the soul, and loves playing that is clear but also soft and melting. These can choose no better instrument than the Streicher or so-called Stein type.¹⁶⁷

Koželuch's keyboard sonatas seem to satisfy both tastes. By 1797 Milchmeyer was expressing a common held belief that the fortepiano (pianoforte) was undoubtedly the favoured stringed keyboard instrument of that time both in Vienna and elsewhere in Europe:

Thirty years ago, nothing better was known ... but now, with many notes both high and low added to instruments, the number of chords multiplied, and many thousands of new passages invented, now when all the great composers write for the pianoforte, this instrument is to be preferred.... The pianoforte can be heard with all expression and all possible modifications in the largest halls, and finally it is a more secure instrument, in that it does not accustom one to contortions and deformities of the fingers. Moreover, all amateurs and connoisseurs of music know that there are very great musicians in France and England, of whom I will only mention Clementi and Steibelt. But I ask, can anyone say whether he has seen a clavichord recently in these countries? If this were such a marvelous instrument, as I have often heard it said, then the French and English with their great composers must have no musical feeling, since they compose only for the pianoforte. But everyone is convinced of the opposite. Therefore when a clavichord player says he does not like the pianoforte, one must believe that he cannot play it, or perhaps that he has never heard it played well.¹⁶⁸

For these recordings I chose to use a combination of original and reproduction instruments. The choice was made for both stylistic and practical reasons. Stylistically, the instruments and the sonatas needed to complement one another and for practical reasons I required resources that were available to me within New Zealand. For the five

¹⁶⁷ Komlós, 12.

¹⁶⁸ Rhein, 9.

pre 1780 sonatas (37, 44-47)¹⁶⁹ I used an original harpsichord by Longman and Broderip (built by Thomas Culliford¹⁷⁰) dating from 1785. Using this English instrument seemed to make sense as all 44 of Koželuch's published keyboard sonatas appeared under a London imprint during his lifetime, while only 37 were actually printed in Vienna.¹⁷¹ Moreover, Longman and Broderip were amongst Koželuch's London publishers. Although Koželuch was very much a champion of the fortepiano, this harpsichord fitted the stylistic requirements of the earlier sonatas well. And as it possesses a Venetian Swell device designed to make it more expressive, it is also something of a transitional artifact. For the first 36 sonatas spanning the period from 1780 until 1793 I used two reproduction instruments modeled on an Anton Walter fortepiano c.1795. These matched the late eighteenth-century Viennese fortepiano sound-world well, each displaying different tonal characteristics. For seven of the nine post 1800 works (38 – 43 & 50) I chose an original Viennese fortepiano by Johann Fritz c. 1815. With its comprehensive specification of pedals operating: *una corda*, moderator, sustaining and 'Turkish' (drum and bells) effects and a bassoon stop knee lever, it is similar to an instrument by Joseph Böhm (1786-c.1850) thought to have been owned by the Duchess of Parma, Maria Luigia d'Asburgo. In her youth Maria Luigia had been a pupil of Koželuch in Vienna. Koželuch's final three unpublished sonatas were found in a manuscript copy in the Duchess' musical library. The Kirckman Grand Pianoforte dates from c. 1798 and is typical of the resonant English instruments of that time. I felt it was an ideal choice for two of the later sonatas that seem to exhibit characteristics of the English Pianoforte School - murky basses, singing octave melodies and bravura double trills. Koželuch dedicated his sonatas Nos. 31-33 to Clementi in their English addition.¹⁷² A list of the instruments with specifications and photographs can be found in Appendix C.

¹⁶⁹ Christopher Hogwood orders the sonatas according to publication rather than composition date – hence the rather unsettling appearance of the earliest works in the latter part of volume 3 (37) and the middle of volume 4 (44-47).

¹⁷⁰ Culliford later formed his own piano-making partnership. David Rowland. "Piano music and keyboard compass in the 1790s." *Early Music* 27. 2 (1999): 286.

¹⁷¹ Christopher Hogwood. Introduction to *Koželuch: Complete Sonatas for Keyboard, I*. (Praha: Bärenreiter, 2010). XI.

¹⁷² Christopher Hogwood. "The Keyboard sonatas of Leopold Koželuch." *Early Music* 40. 4 (2013). 630/1.

Whilst professionals tended to use the less common grand piano, the square piano was the universally used domestic instrument.¹⁷³ With hindsight I would probably record some of the sonatas using the latter type of instrument.

¹⁷³ Komlós, 13.

Commentary One

CD 1. Sonata no. 44 in F major, (1773)

Harpsichord by Thomas Culliford for Longman and Broderip 1785

CD 1. Track 1: *Allegro*

CD 1. Track 2: *Andante con molto espressione*

CD 1. Track 3: *Presto*

This is the earliest work from the complete cycle and it demonstrates some of Koželuch's formative influences. Written in Prague, it seems to reflect the spirit of Georg Christoph Wagenseil (1715-77), the noted Viennese composer and keyboard player who served at the imperial court from at least 1736.¹⁷⁴ One of Koželuch's earliest keyboard teachers, F. X. Dušek (1731-99)¹⁷⁵ had studied with Wagenseil and had no doubt assimilated the prevailing Viennese keyboard style. For Koželuch this Wagenseil connection was to prove fortuitous in light of his subsequent successes in the imperial city.

For this work I chose to use an original English harpsichord by Longman and Broderip, dated 1785. Longman and Broderip was a noted English music publishing house that issued many of Koželuch's keyboard sonatas. While their primary role was in publishing, they also accepted orders for harpsichords and pianos, commissioning a small group of craftsmen to build instruments on their behalf. This recording makes use of a harpsichord built by Thomas Culliford,¹⁷⁶ one of the finest craftsmen in the Longman and Broderip stable. It is a 'state-of-the-art' one manual instrument in terms of an English harpsichord of 1785, coming replete with six hand stops, operating two 8' and one 4' set of strings, lute, buff and machine devices.¹⁷⁷ The latter facilitates rapid

¹⁷⁴ Newman, 352.

¹⁷⁵ He was a friend of the Mozart family.

¹⁷⁶ The great grand-father of Charles Dickens. My thanks to Ryan Mark for this information.

¹⁷⁷ 'Although the extant instruments are few, it is generally accepted that the typical Austrian harpsichord of the eighteenth century was a one-manual instrument modeled on Italian harpsichords.' Bernard Harrison. *Haydn's Keyboard Music: Studies in Performance Practice*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977). 20.

changes of registration via a foot pedal on the left. I refrained from using this, as it created too much noise – fine for a live performance but not ideal for recording purposes. The right pedal operates a Venetian Swell, which, when depressed, opens a set of louvres covering the strings and soundboard. This was a late attempt to make the harpsichord a more expressive instrument, competing as it was with the increasingly popular piano. I generally found it more effective as a device for generating terraced dynamics rather than *crescendos* or *diminuendos*.

Allegro

Articulating the right-hand opening four bar phrase presented few problems. The quavers before and after each triplet figure called for a detached performance, keeping the music light and buoyant above the murky bass. The leather plectra on this harpsichord produced a good attack in the bass, without the stridency of quills, so I felt a more sustained rendition of all the semiquaver movement supported the right-hand incisiveness.



Ex.1 Koželuch, Sonata 44/i (1773). Allegro, bars 1-6.

I used this formula whenever these figures occurred throughout the movement and regardless of tessiture. Elsewhere the left-hand was kept detached, following the advice of Türk and C. P. E. Bach regarding note lengths in the ‘ordinary’ manner.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁸ As this study progresses I will propose that the ordinary manner had developed into a more sustained touch much earlier than scholars currently assume.

When playing notes in the ordinary manner, that is neither staccato nor legato, the finger should be lifted shortly before the written value of the note requires it.¹⁷⁹

Notes which are neither staccato nor legato nor sostenuto are held for half their value unless the word *Ten.* is placed above them in which case they have to be sustained. These kind of notes are usually quavers or crotchets in moderate tempo and they should not be rendered languidly but with fire and with a very slight emphasis.¹⁸⁰

Standard harpsichord technique did not, of course, preclude holding the notes of arpeggiated chords on the first beats of bars 66-68 (180-183) emphasizing the downbeats and then making the subsidiary beats lighter.



Ex. 2 Koželuch, Sonata 44/i (1773). Allegro, bars 66-71.

This contrasting articulation also worked well in bars 33 and 34 (148/149) where I sustained the second beat in the first bar and detached it in the second. From bar 5 a subtle use of two and four note slurs helped to characterize the right-hand theme.

I tried to keep the movement rhythmically flexible, while retaining the basic pulse. Most metrical deviations were of an agogic nature, designed to highlight important chords or musical moments and often followed by a rhythmic ‘catch-up’ to maintain forward movement. In bars 18, 19 and 20 rhythmic vitality was enhanced by the

¹⁷⁹ Türk, *Klavierschule*, 1789, 356. Quoted in *Musical Performance in the Times of Mozart and Beethoven: The Lost Tradition in Music, Part II*. Fritz Rothschild. (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1961). 39.

¹⁸⁰ C. P. E. Bach, *Versuch*, 1753, 127. Quoted in *Musical Performance in the Times of Mozart and Beethoven: The Lost Tradition in Music, Part II*. Fritz Rothschild. (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1961). 39.

customary shortening of notated upbeats (and thus assimilating them into the prevailing rhythm) and in bar 22 releasing the second note of each scotch snap figure.



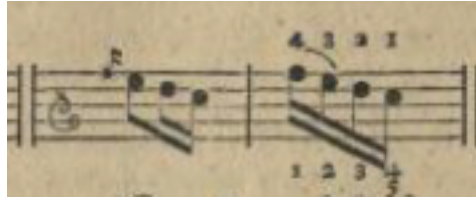
Ex. 3 Kozeluch, Sonata 44/i (1773). Allegro, bars 18-23.

As this music dates from 1773, I invariably started the right-hand trills with the upper auxiliary, and only incorporated a termination at the cadence points in bars 85 and 200. I also stopped most of the trills before their notated length in order to preserve the overall rhythmic integrity, excepting the linking passage in bars 99-101. Here I felt that the trills were designed to connect the upper voice above the necessarily detached octaves in the bass.



Ex. 4 Kozeluch, Sonata 44/i (1773). Allegro, bars 99-104.

The ubiquitous eighteenth-century appoggiatura figure on the second beat of bars 10 and 12 was always realized according to Milchmeyer, with a slight lingering on the first note, emphasizing the dissonance with the bass, followed by a lightening of the texture on descent:



Ex. 5. Milchmeyer, *Die wahre Art das Pianoforte zu spielen*. 38.¹⁸¹

The two other examples of semiquaver notated appoggiaturas, were realized as either on the beat acciaccaturas as in bar 119, or as longer upper-note trill prefixes as in bar 138.

I chose a discreet amount of ornamentation in the repeat of the first section of this sonata. In line with contemporary practice, I limited most embellishments to filling in intervals of a third as in bar 4 and 26, 9 and 11 and the odd cadential flourish at bar 20 and 34 (based on the noted examples in bars 120 and 124). All other ornaments were subtle variations of the appoggiaturas in the E \flat major section beginning at bar 36.

There are no dynamic markings in the score. I chose not to use the Venetian Swell device, preferring instead to savour this remarkably resonant instrument using the 8' strings alone.

Andante molto con espressione

This movement provided the ideal opportunity to use the harpsichord's buff stop, a lever that pushes leather pads against the tuning pin end of each string, effectively changing the timbre by reducing overtones and any sympathetic vibrations. It creates the same delightful effect a string orchestra can achieve when playing pizzicato with mutes engaged (for example in the slow movement of 'Winter' from Vivaldi's Four Seasons). However, it is notoriously difficult to regulate so the odd un-damped string occasionally sings out above the rest; it is inevitable and can be quite charming.

¹⁸¹ Dresden: Carl Christian Meinhold, 1797. Public domain:
http://petrucci.mus.auth.gr/imglnks/usimg/6/69/IMSLP53825-PMLP111022-milchmeyer_wahre_art_1797.pdf

Koželuch was a great champion of the *cantabile* and even in this early work the singing style prevails. I therefore used a predominantly legato manner of performance for the expressive melody in the right-hand, even overlapping tones to increase the effect. Once again C. P. E. Bach's advice seemed appropriate.

In general the briskness of allegros is expressed by detached notes and the tenderness of adagios by broad, slurred notes. The performer must keep in mind that these characteristic features of allegros and adagios are to be given consideration even when a composition is not so marked.¹⁸²

Likewise, finger pedalling throughout the Alberti basses enriched the texture and provided the necessary melodic support. I decided that the contrasting figure beginning at bar 16 is an inverted form of bar 46 from the first movement and therefore the same detached rendition in the right-hand seemed appropriate.

Rhythmic considerations are inexorably linked with the articulation and indeed much of the written out ornamentation. Consider the two bar phrases which begin at bar 9 and 11:



Ex. 6 Koželuch, Sonata 44/ii (1773). Andante molto con espressione, bars 9-12.

The right hand appoggiaturas at the start of each phrase seem to demand a special weight. I therefore lingered on each, creating an expressive agogic accent, but immediately counteracting the effect by moving on through the rest of the phrase to create a true *rubato*. Busby, writing in his *Complete Dictionary of Music*, c. 1801, defined *tempo rubato* as ‘An expression applied to a time alternately accelerating and

¹⁸² Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach. *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*. Trans. William J Mitchell. (New York: Norton, 1949). 149.

retarded for the purpose of enforcing the expression.’¹⁸³ It is a process of tension and release. As C. P. E. Bach commented: ‘certain purposeful violations of the beat are often exceptionally beautiful.’¹⁸⁴ This subtle holding back and pushing forward is what shapes a movement like this and imbues it with the desired expressivity. And shape is everything. The listener needs to be guided through the musical structure, no matter how simple, without even being aware of it. Consider the descending passage beginning at bar 35:

Ex. 7 Kozeluch, Sonata 44/i (1773). Andante molto con espressione, bars 33-40.

Here the right-hand groups of four semiquavers are slurred, implying a more sustained approach; a point of arrival after all the indecision from bar 31 onwards. But this point of arrival is illusory as the right-hand chords are unstable, cascading down to a chord that cries out for resolution, only to be toyed with for a further three beats. I chose to retard these chords and arpeggiate the last to emphasize the one beat hiatus that follows. This chord became duplicitous. On the one hand connecting with the written out resolution arpeggios that follow, and on the other, deliberately prolonging the tension. A stroke of genius on Kozeluch’s part and typical of a master craftsman at work.

¹⁸³ Thomas Busby. *A Complete Dictionary of Music* (London: Phillips, [c. 1801]. Quoted in 382 Sandra Rosenblum. *Performance Practices in Classic Piano Music: Their Principles and Applications*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988). 382.

¹⁸⁴ Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach. *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*. Trans. William J Mitchell. (New York: Norton, 1949). 150.

However, I wonder how much conscious thought went into the compositional process. Certainly in terms of playing this music what I have written above is very much a post facto description; it did not cross my mind at the time of performance. I simply played it that way instinctively. I think the description makes sense and to that extent maybe all the thought processes were just sublimated at the time of performance. I am sure this is going to be a recurring theme throughout the course of these commentaries.

I should, at this point, make reference to some editorial decisions I needed to make in bars 31 and 32. This was in my pre-publication score and may well be corrected in the yet to be published version:



Ex. 8 Koželuch, Sonata 44/i (1773). Andante molto con espressione, bars 29-32.

To me the above notation created a harmonic twist that was out of character and certainly did not tie up with the equivalent point in the second section bars 77 and 78, even when the right-hand in bar 31 contains a C#.



Ex. 9 Koželuch, Sonata 44/i (1773). Andante molto con espressione, bars 76-78.

I therefore removed all the sharp signs in the right-hand and the C# in the left-hand. As these scores were works in progress I made many such decisions, often without the

benefit of the first editions and manuscript copies from which the scores originated. Instinct and a feeling for the style were my guiding principles. If I made the wrong choices based on the evidence, I am happy to accept any errors of judgment.

FINALE

Presto

I felt that a brisk one in a bar worked well for the opening of this movement but that a tempo change was definitely required for the more contemplative *Minore*.¹⁸⁵ Not only did a slower tempo enhance the plaintive *Minore* melodic line, but it also helped to bring into relief the well articulated left-hand.

Ex. 10 Koželuch, Sonata 44/i (1773). Presto, bars 17-32.

Similarly, it made sense of the section from bar 63, which would have otherwise become breathless. Likewise, in the second *Minore*, having a little more time enabled me to use a wider articulatory palette. It also made the added ornamental flourishes in the repeats manageable and musically convincing. This tempo also seemed to bring the

¹⁸⁵ ‘Passages in a piece in the major mode which are repeated in the minor may be broadened somewhat on their repetition in order to heighten the affect.’ Bach, *Essay*, trans. Mitchell. 161.

left-hand chiming theme into relief in bars 41-48. As I always endeavoured to return to the original opening tempo I satisfied Bach's dictum that 'every effort must be made despite the beauty of detail to keep the tempo at the end of a piece exactly the same as at the beginning, an extremely difficult assignment.'¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁶ Bach, *Essay*, trans. Mitchell. 161.

Commentary Two

CD 1. Sonata 1 in F major, Op. 1, no. 1, (1780)

Fortepiano by Thomas and Barbara Wolf after Anton Walter c. 1795

CD 1. Track 4: *Allegro molto*

CD 1. Track 5: *Cantabile*

CD 1. Track 6: *Presto*

Allegro Molto

In common with a lot of *Allegro molto* movements the challenge here was to find a tempo that would work for both the lively ritornello theme and the subsequent semiquaver flourishes of the second subject. Although the semiquaver passages for the most part lie neatly under the hands once a suitable fingering is selected, a number of treacherous moments came to light in bars 51 and 52 (and bars 139 and 140 in the recapitulation) and these required careful negotiation. The broken octave leaps of the last two beats of bar 51 take the player to the very top of a five octave instrument and can be hazardous without a clear idea of the requisite lateral movement. Likewise, the right-hand semiquaver passage that dominates bar 52 can become inaccurate if the hand does not contract enough. I overcame the former problem by working at bar 51 without breaking the octaves in the first instance, thus concentrating my attention wholly on the lateral movement until it was secure. Bar 52 became manageable having decided that the semiquaver flourish worked well with the following fingering: 5, 3, 1, 2, 3, 5, 2, 1, lifting after the crotchet E and starting the trill on the upper auxiliary note, using fingers 4 and 2. These two passages represented the Achilles heel of the opening movement in terms of its technical demands.



Ex. 11 Kozeluch, Sonata 1/i (1780). Allegro, bars 49-52.

Interpretively, the movement posed a number of interesting choices. At the outset Koželuch designates *dolce*, a term that would probably conjure up Milchmeyer's explanation: '*Dolce* indicates a conversation whose quality is gentleness and tenderness, and serves for the expression of sweet melancholy, of love, and ecstasy.'¹⁸⁷ But this seemed at odds with this concerto-like, rhythmically alert theme:



Ex. 12 Koželuch, Sonata 1/i (1780). Allegro, bars 1-5.

The answer is simple; Koželuch, like Mozart used the term to denote a dynamic level higher than the supporting accompaniment.¹⁸⁸ After much experimentation I decided against a detached left-hand rocking accompaniment – a figure Mozart was to use in the first movement of his Sonata in C K330 of 1784¹⁸⁹ – instead, keeping the melodic line in bold relief with a subdued legato rendition. Detaching this figure also seemed to be at odds with the spirit behind an *Allegro molto* movement, inevitably hampering a brisk tempo. I felt that Koželuch added left-hand slurs in bars 13 – 15 simply to pinpoint a new figure, not as a fundamental change to the overall articulation. This association between the *dolce* designation and a legato touch appears to be something of a feature of Koželuch's pianistic style; one I considered to be dominated by a desire to make the instrument sing. The opening of Opus 2, No. 1 presents a similar example of the marrying of a singing theme with a more sustained rendition:

¹⁸⁷ Rhein, 114.

¹⁸⁸ See Robert Levin. "The Devil's in the Details: Neglected Aspects of Mozart's Piano Concertos" in *Mozart's Piano Concertos*, ed. Neil Zaslaw (Ann Arbor, 1997). 32.

¹⁸⁹ When I recorded this work in 2003 I followed the score implicitly, not slurring the left-hand until it reappears that way in the varied recapitulation. It does work well and tends to indicate that varied articulation can be a useful device for presenting familiar material in a slightly different light. 'Kemp English at the Fortepiano' CD MANU 5001 Ode Records, 2003.



Ex. 13 Koželuch, Sonata 4/i (1780). Allegro, bars 1-5.

Likewise, in the second subject of the slow movement from Sonata 5 Koželuch designates a finger pedalled pattern in the left-hand:



Ex. 14 Koželuch, Sonata 5/ii (1780). Allegro, bars 16-19.

This conclusion subsequently informed my choices in the expansive variation slow movement of Sonata 8 (to be discussed later). Counter-evidence did, however, come to light at the beginning of the development section of the first movement of Opus 10, No.1. Here Koželuch designates *dolce* and yet maintains the detached broken chord accompaniment, a feature of the whole movement. However, the right hand, although highly articulate, does nonetheless present an essentially *cantabile* theme above this figuration and if the prevailing touch were non-legato there would be no need to indicate it.



Ex. 15 Koželuch, Sonata 11/i (1784). Allegro molto, bars 68-72.

I considered the second subject's semiquaver outbursts at bar 21 to be in complete contrast to the *dolce* opening theme, despite the latter's rhythmic buoyancy. Here was a clear case for a sparkling detached touch, with emphatic support from well-defined octaves in the bass. Being an early work with its roots firmly planted in the harpsichord style, it seemed appropriate to incorporate terraced dynamics, alternating *forte* and *piano* sequentially in bars 21 and 22 and 23 and 24.



Ex. 16 Koželuch, Sonata 1/i (1780). Allegro molto, bars 21-24.

Despite descending, the sequence that followed seemed to grow out of the bar 23 and 24 echo effect, leading to a climax at bar 28, dropping back *subito piano* at the C minor key change and heralding the start of another *crescendo* up to the exposition's mid-point cadence.

Bars 97 – 108 of the development section are particularly noteworthy. Koželuch manoeuvres himself into the remote key of A flat major and proceeds to meander in a quasi-improvisatory manner for eight bars.

Ex. 17 Koželuch, Sonata 1/i (1780). Allegro molto, bars 95-108.

Each arpeggiated chord is slurred indicating that all the notes under the slur are sustained and held successively. On the harpsichord the chords could be sustained for the length of each bar, but on the fortepiano I decided to take things a step further, by using the damper knee leaver I sustained all eight bars. As many of the early fortepianos were equipped with only hand-operated stops to raise the dampers, sustaining effects were often reserved for block effects. This section would enable the player to engage the stop during the *fermata* in bar 96 and remove it at the end of bar 108. Additionally, by utilizing the moderator mechanism I was able to reduce the number of overtones that would otherwise lead to an excessively blurred effect. This combination of raised dampers and moderator was a common feature in performance practice of this time.¹⁹⁰ I used a similar effect in 1/i/48-55, 1/ii/69-73.

Cantabile

For such an early work, the slow movement of this sonata seems particularly forward looking. The right-hand phrases are designed to highlight the *cantabile* possibilities of the new fortepiano, propelling the music forward and floating above the delicate pizzicato accompaniment.

¹⁹⁰ Haskell, Julie. *Notated and Implied Pedalling c. 1780-1830*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Adelaide, 2011. 60.



Ex. 18 Koželuch, Sonata 1/ii (1780). Cantabile, bars 1-7.

And surely the accompaniment can only be pizzicato since any hint of modern piano pedalling (each crotchet beat) would obscure the carefully notated articulation. I tried to be faithful to Koželuch's markings, gently weighting the beginning of four note slurs with a subsequent diminuendo and release towards the end (in bars 2 and 4 for example). Likewise, appoggiaturas received a similar treatment. I chose to use the moderator extensively in my Walter fortepiano performance since the left-hand figures can overpower the *cantabile* melody. It would have been interesting to play this work on a copy of Mozart's piano. It had two knee levers, one lifting the bottom part of the damper rail, the other the top.¹⁹¹ In this way one could really make the melodic line 'sing' with the certainty of a pizzicato accompaniment. And since Mozart's instrument was originally fitted with hand stops, the appropriate stop could be engaged for use throughout the movement. However, perhaps the articulation in the melodic line would then have been compromised. Divided between two manuals, with a soft 8' used for the accompaniment, this movement also works surprisingly well on the harpsichord. I have included a recording of this movement using the Kirckman grand pianoforte of c. 1798 on the first track on CD 4. To me, it does not work at all, principally because the instrument does not really sing in the upper registers without the use of the damper pedal.

¹⁹¹ Whether these knee levers were present during Mozart's lifetime is a vexed issue, which I will touch on at a later date.

RONDEAU

Presto

Once again, the challenge here was to find a tempo that would work for the opening playful theme and the subsequent semiquaver dominated passagework. Whilst it was easy to rattle off the subject at a convincing *Presto*, the exposed right-hand and then left-hand semiquaver passages in bars 21 - 25 and 79 - 86 often came unstuck: the 4th and 5th fingers of each hand frequently sounding uneven. The solution was to take the opening slightly slower and concentrate on 4th and 5th finger agility.



Ex. 19 Koželuch, Sonata 1/iii (1780). Presto, bars 21-24.

Further challenges came in bars 51-52 and 55-56. The customary fingering for the left-hand passages here would be 4 and 2, all the way down, but I found this unsuccessful. Fingering in half-bar groups was equally cumbersome, producing regular accents at each change. For me a much stronger use of the fingers is 2 followed by 4. Solution: cross the hands. The right-hand plays the descending semiquavers using fingers 2 and 4 and the left-hand crosses over.

The image displays a musical score for two systems of piano music. The first system, starting at bar 49, features a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature. The right hand plays a melodic line with eighth-note patterns and slurs, while the left hand provides a steady accompaniment of eighth-note chords. A fermata is placed over the final note of the first system. The second system, starting at bar 53, continues the piece. It begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic and a fermata over the first measure. The right hand continues with a melodic line, and the left hand maintains the accompaniment. A forte (*f*) dynamic marking appears in the second measure of the second system. The piece concludes with a final cadence in the right hand.

Ex. 20 Koželuch, Sonata 1/iii (1780). Presto, bars 49-56.

Despite my determination to restrict the damper mechanism use to special effects, I felt the build up in bars 23 and 24 and the subsequent *fermata* warranted an exception.

Commentary Three

CD 1. Sonata 8 in F major, Op. 5, 'La Chasse', (1781)

Fortepiano by Thomas and Barbara Wolf after Anton Walter c. 1795

CD 3. Track 7: *Allegro molto*

CD 3. Track 8: *Andante con variazione*

CD 3. Track 9: *Presto*

The similarity between the first movement theme of this sonata and that of the opening movement of Mozart's *Eine Kleine Nachtmusik* is obvious, but as it pre-dates the latter work by six years, Koželuch certainly had the idea first. Whether it influenced Mozart or not, or even whether such a hunting theme was anything unusual,¹⁹² Koželuch's *La Chasse* surely initiated a keyboard *topos*.¹⁹³ Jan Ladislav Dussek, Clementi, Gyrowetz and many other lesser names were soon producing their very own versions.¹⁹⁴



Ex. 21 Koželuch, Sonata 8/i (1781). *Allegro molto*, bars 1-6.

Allegro molto

Koželuch may well have had a reputation for producing works for the dilettante but as this opening *Allegro molto* illustrates, he frequently extended technical boundaries. The octaves and many other wider stretches must have presented a particular challenge for

¹⁹² Mozart was to use it again in K 576.

¹⁹³ See Alexander Ringer. *The Chasse: Historical and Analytical Bibliography of a Musical Genre*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1995. (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1955).

¹⁹⁴ Hogwood. Introduction. 1 ix.

players with small hands. At such a lively tempo the wide leaps in the right-hand in bars 43 and 45 (and this figures subsequent appearances) required careful management:



Ex. 22 Koželuch, Sonata 8/i (1781). Allegro molto, bars 1-6.

Similarly, the left-hand figurations that follow in bars 49 – 52 call for a supple hand. I initially fingered the passage with the second finger crossing over the thumb, but this proved unreliable, so I opted for the safer version which moved the thumb up to the B via a 3rd finger on F# and a 2nd finger on the G:



3 2 1

Ex.23 Koželuch, Sonata 8/i (1781). Allegro molto, bars 50-53.

The dynamic markings generally alternate between *forte* and *piano* with only one instance of a *mezzo forte* in bar 40 and one of *fortissimo* in bar 138.¹⁹⁵ On the whole they work well, particularly in the 10 bar phrases with a drone bass (12-34, 97-106 and 233-245).¹⁹⁶ The strident outbursts in bars 29 and 30 at a higher tessitura were particularly effective. I decided that the *piano* marking in bar 105 was incorrect as this would undermine the established alternation of *piano* and *forte*, and besides, why indicate piano again when it was specified in bar 103? The only possible answer could

¹⁹⁵ This was only the third appearance of the *mezzo forte* marking (the other two in sonata no. 4) and the very first appearance of a *fortissimo*.

¹⁹⁶ If I record this work again I will throw caution to the wind and engage the bassoon stop and hold the pedal for at least four bars at a time.

be that there was an implied crescendo in the course of the bar (which there is not) or Koželuch may have given the indication to avoid the obvious, but I have my doubts. For similar reasons I felt that the *piano* indication in bar 136 was erroneous. The phrase from bar 134 seems to be growing towards a *forte* in bar 136 and then ultimately to the *fortissimo* in bar 138 (the climax of the movement).¹⁹⁷

Ex. 24 Koželuch, Sonata 8/i (1781). Allegro molto, bars 134-141.

Although Koželuch does not provide *crescendo* markings in this movement or, for that matter, anywhere in the sonata, their use is certainly implied by the keyboard writing.¹⁹⁸ Features of the movement are phrases that build from an initial *piano* marking to an unmarked *forte* and then drop back again. In this respect the dynamic markings in bars 55 and 59 make perfect sense.

¹⁹⁷ When I subsequently consulted the Christoph Dohr edition of this work my instincts were confirmed on this and the previous count. Leopold Anton Kozeluch. *La Chasse. Sonata F – Dur (1781) XIII:2 für Cembalo oder Pianoforte*. Kritisch revidierte Neuausgabe von Christoph Dohr. (Köln, Verlag Dohr 26352, 2006).

¹⁹⁸ He uses the *crescendo* sign in 1/1/45, 133; 3/ii/25, 65; 3/iii/220; 4/i/102, 176; 4/ii/16, 38; 5/i/15, 22; 5/iii/23, 152; 6/i/104, 217; 6/ii/4, 48, 71.

The image shows two systems of a piano score. The first system, starting at bar 54, features a piano (*p*) dynamic marking. The second system, starting at bar 61, features a sforzando (*sf*) dynamic marking. The music is in a minor key and 2/4 time, with a focus on rhythmic patterns and articulation.

Ex. 25 Koželuch, Sonata 8/i (1781). Allegro molto, bars 54-67.

Concomitantly, the *sforzando* markings make perfect sense when viewed as the logical outcome from a short *crescendo* in bars 59-61. But they also have the opposite function as a powerful emphasis, which then falls away in bars 64-68 (see above).

I used the pedal sparingly in this movement (as in the whole of volume 1) to retain clarity in the marked articulation (two and three note slurs and frequent detached figurations). However, I succumbed at the climax of phrases leading into cadential trills as in bars 78-85 and bars 219-226. Such concerto-like virtuosity proved to be a strong incentive. Such choices are of course dependent on the acoustical properties of the room. In a much drier acoustic I may well have felt the need for more pedal. I really cannot imagine that the performers of Koželuch's day would have thought any differently.

Andante con variazioni

The first question to arise in this movement was: should the upbeat be detached?

The image shows the beginning of a musical score for 'Andante con variazioni'. The title is written above the staff. The music is in a minor key and 2/4 time. A *dolce* marking is present in the first measure. The score shows a melodic line in the right hand and a harmonic accompaniment in the left hand.

Ex. 26 Koželuch, Sonata 8/ii (1781). Andante con variazioni, bars 1-5.

It was a common question I asked myself throughout the whole cycle. In the back of my mind were Malcolm Bilson's comments regarding the first movement of Beethoven's Op. 2, No. 1. Here Beethoven does not notate a staccato upbeat (the following notes of the upward arpeggio all have staccato dots under them) but according to Bilson it is implied.¹⁹⁹ While I can see it makes sense in the course of an *allegro* movement I decided it did not in the course of a cantabile slow movement.²⁰⁰ I experimented with all manner of note lengths and it still did not make any musical sense to detach this upbeat. Furthermore, in variation IV Koželuch indicates a detached upbeat, obviously as a special case in the course of a *fortissimo* rendition of the theme. To me the first two bars of the theme are in a cantabile style and therefore legato as a matter of course, despite the lack of any slurring.

The next question concerned timing and placement. Whenever I repeated the first section of each variation strictly in time, it sounded rushed and breathless. However, the opposite was the case when moving on into the second half and on its subsequent repeat. The music seems to be written in such a way that at one moment it is pushing forward and at another holding back. Undoubtedly the sequences in bars 9 and 10 have a bearing on this. They propel the music forward towards the cadence point in bar 12. Once that point is reached, it seems perfectly natural to then linger over the charming harmonic shift in bar 13.

Ex. 27 Koželuch, Sonata 8/ii (1781). Andante con variazioni, bars 6-16.

¹⁹⁹ Malcolm Bilson and David Owen Norris. *Knowing The Score*. Video Disc. Cornell University, 2005.

²⁰⁰ However, I chose a detached upbeat in 32/iii for the Bilson reasons outlined despite feeling that it did not really work. I have subsequently regretted the choice. Instinct is sometimes a much better arbiter of taste.

This shaping of the theme worked well throughout the set of variations. At the risk of sounding oxymoronic, such flexibility seemed almost mandatory. Elements like these lift a movement such as this from the commonplace to the musical. They are examples of ‘taste’ and ‘feeling’ and they are the kind of elements that are impossible to notate.

One of the striking elements of this whole movement is the extensive, written out cadenza in variation V. I think it offers a clear indication that unless notated, lengthy added embellishments were a thing of the past by as early as 1781. At one time it would have been sufficient to write bars 15-17 as they are and then complete this standard approach to a cadenza with a *fermata* over bar 18.



Ex. 28 Koželuch, Sonata 8/ii (1781). Andante con variazioni, bars 17-21.

At that point the professional player would improvise a cadenza on the lines of Koželuch’s present offering. This would not have been written down. The notation would then perhaps resume at bar 38 and continue as is until the end. I say ‘professional’ player because a cadenza like this would be beyond the capabilities of Koželuch’s average dilettante player. I simply cannot countenance a situation where Koželuch would want to see his music supplemented by a dilettante player. It would have been hard enough creating a musical culture that proffered performances which embodied taste and feeling, without the need for compositional skills in addition. Mozart was obviously of the same mind and a glance at the finale to his sonata in B♭ major K 333 illustrates this point. There we find a 28 bar written out cadenza starting on exactly the same 6/4 chord.

In keeping with the improvisational nature of this cadenza I felt it was important to maintain rhythmic flexibility. A typical Koželuch figure is the descending chromatic passage from bar 38-41. In keeping with similar passages elsewhere,²⁰¹ it was impossible to play this convincingly without the use of the pedal - in this case with the dampers raised continuously.

Ex. 29 Koželuch, Sonata 8/ii (1781). Andante con variazioni, bars 35-42.

Presto

With its driving rhythms and sparkling semiquaver passagework this movement was probably a favourite display piece for many. On the fortepiano, with its light and responsive action, all the technical bravura can be dispatched with aplomb. I made frequent use of sequential fingerings in bars 41-42, 45-46 and 53-54 and in similar patterns later on in the movement.

Ex. 30 Koželuch, Sonata 8/iii (1781). Presto, bars 52-57.

²⁰¹ 2/i/51-56; 15/ii/32-33; 17/i/135-137; 137/ii/26-27; 29/ii/14-15 and even as late as 50/ii/20-1 there are hints here.

I reserved the pedal for enhancing important *forte* chords, as in bars 33, 37, 69 and 71. At other times, combined with moderator, to produce a wash of a single harmony (bars 89-195) at improvisational points:

*

Ex. 31 Koželuch, Sonata 8/iii (1781). Presto, bars 185-200.

Because this movement relied on a crisp articulatory palette, I felt that the slurs in bars 29, 30 and 31 (and subsequent points in the rest of the movement) were indications to hold the notes under the slur - or at the very least the first - always taking care to lighten towards the end of each bar. This had the added advantage of making the (pedalled) *forte* chord in bar 33 that followed more assertive.

Ex. 32 Koželuch, Sonata 8/iii (1781). Presto, bars 29-38.

The dynamic markings in bars 273 – 280 seemed to work well as follows:

273

The musical score consists of two staves, treble and bass. The treble staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The bass staff begins with a bass clef and the same key signature. The piece is in 3/4 time. The score is divided into eight measures. The first measure has a forte (*f*) dynamic marking. The second measure has a forte (*f*) dynamic marking. The third measure has a piano (*p*) dynamic marking. The fourth measure has a piano (*p*) dynamic marking. The fifth measure has a forte (*f*) dynamic marking. The sixth measure has a forte (*f*) dynamic marking. The seventh measure has a forte (*f*) dynamic marking. The eighth measure has a forte (*f*) dynamic marking. The score ends with a double bar line. Below the staves, there are two dynamic markings: *p* under the first measure and *f* under the second measure.

Ex. 33 Koželuch, Sonata 8/iii (1781). Presto, bars 273-280.

Commentary Four

CD 1. Sonata 16 in G minor, Op. 15, no. 1, (1784)

Fortepiano by Thomas and Barbara Wolf after Anton Walter c. 1795

CD 1. Track 10: *Largo – Allegro molto*

CD 1. Track 11: *RONDEAU Allegro*

Largo

In common with nearly all Koželuch's minor key sonatas (excepting 15, 24 & 26) this work begins with a slow introduction. Whilst there were not any significant technical challenges in this section a number of articulatory choices were to be made. Given that the movement seemed to require the use of the damper mechanism – the opening unisons in the right-hand accompanied by full chords in the left-hand sounded much more convincing with this extra reverberation and there would certainly be other places in the sonata as a whole which called out for this effect – the implied two note slurred figures in bar 3 did not necessarily make sense, particularly when compared to a similar figure in bar 7. However, after much experimentation I decide to go with the slurs and consider bar 7 as a variant, only using touches of pedal to enhance the syncopated effect. Regardless of the use of pedal, I chose fingering that would mirror the articulation chosen.

Sonata 16 Opus 15, no. 1, 1784

The image displays a musical score for the beginning of Sonata 16 in G minor, Opus 15, no. 1 by Jan Koželuch. The score is in 3/4 time and G minor. It shows the first eight bars of the piece. The right hand starts with a series of unisons and chords, while the left hand plays full chords. Dynamics range from forte (f) to piano (p). The tempo is marked 'Largo'. The score is presented in two systems, with the first system covering bars 1-4 and the second system covering bars 5-8. The notation includes various articulations such as slurs and accents, and dynamic markings like *f* and *p*.

Ex. 34 Koželuch, Sonata 16/i (1784). Largo, bars 1-8.

Rhythmically, the end of bar 4 posed a few problems and highlighted the imprecise nature of musical notation. To play this upward sweep ‘in time’ and as close to the written note values seemed somewhat contrived. I chose instead to be a little more flexible and make the link an improvisatory flourish. Similarly, much of the demisemiquaver passagework (bars 16, 17, 20) benefitted from a more expressive approach, lingering on downbeats and pulling back towards the end of phrases. Indeed, this was a necessary feature of the whole introductory section. Moving phrases on and pulling back: the essence of tension and release. Inevitably such fluctuations were inexorably tied up with the dynamic nuances of the music and as such, Koželuch’s markings were always only a very basic starting point. *Sfs* were interpreted as expressive rather than overly percussive, more agogic than heavy. In the course of a *Largo* introduction such agogic lingering is feasible; the same cannot be said of the vibrant *Allegro molto* movement that follows.

Allegro molto

This movement represents yet another example of Koželuch at his ‘fiery’ best. The downbeat *sf* accents on this occasion are definitely of the biting, whiplash variety - there is little time for anything else - and mark the start of an arresting and exceedingly engaging discourse. Some might say the movement is overly long, devoid of real development, but given its tempo and copious contrasting material it certainly works.



Ex. 35 Koželuch, Sonata 16/i (1784). *Allegro molto*, bars 35-37.

It is not without technical challenges, but as the music invariably lies adeptly under the hands most of the fingering choices came naturally. The right-hand fingering I chose in

bars 41-45 might initially seem rather complicated, but soon the patterns made admirable sense and bring into relief the pizzicato left-hand octaves.

5 4-3 4 5 4-3 5 4-3

5 4-3 5 4 5 4 5-3 5 4 5

Ex. 36 Koželuch, Sonata 16/i (1784). Allegro molto, bars 38-48.

Pedalling this phrase and its subsequent reappearance (bars 54-60) was out of the question, as the left-hand's rhythmic bite would have been obscured. This was not the case in bars 74-82; 132-138; 197-206. Here, patterns commence over a pedal point and gradually progress up the keyboard, increasing in dynamic levels as they go. Not only does the pedal enhance the dynamic sweep but it also aids the often tricky 5th finger ascent. Furthermore, the octaves in the bass in bars 80-82 sounded much more convincing connected.

Ex. 37 Koželuch, Sonata 16/i (1784). Allegro molto, bars 68-81.

At the end of this section the left-hand ends on an octave (start of bar 83) and then the second finger takes over immediately. A slight breath was required in order to bring off the transition successfully. Another similarly awkward moment arose at the start of bar 87. Two finger choices were available: either start the B flat major scale with a second finger (followed of course by the thumb) or retain the hand position and start with a thumb, which is already in place at the bottom of the previous chord. I chose the former, which tied in well with the breath taken at bar 83 in the left-hand. The left-hand semiquaver passagework in bars 53-57; 128-131; 172-175 all worked well turning the second finger over the thumb, however, in bars 207-210 due to some mental block - there did not appear to be any physical positioning difference between this pattern and the one in bars 172-175 - I decided to opt for a fingering that brought the thumb comfortably up to the highest note in the pattern. I used this fingering extensively in a similar passage in sonata 8/i/49-53, 136-139, 180-182, 184-187.

Whilst it was customary to ease the tempo in contrasting, more lyrical second subject themes, it felt counterproductive in this context. I pulled back the pulse at the end of the links in bars 58, 108, and 181; any disruption to the overall second subject tempo compromised the musical flow.



Ex. 38 Koželuch, Sonata 16/i (1784). Allegro molto, bars 57-61.

Sfs were once again considered expressive in this more cantabile context (bars 68, 70, 118, 191, 193) and placed rather than hit percussively. I considered extemporized embellishments at fermatas inappropriate. With such hectic forward movement throughout this *Allegro molto* the fermatas provided an ideal opportunity for the music to catch its breath.

There are fermatas after which one does not do the slightest thing; but rather, after lingering a moment on the note or chord, one goes immediately on to the following notes.²⁰²

RONDEAU

Allegro

The slurs over each bar of the opening theme are quite clear and seem to make admirable sense. This feeling of ‘one-in-a-bar’ permeates the whole movement. I chose to highlight the upbeat slur into bar 5 and repeat the articulation (although it is not notated) at the end of bar 5 into bar 6. For this to make sense I detached the notes around it. I maintained this reading whenever the rondo theme reappeared. Although not indicated, the opening dynamic marking was considered to be *piano* since the first dynamic indication at the end of bar 14 designates *forte*. Within this dynamic there were of course momentary expressive nuances like the slight echo effect at the end of bar 5 and 13.

²⁰² Robert Rhein. *Johann Peter Milchmeyer's Die wahre Art das Pianoforte zu spielen: An Annotated Translation*. DMA. Dissertation, University of Nebraska, 1993. (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1993). 102.



Ex. 39 Koželuch, Sonata 16/ii (1784). Allegro, bars 1-5.

The very specific notation in the double octave section bars 15-20 points to counteracting the obviously prevailing legato style. At one time it would have been sufficient to write quavers; the performer would naturally interpret them as they are now notated. Indeed, double octaves would seem to be the last place such specific notation would be required. Perhaps Koželuch was thinking back to the *Allegro molto* and making sure the performer did not try to recreate the syncopated double octave legato in that movement. Could this be a case of Bart van Oort's 'counter-resonance' notation? ²⁰³ But why on a Viennese instrument?

Ex. 40 Koželuch, Sonata 16/ii (1784). Allegro, bars 11-19.

I do have my reservation about van Oort's term. In principle the idea that Haydn may have over notated in order to overcome the English instrument's extra resonance has merit (the opening of Hob. XVI/50/i being a perfect example). But in practice, if one

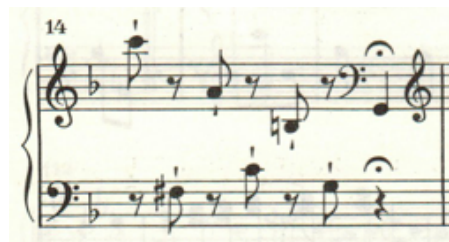
²⁰³ Bart van Oort. "Haydn and the English Classical Piano Style". *Early Music* 28. 1 (2000): 80.

cares to look at earlier Viennese sonatas by Haydn - works obviously conceived for the Viennese instrument with its attendant lightening sharp cut-off damping (wedge shaped leather covered dampers helping in this respect) – there are examples to be found of exactly the same kind of notation. Here is the Sonata in C major Hob. 50 (the middle of a group of three), which van Oort thinks ‘is an example of Haydn trying to achieve a ‘Viennese’ sound on an English piano.’²⁰⁴



Ex. 41 Haydn, Sonata Hob. XVI/50/i (1794/95?). Allegro, bars 1-3.

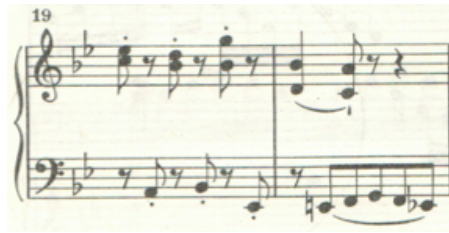
And here are some Viennese works, one dating from 1774 (well before Haydn had any experience of an English instrument) and the other before his first visit to London in January 1791.²⁰⁵



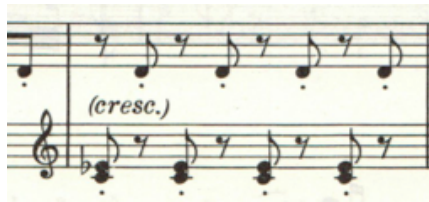
Ex. 42 Haydn, Sonata Hob. XVI/29/i (1774). Moderato, bar 14.

²⁰⁴ Oort, *Early Music*, 81.

²⁰⁵ Although he may well have had experience of English instruments in Vienna at that time and even slightly before.



Ex. 43 Haydn, Sonata Hob. XVI/49/ii (1789/90). Adagio e cantabile, bars 19-20.



Ex. 44 Haydn, Sonata Hob. XVI/29/i (1774). Moderato, bar 57.

To be sure, at first I thought the last example might have been notated for purely practical reasons - in order to keep the hands clear of one other in such close proximity - but in practice, it is not an issue at all.

The more searching passage from bar 23 that links up to one of Koželuch's ubiquitous sextuplet flourishes, warranted a little more time to speak and seemed to anticipate the *Minore* section from bar 80 which certainly benefited from a broader approach. After the sextuplet flourish the rather trite D major theme that follows is fortunately short-lived.



Ex. 45 Koželuch, Sonata 16/ii (1784). Allegro, bars 33-37.

Technically, apart from the upper reaches of the double octave passages, the hardest section to negotiate was the second appearance of the right-hand sextuplet figure from bars 88-104. The challenge here was to alternate between a closed and an open hand position particularly when the thumb was required to move further under as at bar 95 onto the second quarter beat. With repeated slow practice and careful placement of the thumb, the right-hand gradually gauged and remembered the octave leaps successfully.

The image shows two systems of musical notation for piano. The first system, starting at bar 88, consists of a right-hand staff with a sextuplet figure and a left-hand staff with a simple accompaniment. The second system, starting at bar 93, continues the sextuplet figure in the right hand and the accompaniment in the left hand. The music is in a key with two flats and a common time signature.

Ex. 46 Koželuch, Sonata 16/ii (1784). Allegro, bars 88-97.

Despite the rather trite D major theme already alluded to and maybe an over abundance of directionless sextuplets, the movement has many redeeming features. Not least are the effective contrapuntal passages of bars 110-120, where the semiquaver and octave figures are reversed, and in bars 152-172 which culminate in a new (for Koželuch) and interesting linking figure from bar 168:

The image shows a single system of musical notation for piano, starting at bar 168. The right-hand staff features a complex linking figure with many accidentals and a sextuplet. The left-hand staff has a simple accompaniment. The music is in a key with two sharps and a common time signature.

Ex. 47 Koželuch, Sonata 16/ii (1784). Allegro, bars 168-173.

Koželuch uses the same figure with a slightly modified left-hand in his D minor Sonata 24/iii/32-34:



Ex. 48 Koželuch, Sonata 24/iii (1786). Allegro, bars 32-34.

He no doubt discovered the left-hand rhythmic variant along the way, in his Sonata 18/i/Var IV:



Ex. 49 Koželuch, Sonata 18/i Var IV (1785). Allegro, bars 1-4.

The linking figure from bar 168 heralds an unusually lengthy caprice (to use Milchmeyer's terminology) or lead-in (Mozart) or transition (Türk); indeed, the first extended cadenza in small notes (unlike that in Sonata 8/ii/13-45, already discussed, which was incorporated into the main text):



Ex. 50 Koželuch, Sonata 16/ii (1784). Allegro, bars 173-174.

Commentary Five

CD 2. Sonata 20 in A major, Op. 17, no. 2, (1785)

Fortepiano by Paul Downie after Anton Walter c. 1795

CD 2. Track 1: *Allegro molto*

CD 2. Track 2: *Adagio*

CD 2. Track 3: *Allegro molto*

For me, this sonata represents something of a watershed in Koželuch's sonata output. It is not only advanced in terms of the unusual patterns it employs, but also in the harmonic vocabulary it explores. In this respect a foreshadowing of Schubert is palpable. Consider the harmonic shift from the end of the exposition into the development section. Koželuch has naturally modulated from the home key of A major to its dominant E major, nothing unusual in that. But to start the development section in C major is a shock and of course a hallmark of Schubert's flattened sub-median shift (*Terzverwandtschaft*)²⁰⁶ Similarly, the keyboard patterns themselves foreshadow Schubert once again. A comparison between bars 30-34 of this sonata and bars 53-56 of the finale of Schubert's A major Sonata D.664 is illuminating:

*

Ex. 51 Koželuch, Sonata 20/i (1785). Allegro molto, bars 26-34.

²⁰⁶ Similar examples occur in Sonatas 13/ii/32, 23/iii/42 and 73.

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Ex. 52 Schubert, Sonata D. 664, iii (1825). Allegro, bars 53-60.

Likewise between bars 82 of the Koželuch sonata and 32 of the first movement of the Schubert:

* *

Ex. 53 Koželuch, Sonata 20/i (1785). Allegro molto, bars 82-84.

* *

Ex. 54 Schubert, Sonata D. 664, i (1825). Allegro, bars 29-33.

But the comparisons do not stop here. Mozart composed his last Sonata in D major, K. 576 in 1789, four years after this Koželuch work. Compare bars 14 and 15 (of the Koželuch) with a passage from the Mozart work:

Ex. 57 Koželuch, Sonata 20/i (1785). Allegro molto, bars 14-17.

Ex. 58 Mozart, Sonata K. 576/i (1789). Allegro, bars 35-38.

These similarities may well be coincidental. Composers of that time were dealing with many stock musical expressions and freely exchanged ideas. But I do think it is likely certain phrases made a subconscious impression and may well have stayed dormant for a number of years before emerging again in a slightly different form without any hint of their origins.

In many respects my decision to change fortepianos for this sonata and the work that follows was perhaps an unwise one, but it does illustrate how different two instruments designed on the same lines can be. Paul Downie's Walter copy is remarkably bright in the treble and more strident in the bass - quite a contrast to the instrument by Thomas and Barbara Wolf which features on CD1. I am not inferring that the Downie instrument is inferior; in sonatas 32 and 36 it sounds magnificent. The woody treble is

delightful in the former and in the latter the bite and power of the bass creates just the right kind of Beethovenian drama. But what these differences do highlight is a sharp contrast in builder's ideals.²⁰⁷ Andreas Streicher had this to say on the subject:

It is very difficult, if not impossible to agree upon what constitutes a really beautiful instrumental tone since everyone has a more or less different idea about it. For this reason, some prefer a *sharp, cutting or shrill tone*; others on the contrary, prefer a *full, well-rounded tone*.²⁰⁸

There are those builders who believe the late eighteenth century fortepiano still has its tonal roots firmly ensconced in the sound-world of the harpsichord, so for them it seems natural to build an instrument that is literally a harpsichord with hammers. They voice their instruments to highlight the overtones, choosing hammer leather that is firm and produces an incisive attack. Unfortunately from a performer's point of view this kind of instrument is difficult to control. With the best will in the world the dynamic pallet is severely compromised. On the other hand there are instrument makers who prefer a mellower sound, perhaps more in keeping with Thomas Busby's ideals that express 'all those delicacies, energies, and striking lights and shades which so greatly characterize the more refined compositions of the present day.'²⁰⁹ Having played numerous original²¹⁰ and reproduction fortepianos I personally prefer this mellower sound, at least in music that is resplendent with scales and arpeggios, contrasting with more melodic lines. The Rosenberger fortepiano (c. 1800) at Finchcocks Musical Museum is my ideal instrument from this period²¹¹ but the original Walter instruments Linda Nicholson has in her private collection are also rather beautiful.²¹²

In terms of this sonata, I feel the brightness of the tone detracts from the music's lyrical qualities and also causes some clarity problems in the busy semiquaver passagework.

²⁰⁷ In addition to Paul Downie, I have had discussions with and played the instruments by many fortepiano builders, including Paul McNulty, Paul Poletti, David Winston and Christoph Kern.

²⁰⁸ Andreas Streicher's Notes on the Fortepiano: Chapter 2: 'On Tone' Richard A. Fuller. 'Andreas Streicher's Notes on the Fortepiano.' Chapter 2, "on Tone." In *Early Music* 12 (1984): 463

²⁰⁹ Carl Parish. "Criticisms of the Piano when it was new." *Music Quarterly* 30 (1944): 434

²¹⁰ For example at Finchcocks Musical Museum and in the Colt Collection.

²¹¹ I have not had the opportunity to play David Winston's copy as yet.

²¹² I am grateful to Linda Nicholson for a personal tour of her collection in early 2012.

Even in the slow movement things are not quite as I would like them. While the moderator reduces the overtones, the contrast in sound between engaged and released is too great. Additionally, there may have been a slight misjudgment with the microphone placement. But this research is all about experimentation and with any large body of work there will always be certain parts that one perceives to be less good than others. I did toy with the idea of playing this particular work on the Fritz fortepiano of c. 1815, and with hindsight, despite the difference in dates between sonata and instrument, I think this would have been a wise decision. It would also have highlighted how Schubertian this sonata sounds.

Allegro molto

I could not really countenance playing the opening theme of this work without the use of the pedal (bars 1-12). Such lyrical writing would sound dry and stilted without it:

The image shows the first four bars of the opening of Koželuch's Sonata 20/i. The music is in 6/8 time and A major. The tempo is marked 'Allegro molto'. The right hand has a melodic line with a 'dolce' marking, and the left hand has a steady eighth-note accompaniment.

Ex. 59 Koželuch, Sonata 20/i (1785). Allegro molto, bars 1-4.

In this respect it looks forward to the two subsequent A major sonatas, both of which commence with a *cantabile* theme over a pedal point.

The image shows the first four bars of the opening of Koželuch's Sonata 32/i. The music is in 3/4 time and A major. The tempo is marked 'Allegro'. The right hand has a melodic line with a 'f' marking, and the left hand has a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The title 'Sonata 32' and 'Opus 35, no. 2, 1791' are also visible.

Ex. 60 Koželuch, Sonata 32/i (1791). Allegro, bars 1-4.

Sonata 49 after 1810

Allegro

dolce

Ped

*

Ex. 61 Koželuch, Sonata 49/i (after 1810). Allegro, bars 1-5.

By Sonata 49 (after 1810) the pedal indications are clearly evident (the first appearance of a pedal marking came in Sonata 38 [1803]). For me, however, holding the pedal for four bars in this 1785 work seemed excessive, particularly with the change of harmony in bar 3 above the pedal point (even though Sonata 49 has a similar mix of harmonies, although oscillating). Instead, I changed with the harmonies. In Sonata 32 I refrained from using the pedal at all in the opening theme in an effort to retain clarity in the right-hand theme.

All of this being said, there is nothing here to suggest that this is an essentially cantabile (legato) melodic line, except, of course, the *dolce* marking which as we have seen in previous sonatas indicates a dynamic level higher than the supporting accompaniment. It appears again in bar 40, just at the point one would expect to return to a more *cantabile* style: the lead-up consists of a long stretch of semiquaver passagework in the right-hand with detached octaves (they cannot be anything else) in the left-hand, before its linking chromatic run in bars 39 and 40. Similarly, the ascending octave passage in bars 56-58 would become bumpy and devoid of the necessary melodic sweep without the pedal connecting the line. In this sense, I feel Koželuch is implying the use of the pedal in a connecting capacity and perhaps one similar to modern usage. That this passage is still within the *dolce* (and therefore pedalled) cantabile style is confirmed by the detached and slurred octaves in bars 50-55. If the prevailing touch were detached or even non-legato such indications would be superfluous.

Ex. 62 Koželuch, Sonata 20/i (1785). Allegro molto, bars 39-57.

At this point I would like to discuss the use of the word *calando*. In terms of the cycle it appears for the first time in this sonata at bar 148. Until now Koželuch has used the word *mancando* (on three occasions: 2/i/95; 3/iii/35 and 8/i/243) to indicate ‘relaxing, getting weaker’. This came under Milchmeyer’s ‘expression’ category and not related to tempo.²¹³ It seems *calando* is now being used in the same sense: ‘with decreasing strength of sound’,²¹⁴ and once again, an indication relating to expression and not tempo. This is at odds with our current understanding of the term as ‘lowering, *Diminuendo*, with also *rallentando*.’²¹⁵ Koželuch’s use of the term is certainly in line

²¹³ Robert Rhein. *Johann Peter Milchmeyer’s Die wahre Art das Pianoforte zu spielen: An Annotated Translation*. DMA. Dissertation, University of Nebraska, 1993. (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1993). 125.

²¹⁴ Rhein, 123.

²¹⁵ *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Music*. 3rd edition by Michael Kennedy based on the original publication by Percy Scholes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991). 109.

with Sandra Rosenblum's explanation.²¹⁶ Koželuch almost always uses it on the approach to a *fermata*, so although it is definitely a dynamic indication a *rallentando* is implied:

In the approach to certain fermatas ... one takes the movement a bit slower, little by little The passage towards the end of a composition (or sections [of a composition]) that are marked *diminuendo*, *diluendo*, *smorzando*, and the like, may also be played with a little lingering [*verweilend*].

More importantly in Sonata 49/i dated after 1810, he follows *calando* with a *ritardando* marking. Anton Eberl was also still considering the term in its dynamic capacity as late as 1806 when the Grand Duchess of Weimar commissioned what was to be his final work.

His [Eberl's] use of *calando* and *rallentando* together in the *Allegro appassionata* shows that he did not consider the first to imply a relaxing of tempo – useful performing information, since his usage would presumably have been typical of his period in Vienna.²¹⁷

Adagio

Once again similarities are apparent between this movement and the slow movement of Mozart's later Sonata in D major, K. 576. While Koželuch's theme is syncopated and Mozart notates the opening ornament, their shapes are complementary. Furthermore, Koželuch's left-hand accompaniment figure that commences in bar 5 surely foreshadows a similar use of this figure in bar 2 of the Mozart work.

²¹⁶ Sandra Rosenblum. *Performance Practices in Classic Piano Music: Their Principles and Applications*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988). 74-78.

²¹⁷ Anton Franz Josef Eberl. Sonata Grande in G minor Op. 39. [published in 1807] Introduction by Christopher Hogwood. (Oxford: Edition H H Ltd, 2008). Vii.

Adagio

dolce

5

Ex. 63 Koželuch, Sonata 20/ii (1785). Adagio, bars 1-9.

Adagio^{o)}

Ex. 64 Mozart, Sonata K. 576/ii (1789). Adagio, bars 1-4

The slurring over the left-hand extended figures in bars 19-22 seemed to be a clear indication to use the damper pedal and reminded me of Mendelssohn or Schumann.

19

Ex. 65 Koželuch, Sonata 20/ii (1785). Adagio, bars 19-22.

As we have seen as far back as Sonata 1/i/101-108 broken chords with this type of slurring could traditionally be sustained with the fingers if they lay under the hand.²¹⁸ This is obviously not possible in this case so the use of the pedal is essential.²¹⁹ Additionally, it would be very difficult to make the alternating melodic lines between alto and soprano sing without such pedal use. Likewise, in the similarly notated *Minore* section from bars 51-57. However, this did not seem to be the only place the pedal appeared appropriate. Even the opening theme (marked *dolce*) benefited immensely from a touch of pedal on each quaver beat from the D # in the left-hand in bar 1 (catching it after the ornament had been executed to retain clarity). I did experiment with taking the tenor line in the right-hand but this proved unsuccessful. Where it did work was in bars 28-30. Here, I thought it important to maintain the left-hand slurring in bar 27 and keep the textures clear, so took the second tenor B and then A with the right-hand.



Ex. 66 Kozeluch, Sonata 20/ii (1785). Adagio, bars 28-32.

In bars 38-40 I slurred the right-hand to match, but in bars 38 and 40 it was necessary to tie the F # and the A to avoid any bump on the second note.

²¹⁸ I also experimented with holding notes under right-hand slurred figures, even, occasionally when they did not contain notes from the same chord. See 15/i/1, 3, 5, and onwards. Of course this sonata demanded little or no pedal in this movement (but a lot in the second).

²¹⁹ Naturally, this brings to mind the controversy concerning Mozart's notation in K311/ii/87-89. To me, Latchman's theory is untenable (and here I am in agreement with Bilson and Badura-Skoda et al). This present Kozeluch sonata represents just one of many examples that illustrate the pedal mechanism must have been used on a regular basis by Mozart. To imagine that one of the leading fortepianists of his generation (like Kozeluch) did not have such a device on his own instrument (which he transported around Vienna) is ridiculous.



Ex. 67 Koželuch, Sonata 20/ii (1785). Adagio, bars 37-41.

Allegro molto

The chief interest in this movement is the technically advanced keyboard writing: Firstly in the 6ths, from bar 42- 56, and again in bars 131-143 (in a slightly different pattern but equally novel). The *pièce de résistance* of technical display occurs in bars 143-154.

Ex. 68 Koželuch, Sonata 20/ii (1785). Allegro molto, bars 137-147.

Such features point to Koželuch the experienced teacher. And there are many other examples to be found throughout the cycle, all with a particular technical or musical challenge in mind:

Ex. 69 Koželuch, Sonata 17/i (1785). Allegro, bars 18-25.

Ex. 70 Koželuch, Sonata 17/iii (1785). Presto, bars 1-3.

Ex. 71 Koželuch, Sonata 35/i (1793). Allegro, bars 21-24.

Commentary Six

CD 2. Sonata 36 in F minor, Op. 38, no. 3, (1793)

Fortepiano by Paul Downie after Anton Walter c. 1795

CD 2. Track 4: *Largo - Allegro agitato*

CD 2. Track 5: *Allegretto*

This work was one of three sonatas that appeared a year after Koželuch succeeded Mozart as *Kammer Kapellmeister* and *Hofmusik Komponist* to Emperor Franz II. Koželuch probably completed the set prior to commencing his new duties - providing symphonies, operas and other court related works was no doubt a time consuming business. It is also likely that he gave up piano teaching at around about the same time and for similar reasons.²²⁰ It would be ten years before he returned to the keyboard sonata but, as we shall see, he certainly kept up with developments and the work that emerged in 1803 (Sonata in E♭ Op. 51, no. 1) marked a considerable change in his keyboard style.

If you intend to take a ten year break, it is probably a good idea to leave your adoring public with something to remember you by. Koželuch certainly did. The F minor sonata is an astonishing work, full of life and energy and very much paving the way for Beethoven's subsequent contributions to the field. While it probably influenced the finale of Beethoven's F minor Sonata Op 2, no. 1 of 1795, I feel its real effect is not evident until the Sonata in F minor, Op. 57 of 1804/5. Beethoven has of course expanded the textures; everything is on a much larger scale, but the basic ideas are certainly there. Consider Koželuch's insistent rhythmic drive in bars 82-93 of the *Allegro agitato* and subsequent move to the climax point at the start of bar 92. Then compare Beethoven's thundering version in the "*Appassionata*" sonata:

²²⁰ It may have been slightly earlier. Schönfeld reports in 1796 that 'It is a pity this great master has almost completely given up teaching in the past years.' Johann Ferdinand Ritter von Schönfeld. *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag (Wien, 1796)*. 33. Trans. Katherine Talbot as "A Yearbook of the Music of Vienna and Prague, 1796." In *Haydn and His World*. 289-320. Ed. Elaine Sisman. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997). 304.

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Ex. 72 Koželuch 36/i (1793). Allegro agitato, bars 82-93.

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Ex. 73 Beethoven, Op. 57/iii (1804/5). Allegro ma non troppo, bars 98-112

The two are quite similar. Even Beethoven's final crashing *fortissimo* chord is identical to the Koželuch chord in bar 92, it is just written differently. They may have taken slightly different routes, but they arrived at the same place and with the same amount of drama. Demonstrably no *miserabilis*.²²¹

Despite my best intentions, these comparisons with Beethoven are inevitable and in this sense I am adding to the Beethovenian myth. But as a performer in the twenty-first century it is very difficult, if not impossible, to be completely impartial and not influenced by one's own background and training. I think I probably performed this work with a Beethovenian sound in the back of my mind; that feeling of trying to stretch the instrument to its limits, the quintessential element that characterizes many of today's period instrument performances.

I am convinced that, in order to *really* understand Beethoven's piano music, you have to know the instruments he wrote for and, more interestingly, against. In his music, Beethoven was forever trying to stretch the limits, not only of musical form but also of the instruments that were available. His music is always one step ahead of the fortepiano-makers of his days, forcing them to keep developing the piano's construction and action, expanding the range of the keyboard and the tonal and dynamical possibilities. The problem with only playing Beethoven on modern pianos is that you miss out on this struggle of trying to squeeze music into a piano that is actually one size too small.²²²

But is this really Beethovenian or Koželuchian? If there is one element that permeates this research it is that a composer never works in isolation.²²³ Vienna was a melting pot

²²¹ To paraphrase Elaine Sisman who described Koželuch as 'demonstrably no genius.' Elaine Sisman. "The spirit of Mozart from Haydn's hands": Beethoven's musical inheritance. In *The Cambridge Companion to Beethoven*. Glenn Stanley, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). 51.

²²² Ronald Brautigam discussing the fortepiano and Beethoven. Peter Burwasser. "Brautigam's Beethoven and Beyond, on Fortepiano." *Fanfare Magazine* 28. 5 (May 2005): 67.

²²³ Despite Haydn's claims that he was forced to become original at Esterhazy there are certainly clear signs in his later sonatas that he was influenced by the English pianos and the prevailing style that went with them - his Hob. XVI: 51 appears to pay tribute to Dussek. See Katalin Komlós. *Fortepianos and their Music: Germany, Austria and England, 1760-1800*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995): 79.

for ideas that were, for the most part, freely exchanged.²²⁴ Of course Beethoven was not the only composer to benefit from Koželuch's influence. Here is an example from Anton Eberl's *Grande Sonata Caractéristique* in F minor of 1801, followed by Koželuch's earlier model (possibly) from the sonata under discussion.²²⁵



Ex. 74 Eberl, Op. 12 (1801). *Allegro agitato*, bars 26-29.



Ex. 75 Koželuch, 36/i (1793). *Allegro agitato*, bars 9-12.

In addition to these semitone *unisono* motives there are also similarities between the slow introductions to both sonatas in terms of chordal openings, dotted rhythms and pathetic melodies with *gruppetti*.²²⁶

²²⁴ Beethoven of course complained that people were lurking outside his rooms jotting down his ideas as he improvised. He also feigned ignorance of other composer's works. When asked if he often attended Mozart's opera's he replied "I do not know them, and do not care to hear the music of others lest I forfeit some of my originality." As reported by Johann Wenzel Tomaschek (1798) in O. G. Sonneck. *Beethoven: Impressions by His Contemporaries*. (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1967). 22.

²²⁵ Christopher Hogwood identifies a similar relationship. Anton Eberl's *Grande Sonata Caractéristique* in F minor. Edited and with an Introduction by Christopher Hogwood. (Oxford: Edition HH Ltd., 2008).vi. See also Alton Duane White. *The Piano Works of Anton Eberl (1765-1807)*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1971. 92-94.

²²⁶ Hogwood. Eberl Introduction, vi.

Largo

After experimenting with the opening bar I decided not to double dot. This decision was made for two reasons. (1) The penultimate bar of the *Largo* (bar 38) has the double dotting notated - if Koželuch chose to write it out here why not elsewhere? (2) The upbeat semiquavers marked with a *fz* (bars 14, 21) would lose their impact if played even shorter.²²⁷ These *fz* signs (both under semiquavers and quavers) proved to be troublesome and to me inconsistent. After much thought and experimentation I chose to place *fzs* on all the upbeats (in bars 33 and 34 they were clearly downbeat accents).



Ex. 76 Koželuch, 36/i (1793). *Largo*, bars 5-8.

In Sonata 50 (after 1810) Koželuch consistently places *all* the *fzs* on the upbeats throughout the opening introduction (bars 5, 6, 8, 9, 15, 23). Having consulted many first editions and manuscripts in the course of this research I have come to realize how inconsistent such texts can be. The placing of signs can be a very hit and miss affair. Ultimately the editor must choose which version to use, but it is a difficult choice and sometimes the performer must beg to differ.²²⁸

²²⁷ However, if I recorded the work again I may well double dot regardless - the extra bite does add drama to the work. I went back to double dotting in some of the later sonatas for this reason, for example in 48/i. When I recorded Beethoven's Sonata Op. 13 (in 2003, *Kemp English at the Fortepiano*. CD MANU 5001. Ode Records), I double dotted the opening Grave and this worked remarkably well. It helped to capture Milchmeyer's description of the term Grave: 'Ceremonious, with dignity, with propriety.' Quite at odds with some overly slow and lugubrious modern piano readings. Of course the modern pianist struggles to interpret the opening *fp*. On the fortepiano the initial *forte* decays into the following *piano* effortlessly, making a quicker tempo much more achievable.

²²⁸ As Christopher Hogwood has noted: 'Many writers have pointed out, a strictly Ur-text edition is a semantic impossibility, except in the case of works for which there is only a single autograph source that requires no transcription, commentary or explanation; in all other situations, opinion and personal judgement must make an early entry.' Christopher Hogwood. "Urtext, que me veux-tu?" *Early Music* 41.1 (2013): 123-127.

Allegro agitato

Interpretively, this movement was all about tension and release. It was about deciding when to take more time over resolutions. For me, the cadence at the start of bar 8 marked the end of the opening statement and thus required space. This placing had an added advantage as the lateral movement down to the *unisono* was always going to be difficult to achieve in tempo. Likewise, taking time over the interrupted cadence at the start of bar 12 also made sense, creating the environment for a pushing forward through bars 13-15 towards the notated tempo change in bars 16-18.

Ex.77 Koželuch, 36/i (1793). Allegro agitato, bars 1-8.

From bar 17 I felt a *rallentando* and *diminuendo* towards the top of the phrase created a sense of repose before the start of the Beethovenian section beginning at bar 20.

Ex.78 Koželuch, 36/i (1793). Allegro agitato, bars 17-20.

This ebb and flow is a constant feature of all these patterns throughout the movement; each resolution dependent on its associated harmonic twist and the prevalent *affect*. It

emphasizes the rhythmic fluidity that dominates music of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century and highlights the difficulty in trying to describe in words the subtleties of performance. In order for a performance to be a 'performance' one is constantly going against what the text seems to be prescribing, simply because the text cannot possibly convey the essence of taste and feeling. The *affect* cannot be notated. The performer relies on a whole host of intuitive responses to mold their interpretations. Often they are feelings rather than conscious decisions - the kind of 'eureka' moments Anner Bylisma explained.²²⁹ I think this is the difference between analysis and performance.

Catherine Nolan has discussed this topic and identifies two scholars (John Rink and Tim Howell) who are trying to bridge the gap between analysis and performance.²³⁰

John Rink appeals for an approach to analysis based on "informed intuition," an approach that would offer more practical assistance or benefit to the performer than existing modes of analysis. Tim Howell recommends the synthesis or amalgam of various analytical approaches as initiated by the instinctive reactions of the performer. A mode that could actively engage performers would undoubtedly be valuable, and an analytical approach based on "informed intuition" could even benefit theorists by strengthening their ties to the larger musical community and elevating their perceived role beyond that of teachers of musical grammar. This conception, however, would likely be distasteful and even alienating for the analyst, who would likely find it capricious. The most serious difficulty with implementing such a mode of analysis would be in resolving the respective exigencies of each group: the analyst's need for rigor and the performer's need for a place for intuition. And yet these exigencies are not mutually exclusive, but complementary. For many analysts, the process of analysis begins with an intuitive idea or a response to a musical work, and for many performers, the process begins with rigorous working out of technical difficulties and simply "learning the notes." The attributes of intuition and rigor belong to both analysis and performance, though not necessarily at the same stage in the process for each.²³¹

Perhaps one of the complicating issues is that 'Performance, in the literal sense (that is, during the actual concert setting [or recording], disregarding for a moment the

²²⁹ See Chapter Two page 29.

²³⁰ Nolan, Catherine. "Reflections on the Relationship of Analysis and Performance." *College Music Symposium* 33/34 (1993/1994). 112-139.

²³¹ Nolan, 45.

preparation for performance), is a diachronic process, unfolding in real time, while analysis, although carried out in time, is not limited in presentation by temporal duration or sequence.’ And it is ‘essentially a rational pursuit of the mind,’²³² whereas performance must largely be an intuitive approach.

Allegretto

When I initially played through this movement I found it rather repetitive and uninteresting - in sharp contrast to the first movement. But the more familiar I became with it, the more I discovered. Milchmeyer’s comments regarding sight-reading come to mind:

On this occasion I cannot warn teachers enough to rid their students of the idle preconception of wanting to play everything at first sight. Now, during the course of the last twenty-four years I have had more than a hundred pupils whose parents told me, at our first meeting, that their children could read everything at sight. However - instead of being amazed or overjoyed by this, I calmly replied that they far surpassed me in this art, for I could not play a single bar as it should be played without studying it. This mad desire to play everything immediately at sight results in nothing more than a monotonous production of tasteless, meaningless music.²³³

Firstly it is important to establish the correct tempo. Throughout this cycle I have been faced with countless tempo choices ranging from *Largo* to *Presto* and everything in between. Ultimately each work will answer the question differently. What are the prevailing note values and time signature? Are the textures thick or thin? Moreover, considerations above and beyond the work itself must also be taken into account. What sort of instrument is being used? What are the acoustical properties of the room? These questions can only be answered on an individual basis and after much experimentation. I do believe there is an optimum tempo for every piece but within this there will be countless fluctuations to mirror the appropriate *affects*. I also think that the musical content will generally dictate the tempo regardless of the Italian term employed. Indeed, the musical content often dictates or at least clarifies the often ambiguous nature of

²³² Nolan, 113.

²³³ Robert Rhein. *Johann Peter Milchmeyer’s Die wahre Art das Pianoforte zu spielen: An Annotated Translation*. DMA. Dissertation, University of Nebraska, 1993. (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1993). 13.

Italian terms (or any other character designating terms in other languages). In Sonata 26/ii, for example, Koželuch indicates *Andantino con variazioni*. It becomes clear that this must be interpreted as ‘Somewhat slower than *Andante*’²³⁴ and not as slightly faster than *Andante* as Galeazzi, Cartier, Koch, Muller and later Czerny recommended.²³⁵ While the opening theme is perfectly feasible at a slightly faster tempo - particularly bearing in mind the *Alla breve* indication - the variations that follow get increasingly complex, becoming unmanageable at the faster tempo.²³⁶

Milchmeyer suggests that *Allegretto* indicates ‘Somewhat slower than *Allegro*.’²³⁷ This works well in the present work (36/ii) since a moderately slow two in a bar makes sense of the rocking figures in bars 2 and 4.



Ex.79 Koželuch, 36/ii (1793). *Allegro agitato*, bars 1-4.

It also makes the sextuplets from bars 16-20 manageable.

²³⁴ Rhein, 122.

²³⁵ Rosenblum, 316.

²³⁶ Mozart chastised Clementi for writing ‘*Presto* over a sonata or even *Prestissimo* and *Alla breve*, and plays it himself *Allegro* in 4/4 time.’ Rosenblum, 305.

²³⁷ Rhein, 122.

Ex.80 Koželuch, 36/ii (1793). Allegro agitato, bars 13-19.

I chose to use the moderator extensively, releasing it only for the middle Maggiore section. It seemed to make sense of this questioning theme and was particularly effective in bars 2 and 4, which I felt should contain a diminuendo through the repeated chords. I used the pedal to sustain bars with the same harmony (bars 2 and 4), but also to connect the right-hand melodic lines and their associated left-hand accompaniments (bars 9-15).

Commentary Seven

CD 3. Sonata 38 in E♭ major, Op. 51, no. 1 (1803)

Fortepiano by Johann Fritz c. 1815

CD 3. Track 1: *Allegro*

CD 3. Track 2: *Adagio*

CD 3. Track 3: *RONDO Vivace*

In this sonata Koželuch notates pedal markings for the first time, but as we have seen throughout this body of recordings, the raised damper effects were an important part of his piano technique from the very first sonata. In 1799 he gave instructions to his English publisher John Bland regarding the London edition of his Three Caprices Op. 44:

N.B. These Caprices ought to be played from beginning to end with the mutation open [*ouverte*]. In German this mutation is called the damper [*Dämpfung*] and in French ordinarily the forte. This mechanism is found on every Piano Forte; it is raised with the knee and produces the effect of a [glass] harmonica for the sound is not extinguished but remains sustained.²³⁸

Sandra Rosenblum explains their significance:

Koželuh wanted to imitate the reverberant sounds of the glass harmonica with the “undamped register” of the fortepiano. Milchmeyer had suggested caution;[²³⁹] Koželuh did not. His instruction, which would have seemed archaic to owners of English instruments, was not printed in the London edition – a shorter one appeared in the original Viennese edition – nor are there any damper indications in the score itself. Yet, measured against the kind of blurred sounds already discussed, his Caprices are surprisingly successful in exploring the ebb and flow of numerous quasi-Impressionist sonorities with no damping of the strings. Koželuh was known as an excellent pianist, and the Caprices testify that

²³⁸ Quoted in Rosenblum, 136.

²³⁹ ‘As for the dampers, there is much to point out. They create the most beautiful but also the most dreadful modification, depending on whether they are employed with taste or poorly. For in the latter case all notes sound mingled together, and cause such intolerably bad noise that one would like to plug one’s ears.’ Robert Rhein. *Johann Peter Milchmeyer’s Die wahre Art das Pianoforte zu spielen: An Annotated Translation*. DMA. Dissertation, University of Nebraska, 1993. (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1993). 143/4.

he understood his instrument well. These pieces, in slow or moderate tempo, with generally slow harmonic rhythm; careful spacing of texture; cleverly calculated use of the bass notes, pedal points, dynamics, and rests; and chordal activity in sixteenth and 32d notes, move like improvisations through many kinds of chord progressions. By far the most important interpretive elements are the balancing of the indicated *forte* and *piano* sounds and the occasional adding of discretionary quiet dynamics.²⁴⁰

Allegro

The opening March-like theme provides an arresting start to this sonata. In this work Koželuch's notation is becoming quite precise. A decade earlier it would have been sufficient to write two crotchet beats at the start of bars 2 and 4, the player automatically making them shorter than their written value.

Sonata 38 Opus 51, no. 1, 1803

Allegro

Ex. 81 Koželuch, 38/i (1803). Allegro, bars 1-8.

The lyrical theme that follows in bar 5 comes complete with notated finger pedalling and the first use of pedal indications in the sonatas in bar 6 and 8. However, in this case I felt that Koželuch's notation is maybe not as 'special case' as it seems. If one finger pedals as indicated, the right-hand melodic lines, which often contain semiquaver movement and precise articulation marks, make perfect sense at least throughout the

²⁴⁰ Rosenblum, 136/7.

first page. Things change somewhat on the second page when lyrical chords that require pedal, punctuate the semiquaver passagework (bars 26, 28 and 30).

Ex. 82 Koželuch, 38/i (1803). Allegro, bars 24-30.

I also felt that slight touches of pedal were required in some of the octave passages (bars 82/83, 195/196/197) and occasionally within the contrapuntal sequences (bars 64-69, 117-121).

In terms of the fingering, most of the passagework presented few problems. However, as ever, Koželuch the pedagogue likes to test the weaker fingers of the left-hand. The descending passage at bars 56 and 57 (also 177 and 178) tests the 4th and 5th fingers and because of the disposition of black keys it was not possible to use stronger fingers without the passage becoming disjointed.

Ex. 83 Koželuch, 38/i (1803). Allegro, bars 55-57.

In bars 104 and 105 it was necessary to change the left-hand hand position at the end of each bar using the 2nd and 4th fingers. For smaller hands, sustaining the octaves in the left-hand whilst playing the inner notes with 3rd and 2nd fingers (bars 82/83) might be difficult so I notated an alternative just using the 2nd finger for all three notes. Another slightly awkward moment occurs in the right-hand leading up to the cadential trill at the end of bars 60 and 61, 181 and 182. At bar 181 I notated a possible alternative fingering that avoids the big leap from a 2nd finger to a 5th finger but it does require quite a big hand and a rather awkward jump of the thumb.

Adagio

Koželuch's *Alla breve* time signature is a warning not to take this movement too slowly, but at the same time the demisemi-quaver flourishes can become scrambled if the overall tempo is excessive. I felt that a slow crotchet beat worked best, although at the outset I made a point of measuring in semiquavers to insure rhythmic accuracy.



Ex. 84 Koželuch, 38/ii (1803). Adagio, bars 1-4.

The right-hand syncopations on the third beat in bars 5 and 6 required particular attention as they did in bars 13 and 14. The cantabile nature of this movement certainly required the use of more pedal than Koželuch indicates. Its use, however, must be judicious, as so much of the demisemi-quaver ornamentation must be heard clearly. For example, I felt that the opening unison and the ornament that comes out of it needed to be clear of pedal, its introduction being delayed until after the 2nd beat sixth and its associated appoggiatura have sounded. In this movement we have two clear examples of pedal use: (a) for practical reasons (not notated): to allow the chordal melodic lines to sing and (b) for colouristic reasons (notated): the wash of sound created in the dotted theme beginning at bar 16 and its subsequent appearances.

Ex. 85 Koželuch, 38/ii (1803). Adagio, bars 16-21.

I arrived at my choice of fingerings with the use of pedal in mind. In that way I could facilitate hand position changes smoothly and without the need for complicated finger substitutions. I also felt that putting a thumb on a black note was quite acceptable if it created a good hand position for subsequent passagework (3rd beat of bars 5 and 6). This became a theme of the sequential passages beginning at bar 27, where both the right-hand and left-hand often start or end with a thumb on a black note. Once the patterns become internalized it makes perfect sense, avoiding as it does, lots of thumbs under and over. I soon adjusted to the slight pattern change in the right-hand at the end of bars 27, 29, 37 and 38.

Although the dynamic markings increase as the movement progresses, at the outset we are really left to our own devices. I felt that it was important to add hairpin indications that would give shape to the opening theme. As a rule of thumb, the dynamics follow the shape of the music. What goes up crescendos and what comes down has a decrescendo. There are of course exceptions. One such is the descending link that heralds the return to the opening theme on three occasions (bars 8, 23, 42). It felt more comfortable growing towards the *sf*.

Ex. 86 Koželuch, 38/ii (1803). Adagio, bars 8-12.

RONDO

Vivace

Open pedal effects are a feature of this rondo theme and much of the movement as a whole. Such effects work well most of the time, but on two occasions I felt the wash of sound was excessive. When the sextuplet figure became a part of this wash the sounds simply became confused. I am referring to bars 229 – 234 and 241 – 246. Up until this point Koželuch had avoided indicating any pedal during this sextuplet passagework and to my mind this was a sensible decision.

Ex. 87 Koželuch, 38/iii (1803). Vivace, bars 225-237.

The hand crossing on page three is a nice touch and certainly uses the whole keyboard compass but as a result causes one or two stretching issues. I fingered the right-hand extreme bass shift so that it ended on a 1 to 5 leap (bar 59), safer for a clean octave and also providing the possibility of imitating the two note slur found in bar 57. It did require some space between body and keyboard but nothing out of the ordinary. Because of the detached right-hand figure either side of the left-hand accompanying repetitions Koželuch's indicated finger pedal markings work well, but I did find it necessary for a touch of pedal to accommodate the left-hand shift from the end of bar 63 into bar 64. I initially started each of the treble descents with a 5th finger but changed to a 4 after repeatedly failing to gain good detachment in the second descent at the end of bar 59.

The image displays two systems of musical notation for a piano exercise. The first system, starting at bar 55, shows a right-hand melody with eighth-note runs and a left-hand accompaniment of eighth notes. The second system, starting at bar 60, continues the piece with similar rhythmic patterns. The key signature has two flats, and the tempo is marked 'Vivace'.

Ex. 88 Koželuch, 38/iii (1803). Vivace, bars 55-64.

Fingering is very much a case of trial and error. Initial thoughts can certainly work but often need modification when the tempo increases.

Commentary Eight

CD 3. Sonata 49 in A major (after 1810)

Pianoforte by Joseph Kirckman c. 1798

CD 3. Track 6: *Allegro*

CD 3. Track 7: *Andante sostenuto*

CD 3. Track 8: *RONDEAU Allegretto*

Allegro

Yet again Koželuch indulges in his penchant for the open pedal effects, starting this sonata with four bars of undamped thematic material.

Sonata 49 after 1810

The musical score shows the first five bars of the sonata. The right hand has a melodic line with a 'dolce' marking and a 'Ped' marking under the first four bars. The left hand has a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth notes. A star symbol is placed below the bass line at the end of the fifth bar.

Ex. 89 Koželuch, 49/i (after 1810). Allegro, bars 1-5.

This is truly lyrical music, exploiting the richly textured middle register of the keyboard. It is the kind of melodic material that must have inspired the young Schubert. Once again I think Koželuch's pedal markings simply indicate special case instructions rather than comprehensive prescriptions. There are so many places where pedal is really necessary but not marked. The four bars leading up to the end of the exposition is a prime example. Here the sweeping E major arpeggios sound feeble without pedal but work well when the whole, or at least the half bar is sustained. Similarly, when this figure appears again at the end of the movement:



Ex. 90 Koželuch, 49/i (after 1810). Allegro, bars 77-81.

Other places include the double trills at bars 68, 69 and 185, 186, which gain immeasurably from ample pedal:

Ex. 91 Koželuch, 49/i (after 1810). Allegro, bars 63-72.

However, I did try to avoid lifting the dampers whenever the clarity of semiquaver movement might suffer. The sequence of semiquaver patterns that begins at bar 18 and continues until bar 25 is a case in point. Careful finger selection enabled a crisp and articulate performance without resorting to excessive pedal. The trick seemed to be to reposition the left-hand as soon as possible during the right-hand's group of six solo semiquavers; particularly important when the left-hand begins on the slightly awkward 5, 3 stretch at bars 20, 23 and 25. Once again, in bars 35 and 36, 150 and 151, any hint of pedal would destroy Koželuch's carefully notated articulation.

Ex. 92 Koželuch, 49/i (after 1810). Allegro, bars 148-151.

Fingering is again important. Even with the open pedal effect I thought it prudent to reposition the hand halfway through the second bar and on its subsequent appearance throughout the movement. Koželuch writes so well for the keyboard that the hands almost find their own way without too much thought. There were, however, one or two places where first impressions did not always work. A troublesome spot occurred at the beginning of the development section when the right-hand has an octave leap at the midpoint of bar 83. At first glance each of these fragments would seem to imply a 5th finger start but after many inaccurate landings I chose a safer 4th finger start relying on the pedal to cover the shifts.



Ex. 93 Koželuch, 49/i (after 1810). Allegro, bars 82-85.

Andante sostenuto

In this slow movement fingering plays a part once again, and with an opening theme that appears a further three times it is important to establish a sequence of fingers that lie under the hands well and yet realize the composers articulation markings. Although my suggested fingering does require a stretch of a major 7th in the left-hand (between the bass and tenor on the first beat of bar 1) and a 6th in the right-hand (soprano and alto, 3rd beat of the bar 1) most hands will find it perfectly manageable, particularly if combined with a little pedal.

3 2 4 3 5 1 5

159

Andante sostenuto
dolce

1 2 1 2 1 2
5 - - - -

Ex. 94 Koželuch, 49/ii (after 1810). Adagio, bars 1-4.

It would, however, be feasible to start the phrase with the 3rd finger. In this way the 6th at the end of bar 1 would be played using fingers 5 and 1, 5 and 2 taking the C# and A of bar 2. My only problem with this comes in bar 6 when the *fz* A in the right-hand seems to magnetically attract the 3rd finger, making my 2nd finger start so much more appealing.

As the movement is marked *sostenuto* I felt at liberty to use ample pedal, both to enrich the tonal palette and to occasionally overcome large shifts in register. That being said, I felt it was most important to retain Koželuch's carefully marked three note slurs, which are often preceded by a staccato note (bars 8 and 9).

Ex. 95 Koželuch, 49/ii (after 1810). Adagio, bars 5-9.

It may be that this kind of shortening is simply an indication of a phrase ending (as Hogwood suggests in his introduction ²⁴¹) but it is feasible to give it a literal interpretation, albeit without accent, as a launch to the higher register, sustaining the

²⁴¹ Hogwood, *Introduction I*, XIII.

bass for its full value. In this way the music breathes without becoming excessively punctuated. There is a fine line between over articulation and sweeping legato phrases that are out of place in repertoire from this period (Brahms was notating articulation marks into the 1890s).

RONDEAU

Allegretto

Establishing the correct tempo is crucial to the success of this movement. Too fast and the triplet figures which become prominent interjections between the singing octave themes become rushed and difficult to manage. As ever, they lie well under the hands, but still require thought. The left-hand triplet figures in bars 72 – 76 and 191 -193 are much more manageable on the fortepiano than on the modern piano, particularly when placing the 4th finger on the second bar of each passage. My alternative, using the 1st finger at this point, does necessitate an awkward shift of the hand, but on the heavier action of a modern grand it may be the only solution for a weak 4th finger.

Ex. 96 Koželuch, 49/iii (after 1810). Allegretto, bars 69-77.

On two occasions I chose to divide arpeggios between the hands to avoid an excessive shift for the right-hand into the bass (bars 41 and 45). This division did not seem

necessary in the *Minore* section as neither hand crossed in front of the body to an excessive degree. Some of the arpeggios in the right-hand that turned back required a change of finger on the last note to reduce the stretch: The last note of the second triplet in each bar is taken with the 4th finger, which makes the movement back to the 2nd finger much more manageable (bars 78 and 79, 195 and 196). I consistently used the 4th finger on black notes to obtain a good legato and often as a means to emphasize the two - note slurring of some octaves.

In addition to Koželuch's delightful music box pedal indications, which are part and parcel of the Rondo theme, I supplemented these with touches of pedal designed to enhance the singing tone of bare octaves (in the right-hand bars 33, 34, 56, 57 and left-hand bars 37, 38) which also often helped to cover shifts in register. Many of the sweeping arpeggios worked better both technically and musically with ample pedal, particularly when building up to significant climaxes. I did, however, choose to play the arpeggios in the *Minore* section as non legato interjections between legato answering phrases.



Ex. 97 Koželuch, 49/iii (after 1810). Allegretto, bars 114-117.

Commentary Nine

CD 3. Sonata 50 in E minor (after 1810)

Fortepiano by Johann Fritz c. 1815

CD 3. Track 9: *Adagio – Allegro molto con fuoco*

CD 3. Track 10: *Larghetto*

RONDO Presto

Adagio

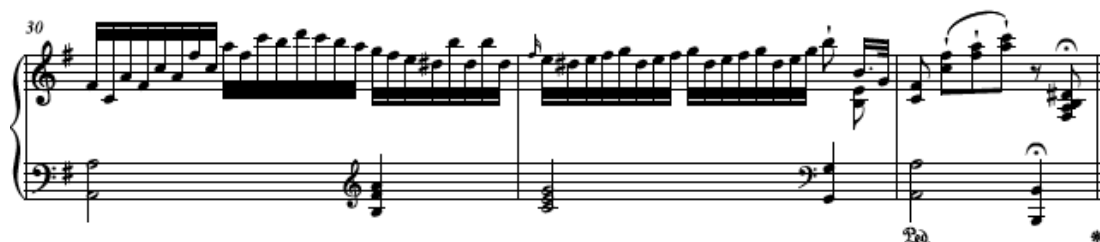
We are now well and truly into the nineteenth-century in terms of pianistic style. Koželuch, along with all the other great composers of this period, notates quite specific rhythmic formulas, leaving little to be deduced from contemporary practice. Such precise notation prompted me to drop any thoughts of double dotting the semiquaver movement in the first and subsequent bars. To do so would undermine the sharply defined rhythmic figures linking each statement of this grand opening.

Sonata 50 after 1810

The image shows a musical score for the first four bars of the Adagio section of Sonata 50. The score is written for piano in 3/4 time and E minor. The first bar is marked 'f' (forte) and the second bar is marked 'p' (piano). The third bar is marked 'f' and the fourth bar is marked 'p'. The notation includes a damper pedal marking in the final bar.

Ex. 98 Koželuch, 50/i (after 1810). Adagio, bars 1-4.

While Koželuch only notates the use of the damper pedal in the last bar of this introduction I feel that the pedal must be used freely throughout and that the last bar indication simply illustrates, once again, a special case use. Here Koželuch wants the mixture of two different harmonies; a blurred effect that would normally be avoided at such a cadence point. Either that or the pedal marking is incorrectly notated.



Ex. 99 Koželuch, 50/i (after 1810). Adagio, bars 30-32.

After a number of experiments to see if I could pedal cadence resolutions I decided against it when the resolution was a sixteenth note (bars 2, 8 and 9 for example). It did not allow enough time to change the pedal and the effect was generally messy. Likewise, the chromatic ascending movement leading up to the cadential formulas in bars 7 and 22 worked better without pedal for the same reasons, necessitating a change from my initial fingering indications to accommodate a legato link in the chromatic movement, lifting the other parts before the 6/4 chord:



Ex. 100 Koželuch, 50/i (after 1810). Adagio, bars 5-8.

Dynamic indications, while present, are sparse and many more inflections are required to make this introduction come to life. Similarly, to play the florid demisemiquaver figurations (bars 14 & 15; 29, 30 & 31) strictly in time would undermine the essentially improvisatory nature of this introduction. I therefore chose to use agogic accentuation to highlight important moments in each of these passages, a practice which gives the music a little more ebb and flow and alleviates a slavish adherence to the beat. The capricious turns of phrase in bars 8 & 9; 21 & 22 seemed stilted if not given a sense of direction, so a slight pushing forward made admirable sense and corresponded nicely to a good rubato 'catching up' after a slightly broader placement of the cadence just before bar 8. These and other rhythmic variants combined with dynamic inflections gave the music more musical shape.

Allegro molto con fuoco

At first glance my choice of left-hand fingering may seem unusual. However, placing the 3rd finger on the half bar E sets up a pattern that will pay dividends later on in this movement.



5 3

Ex. 101 Kozeluch, 50/i (after 1810). *Allegro molto con fuoco*, bars 1-5.

From bar 16, this 3rd finger placement alleviates any need to change the pattern, providing a seamless sequential repetition that will work for the rest of the movement. Once in place the hand readily adjusts to a slight inward inclination. Such sequential fingerings play an important part in this movement encompassing as they do many of the triplet figures, the most demanding of which were those in the left-hand from bars 48 – 51 and then again from bars 174 – 177. After some experimentation I decided that the pattern at the bottom of bar 175 worked better with the outside of the hand. It was a contrast to the stronger 4, 3, 2, 1 fingers, which although possible, necessitated an awkward movement of the thumb onto the F#. I fingered the more lyrical section from bar 29 with hand positions in mind, always making sure that the slurred four note figure (and its detached upbeat) ended with a finger that placed the hand in a good position for the following phrase. Sometimes I was torn between keeping a sequential fingering (retaining 3, 2, 3, 4, 2) rather than planning ahead. However, I felt that at this point the prescribed 1, 2, 3, 4, 1, avoided the risk of split notes resulting from such a big shift. Kozeluch's keyboard music is cleverly designed to exploit sequential fingerings and the resultant change of hand positions. He exemplifies the kind of fingering practices Milchmeyer outlines in his *School of Piano Playing*.

Once again, Koželuch only notates ‘special case’ pedaling. On four occasions he asks for the dampers to be raised continuously during the course of four bars (62 - 65; 103 – 105; 108 – 111; 187 – 190. Although not notated from bars 108 - 111, I felt it was certainly implied) creating the usual magical effects:

Ex. 102 Koželuch, 50/i (after 1810). Allegro molto con fuoco, bars 60-67.

To take a literal interpretation of the pedal markings and only pedal where indicated seemed absurd to me. Many of the chordal passages would be almost impossible to play and would sound weak without sufficient pedal (bars 13, 14, 36 and corresponding points).

Ex. 103 Koželuch, 50/i (after 1810). Allegro molto con fuoco, bars 11-15.

Even the opening *forte* downbeat and its many reappearances seemed weak without pedal.

Even by this late stage in his compositional career Koželuch seemed reluctant to indicate crescendo and diminuendo markings. Passages are marked *piano* or *forte* with few indications in between.

Larghetto

Unlike many of Koželuch's sonata slow movements this *Larghetto* is more akin to an extended link than a fully-fledged discourse. The thematic material itself is often reminiscent of the first movement.



Ex. 104 Koželuch, 50/ii (after 1810). *Larghetto*, bars 1-4.

Bars 3 and 4 quote the rhythmic figures in the first movement's introduction almost exactly (bars 1-2; 3-4; 16-17; 18-19) as do bars 24 – 26, the latter even paying homage to the capricious link in bar 9 of the introduction. The sequential repetition of cadences in this slow movement, particularly from bars 10 – 18, are similar to many such moments in the opening *Allegro molto con fuoco* (bars 34 & 35 and other slightly more extended examples). This is a movement full of motivic connections.

RONDO

Presto

This delightful movement presents few problems for the Koželuch performer. It lies well under the hands and consistently explores the hurdy-gurdy effects that were so popular at that time. Although notated at the outset and then only spasmodically thereafter, I decided that these four bar open pedal effects should be synonymous with the Rondo theme; they also adumbrate similar effects in the first movement.

RONDO
Presto

mezza voce

2a *

Ex. 105 Koželuch, 50/i (after 1810). Presto, bars 1-5.

Commentary Ten

CD 4. Two Sonatas and Selected Movements

Sonata 1 in F major, Op.1, no. 1 (1780) [Grand Pianoforte by Joseph Kirckman, c.1798]

CD 4. Track 1: *Allegro molto* (5:55)

CD 4. Track 2: *Cantabile* (7:16)

CD 4. Track 3: *RONDEAU Presto* (3:36)

Compare this recording of the first sonata utilizing the English Kirckman grand pianoforte of c. 1798, with that on CD 1 (tracks 4-6) played on a reproduction Viennese instrument after Anton Walter c. 1795. The Cantabile slow movement sounds particularly sluggish and unflattering without using the pedal (and to do so would completely change the character of the work):

The use of the pedals in Germany is almost unknown. English pianos have a fuller sound and a heavier keyboard action. The players of that country have adopted a larger style and that beautiful way of singing that distinguishes them; and it is indispensable to use the large pedal in order to conceal the inherent dryness of the piano. Dussek, Field and J. B. Cramer, the chiefs of that school which was founded by Clementi, use the pedal when harmonies do not change. Dussek above all was responsible for that, for he used the pedal almost consistently when he played in public.²⁴²

Sonata 37 in G major (?) [Harpichord by Longman & Broderip (T. Culliford) 1785]

CD 4. Track 4: *Moderato* (2:05)

CD 4. Track 5: *Menuetto & Trio* (2:29)

CD 4. Track 6: *Allegro* (1:40)

This sonata has been chosen to demonstrate the Venetian swell device and lute stop on this fine English harpsichord. The contrasts between *forte* and *piano* can be clearly

²⁴² Frederich Wilhelm Kalkbrenner, *Méthode pour apprendre le Piano à l'aide du Guide-Mains*, Op. 108 (Paris: J. Meissonier Fils, 1830), trans. in H. C. Schonberg, *The Great Pianists*. 20. Quoted in Robert Edward Gates. *The Influence of the Eighteenth-Century Piano on the Music of Joseph Haydn*. D. Mus. Indiana University, 1982. 37.

heard in all three movements. The lute can be heard in the Trio. Some subtle use of ornamentation will also be apparent in the outer movements.²⁴³

Sonata 9 in C major, Op. 8, no. 1 (1784) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by T & B Wolf, USA]

CD 4. Track 7: *Adagio cantabile* (6:34)

Sonata 15 in E minor, Op. 13, no. 3 (1784) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by T & B Wolf, USA]

CD 4. Track 8: *Cantabile* (6:15)

Sonata 31 in F major, Op. 35, no. 1 (1791) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by P. Downie, NZ]

CD 4. Track 9: *Adagio* (2:52)

The above three sonata movements have been chosen to illustrate Koželuch's command of the eighteenth-century slow movement and the '*cantabile*' style.

Instrumental music seems now nearer perfection than at any former period [...] And if the modern piano-forte sonatas have not the wildness and originality of Dom. Scarlatti's harpsichord music, they are more methodical, more melodious; and in some *adagios* (particularly Koželuch's) the air is so *cantabile* and expressive, as to seem to be the perfection of that sort of music.²⁴⁴

Sonata 33 in G minor, Op. 35, no. 3 (1791) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by P. Downie, NZ]

CD 4. Track 10: *Allegretto* (5:57)

Sonata 35 in C major, Op. 38, no. 2 (1793) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by P. Downie, NZ]

CD 4. Track 11: *Allegro* (7:43)

Koželuch did not commence his many Scottish folk song arrangements until 1802 - prompted by commissions from George Thomson. It is clear, however, from these sonata movements that he had a certain penchant for the Scottish style well before that

²⁴³ For more information about this instrument and particularly with relation to its 'Machine Stop' (not used in this study) please see Kenneth Mobbbs and Alexander Mackenzie of ORD. "The 'Machine Stop' and its Potential on Full-Specification One-Manual Harpsichords made by Thomas Culliford in 1785." *Galpin Society Journal* 47 (1994): 33-46.

²⁴⁴ The Monthly Magazine (1800), vol, 9, p. 126 signed "W.C." Quoted in Hogwood, Introduction, I, VIII.

date. I have ornamented the repeats of the *Allegretto* in Sonata 33 accordingly. The opening movement from Sonata 35 is undeniably jig-like in its triplet figurations.

Sonata 17 in F major, Op. 15, no. 2, (1785) [Walter copy (c. 1795) by T & B Wolf, USA]

CD 4. Track 12: *Poco adagio* (4:31)

I chose this movement primarily to illustrate some of the possible options for ornamenting repeats. Added appoggiaturas, trills and turns and even some syncopated effects in thirds similar to those in the slow movement to Mozart's Sonata in F K332 (First Edition 1784) seemed appropriate (bar 36). This movement also represents another instance where use of the damper pedal seems almost obligatory.

Sonata 41 in G major, Op. 53, no. 1, (1806) [Fortepiano by Johann Fritz c. 1815]

CD 4. Track 13: *Allegretto* (3:05)

In the course of this cycle of recordings I have only used the bassoon knee lever and Janissary effects on the Fritz fortepiano two times: in the finale of this sonata and in the finale of Sonata 42. As Kenneth Mobbs so rightly points out: 'the law of diminishing returns operates very forcefully in the use of percussion.'²⁴⁵ There were those who embraced such devices (Milchmeyer and Steibelt) and even felt they were a 'necessary addition to the pianoforte at that time'.²⁴⁶ However, many felt they were devoid of 'good taste' and represented a 'debased vogue'.²⁴⁷ I think used judiciously such effects can be a remarkable source of additional colour.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁵ Kenneth Mobbs. "Stops and other special effects on the early piano." *Early Music* 12. (1994): 474.

²⁴⁶ R. E. M. Harding. *The Piano-forte: its History Traced to the Great Exhibition of 1851*. (Cambridge. 1933. Rev 2 1978). 123.

²⁴⁷ Mobbs, 476.

²⁴⁸ Andreas Staier's subtle use of the bassoon stop in the piano part of Winterreise (with Christoph Prégardien) is a case in point. Schubert. Winterreise, Op 89. Warner Classics, 1998.

CONCLUSION

The *raison d'être* behind this research project has been to bring to life, in an aural sense, scores that have been neglected for over 200 years. To provide a readily available, comprehensive and rich aural resource that complements Christopher Hogwood's valuable new edition of these forgotten works. In this sense, my recordings of these sonatas cannot be anything other than original work – they represent, for the most part, 'world premier' recordings. Furthermore, as these recorded performances are in the process of being 'published' by a major international recording label they are destined for widespread dissemination (see Appendix A). It has not, therefore, been my primary objective to provide written descriptions of these works that may or may not enhance their effect.²⁴⁹ Musical performance is an aural experience first and foremost; it is not about a verbal explanation of that aural experience. Indeed, in a recent scientific study researchers have found that in two of the five senses - sight and taste – verbalization (writing about an experience) reduces cognition. It is hard to believe that the same does not apply to our aural senses. Schooler et al²⁵⁰ observed that 'verbalization focuses subjects on the verbally relevant information and thereby overshadows information that is not readily verbalized. They described this interference as *verbal overshadowing*. They also concluded that verbalization can adversely effect insight problem solving. 'Metaphorically speaking, verbalization may cause such a ruckus in the "front" of one's mind that one is unable to attend to new approaches that may be emerging in the "back" of one's mind.'²⁵¹ In the course of this study I have made frequent reference to 'taste' and 'feeling', to *affect* and intuition. Many of these terms were common currency in the eighteenth-century and they defied verbal description then, just as much as they do today. They are, in effect, 'back' of the mind components:

²⁴⁹ Besides, Gertrud Löbl, Milan Poštolka and Crista Flamm have already provided valuable scholarly work in this area. Gertrud Löbl. *Die Klavier Sonate Bei Leopold Koželuch*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Vienna, 1937. Milan Poštolka. *Leopold Koželuh, Život a dílo*. (Prague: Státní Hudební Vydavatelství, 1964). Flamm, Christa. *Leopold Koželuch: Biographie und stilkritische Untersuchung der Sonaten für Klavier, Violine und Violoncello*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Vienna, 1968.

²⁵⁰ Jonathan W. Schooler et al. "Thoughts Beyond Words: When Language Overshadows Insight." *Journal of Experimental Psychology* 122. 2 (1993): 166-183.

²⁵¹ Schooler, 169.

Throughout the Classical and Romantic periods, a more or less literal performance of the kind we hear today, observing all the note values, pitches, dynamics and tempo terms, was regarded merely as a stage on the road to mastery; the aim of every gifted musician was to understand and give life to the subliminal messages behind the notation. This is clearly conveyed by Hummel's distinction in his 1828 *Anweisung zum Piano-Forte-Spiel*, and Spohr's in his 1833 *Violinschule*, between 'correct' and 'beautiful' performance. Both authors attempted to explain the distinction, but confessed like many other authorities that it can only be properly understood through hearing performances by great musicians.²⁵²

So much of what we do as performing musicians lies hidden in the subconscious mind. The difference between a 'correct' performance and a 'beautiful' performance is often difficult to quantify, at least in any verbal sense. As a performer I think a beautiful performance emerges from the back of the mind. I also feel that as a listener a beautiful performance is perceived in the back of the mind. We are dealing with such incredibly subtle information that the conscious mind simply cannot make sense of such stimuli. In his recent book 'Blink'²⁵³ Malcolm Gladwell recounts the case of a kouros sculpture²⁵⁴ offered to the Getty Museum in California. On the surface it seemed to be 'correct' in every way. It was carved from verifiable dolomite marble and even displayed the 'correct' kind of calcification typical of something hundreds, if not thousands of years old. Test after test by the museum confirmed its apparent authenticity. And yet, experts in the field had an instant hunch that something was amiss. One perceived it as too 'fresh' and another felt an 'intuitive repulsion' towards it. Eventually it was discovered to be a forgery and the experts were proved absolutely right. 'In the first two seconds of looking – in a single glance - they were able to understand more about the essence of the statue than the team at the Getty was able to understand after fourteen months [of analysis].'²⁵⁵

²⁵² Clive Brown. "Rediscovering the language of Classical and Romantic performance." *Early Music* 41. 1 (2013):73. C. P. E. Bach made similar observations. *Versuch* (Mitchell), 150/151.

²⁵³ Malcolm Gladwell. *Blink: The Power of Thinking Without Thinking*. (New York, Back Bay Books, 2005). 3-8.

²⁵⁴ A sculpture of a nude male youth standing with his left leg forward and his arms at his sides. There are only about two hundred thought to be in existence.

²⁵⁵ *Blink*, 8.

Much the same applies to music. In a few seconds of listening one can perceive much more about a piece of music than pages of verbal description could possibly convey.

In this respect the Commentaries in Chapter Three could be viewed as vehicles for highlighting future avenues for scholarly investigation rather than lengthy attempts to explain what the music ‘means’. Such investigations might include the fields of cross-fertilization, use of the damper mechanism and keyboard pedagogy. I have pointed out possible links between Koželuch’s sonatas and those by Mozart, Beethoven and Schubert, but the cycle is replete with numerous examples of foreshadowing that encompass many other composers besides. There are definite links to be made between Koželuch and Clementi, both in terms of their music and their business acumen.²⁵⁶ In two recent damper pedal studies one mentions Koželuch very briefly²⁵⁷ and the other not at all.²⁵⁸ This seems to be a remarkable oversight considering the rich amount of material that lies within these works, pointing to all manner of damper pedal use. Koželuch’s pedagogical legacy will undoubtedly be an area for investigation (for example he provided fingerings for some of the sonatas published in England). Certainly these Commentaries have illuminated areas that I will pursue further in the course of a performing edition and complementary book on the Koželuch keyboard sonatas.

When I commenced this study I was naturally determined to take a scholarly approach, one based on the very latest historically informed ‘evidence.’ I spent literally hundreds of hours researching every aspect of the music, trying to get everything ‘right’ and making sure, for example, that I had evidence available to back up the realization of every ornament and ensuring I only used the damper raising device for special effects

²⁵⁶ I have already investigated Clementi’s Musical Characteristics Op. 19 and have identified the many direct quotations he uses from the Koželuch sonatas. See Eva Badura Skoda. *Clementi’s ‘Musical Characteristics’ Opus 19*. In *Studies in eighteenth-century music a tribute to Karl Geringer on his seventieth birthday*. Ed. H. C. Robbins Landon in collaboration with Roger E. Chapman. (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1970).

²⁵⁷ Haeyoung Yoon. *The use of the Damper Pedal in the Classical Period: Steibelt and Dussek and their influence on Austrian Composers*. D.M.A. Dissertation, University of Illinois, 2011. (Ann Arbor, UMI, 2011). 86-88.

²⁵⁸ Julie Haskell. *Notated and Implied Pedalling c. 1780-1830*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Adelaide, 2011.

and according to hand-stop use in the earlier sonatas. I worried about being too rhythmically flexible, or not being flexible enough. I experimented endlessly with different tempi trying to equate Quantz's ideas with Marpurg's, Leopold Mozart's with Türk's. I thought long and hard about articulation. Should I be applying a 'normal' touch in the manner of C. P. E. Bach and Türk or should things be more connected as Milchmeyer and subsequently Clementi prescribed? The more I read, the more contradictory the 'evidence' became. In my attempt to realize the composer's intentions faithfully, I became entangled in a thick web of justification: I was becoming hamstrung by the very tools that were designed to help me recreate these works. This need to justify every decision one makes as a performer leads to conformity. The easy and safe solution being to echo someone else's opinion or someone else's recorded performance - to play it safe.

The growing body of scholarly writing about late 18th- and 19th-century practice has as yet had limited impact on contemporary performance. Period performers have adopted a few documented practices, often in a partial way, but neglect others, which are felt to depart further from the norms of modern taste. To some extent the nature of scholarly writing is itself responsible for failure of communication. Making connections between musical practice and academic texts, sometimes contradictory, and inevitably couched in balanced and cautious scholarly language, is not easy for busy professional musicians. And then there is the question of public and critical response to the performances and recordings that are their livelihood. Many talented musicians, especially younger performers, are intrigued and stimulated by the possibilities inherent in a style of performance that gives them the licence to bend rhythms, arpeggiate chords, employ accelerando to enhance a crescendo, use expressive portamento, and a host of other well-documented expressive gestures and practices essential to the musical language of Classical and Romantic music. With encouragement they are often excited to experiment; but in public performance or recording all but a courageous few draw back from implementing them, except in the most tentative manner. They fear, perhaps, that their employment of historical practices may simply be taken as inability to achieve the clean, rhythmically regimented style of performance that is erroneously believed to reflect the composer's intentions.²⁵⁹

The more scholarly writings I accessed during this performance-based research, the more parallels I encountered in the spheres of academia. Dissertation after dissertation presented more or less the same concepts in a slightly different order - the same

²⁵⁹ Brown, *Early Music*, 73/74.

quotations offered to justify the same conclusions;²⁶⁰ the same conclusions safely confirming other scholar's findings; the same performances neatly reflecting other accepted performances - originality becoming suffocated by process and conformity. I could not help contemplating the ultimate absurdity of a performing musician referencing their work during the course of a public performance. Perhaps with the aid of an accomplice holding up cards at the appropriate moment to reference sources of inspiration for each turn of phrase: Bars 1-8 'Malcolm Bilson', bars 9-16 'Ronald Brautigam', bars 17-24 'Andreas Staier', bars 25-32 'Alexei Lubimov', bars 33-40 'Jos van Immerseel'. Such issues are at the very core of current performance-based studies. We need to have the courage of our convictions and question everything. In many instances what can be unthinkingly accepted is actually quite questionable. Scholars can be mistaken. I have referred to Bart van Oort's counter-resonance theory in Commentary Four, but there is also an instance where van Oort chooses to question Milchmeyer's place as one of the first proponents of the legato style. Oort rather oddly uses a passage in octaves to prove his point:

Milchmeyer's treatise of 1797 has generally been thought to contain the first important description of legato, but on the Viennese piano with its short-lived treble tone his 'normal, or 'natural touch' does not produce legato. This is confirmed by one of the examples illustrating this basic touch: it is an octave scale, fingered (1-5) throughout.²⁶¹

Milchmeyer clearly states that octave playing is principally an element of a detached style of playing:

By the way, this octave-hopping I call tight-rope walking on the pianoforte, but yet even it also has its use, in which, according to my own experience, the hand thereby gets accustomed to performing passages in the detached style with ease.

²⁶²

²⁶⁰ 'a transference of bones from one graveyard to another.' J. Frank Dobie. *A Texan in England*. (Texas: University of Texas Press, 1980).

²⁶¹ Bart van Oort. "Haydn and the English Classical Piano Style". *Early Music* 28. 1 (2000): 78.

²⁶² Rhein, 70.

And whenever Milchmeyer comments on the ‘legato style’ his message is clear: ‘every note must be given its allotted value.’²⁶³ He also states that ‘All players of the pianoforte should generally, for the sake of the instrument, choose the legato style.’²⁶⁴ Even when using a fingering other than 1-5 (maybe 1-3 followed by 1-4 followed by 1-5) it is almost impossible to produce a true legato in octaves without using the pedal (on a ‘period’ or a ‘modern’ piano) since the thumb cannot do anything other than hop. Oort’s argument is misleading. However, what adds insult to injury is Nancy November then using Oort’s theory as a reason to question Clive Brown’s statement that Milchmeyer was the first to describe the legato touch and that therefore the normal touch in Vienna was non-legato until well after 1800.²⁶⁵ Such unquestioning generalizations and faulty reasoning often cloud many issues.

In Chapter Two I alluded to the Irving, Lancaster and Levin approach to eighteenth-century keyboard music and how it has arisen out of a need to validate new interpretive directions. There are so many recorded versions of the Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven sonatas that present day performers are now striving to find some point of difference. Having become ‘time sanctioned masterpieces’ a ‘straight’ performance implies an uninspiring performance, one incapable of unlocking the mysteries behind these masterworks. Initial attempts to discover ‘true meaning’ focused on the scores themselves. The texts became all encompassing artifacts that required analysis and for this purpose it was vital to have the composers’ definitive versions. The *urtext* edition appeared and momentarily satisfied this need. The ensuing performances had authority because they were based on studies of these ‘definitive’ texts. Notes or articulations that had been shamelessly removed or distorted were restored; Beethoven could once again speak authentically. And speak was the operative word. The *urtext* edition highlighted the subtleties of this musical language and a modern appreciation for rhetoric was born; the music does not sing, it speaks. In the meantime (millions of *urtext* copies later), the question arose, ‘But which is the most *urtext* of the *urtexts*? No answers were forthcoming. It was time to explore a different route to enlightenment. Soon

²⁶³ Rhein, 11.

²⁶⁴ Rhein, 18.

²⁶⁵ Nancy November. Review of *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice, 1750-1900*, by Clive Brown; *The Historical Performance of Music: An Introduction*, by Colin Lawson; Robin Stowell. *Notes, Second Series* 57. 3 (2001): 589.

uncomfortable noises emerged from the ranks of the early performance movement. The modern piano does not speak, it sings - how can it possibly be used to interpret music of the eighteenth-century? We must 'abandon compromise and play Mozart's sonatas on the fortepiano.'²⁶⁶ Furthermore, the score is now 'a basis for negotiation' and simply a starting point along a new journey filled with florid embellishments that will surely bring us closer to those elusive mysteries that still lie buried in those ever-so-familiar scores. These are persuasive ideas and ones that may briefly resuscitate the odd 'time sanctioned masterpiece'. But how can such wanton interventionism ever be classified as 'historically defensible'?²⁶⁷ It represents yet another attempt to make 'the work sound as if it had never been played before.'²⁶⁸ Perhaps it is time for a paradigm shift. Why not simply play something that has never been played before (or at least not for the last 200 years)? The incessant desire to keep on reproducing 'masterworks' has caused staleness and a sameness that no amount of reinventing can circumnavigate.

Our great inheritance of classical music no longer occupies the exalted cultural position it once enjoyed; audiences are getting older, and among the young it seems largely to be regarded as esoteric, unexciting or simply irrelevant. This undoubtedly stems in part from the constant repetition of a limited repertory in predictable ways.²⁶⁹

Unfortunately this endless repetition and analysis has created sacred works that are completely out of proportion to their intended function. They have become musical Frankenstein's Monsters through the kind of obfuscation I discussed in Chapter Two. Are they 'great' works because they display some very special qualities, or are they now 'great' works simply because they are so familiar? Whilst it is not my role as a performer-scholar to proclaim that the works of Haydn and Mozart are no better than the countless works created by their many fine contemporaries, it is my duty to present Koželuch's music as something new and exciting and yet another avenue that deserves serious consideration and exploration. These forgotten voices can help us to begin to

²⁶⁶ John Irving. *Understanding Mozart's Piano Sonatas*. (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010). 3.

²⁶⁷ Irving's 'treatment' of Mozart's beautifully simple sonata K 570 is a case in point. John Irving. *Understanding Mozart's Piano Sonatas*. (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010). 124.

²⁶⁸ Eva and Paul Badura-Skoda. *Interpreting Mozart: The Performance of His Piano Pieces and Other Compositions*. (2nd ed. New York and London: Routledge, 2010). 3.

²⁶⁹ Brown, *Early Music*, 74.

move forward and develop an appreciation of eighteenth century music, devoid of tricks and gimmickry. In their day, the sonatas of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven would have been so new to an audience that an unadorned, unfussy performance would have been preferable. Excessive embellishments would simply mask what they had to say.²⁷⁰ A much better approach to recreating a real eighteenth-century musical experience is to unearth and perform the countless compositions that lie undiscovered. These are our gateway to the ‘startling newness’ that every composition had at that time.

There is also enough undiscovered repertoire to satisfy all manner of performing styles. The modern and period performers will no longer squabble over who is performing the music in the ‘correct’ way. Besides, the ‘correct’ way belies a whole host of misconceptions. Naturally, the instruments and the eighteenth-century articulatory palette go hand in hand, but I wonder how effectively they came across. How often do we genuinely consider the kind of acoustical properties of eighteenth-century performance spaces? How often do we think about the performance environment that was associated with such spaces? Surely this had a bigger impact on the way the music was perceived than failing to play a slur in the penultimate bar? A large room with a generous acoustic tends to iron out the finer details of articulation. A small room with lavish furnishings, wall coverings and people in attendance, soaks up the sound, producing an unflattering environment for the instrument and therefore an uncomfortable space for the performer²⁷¹ - indeed the more flamboyant the audience’s outfits, the greater the deadening effects. These are considerations that do not even address the issue of an audience chatting away during the performance:

In all their musical activities, the aristocracy regarded the music itself as a pleasant background to other forms of social intercourse. Inattention to the music was not only acceptable, it was fashionable. Talking, mixing about, arriving late and leaving early were all part of the aristocratic concert milieu. It

²⁷⁰ I remember reviewing a recording of Mozart’s Sonata in C K 545 for Radio New Zealand (it was part of a complete cycle). In the slow movement the performer ornamented the opening statement of the theme. What should have been magical in its simplicity became grotesque and cumbersome.

²⁷¹ Beethoven may well have avoided using one particular venue in Vienna for that very reason. Mary Sue Morrow. “Making It in the Big City: Beethoven’s First Decade in Vienna.” *The Beethoven Journal*. 10. 2 (1995): 48. ‘Jahn’s hall ... isn’t high enough [i.e., the ceiling is too low] and is also too narrow, so that it restricts the effects of the music.’ *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, April 11, 1804, cols. 470-71. Quoted in Mary Sue Morrow. *Concert Life in Vienna: 1780-1810*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Indiana University, 1984. (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 2010). 104.

is no wonder, then, that music regarded as somber or serious found little favor with the aristocratic public.²⁷²

If anything, it was the newness of the music and the *affects* the performers managed to convey that held the audience's attention, not the finer details of articulation and ornamentation. To be sure, I am not disregarding the many reports of listeners being spellbound by performances by Mozart and Beethoven and the countless other *klienmeister* who held court (often literally) on a regular basis in the salons of late eighteenth-century Vienna. Whilst such reports often remark upon the clarity exhibited by one school of players over another (the difference between a Mozart and a Clementi and a Beethoven and a Wölfl),²⁷³ I think the abiding impressions were made on a larger canvas. Certainly, in the case of Beethoven, it was the newness of his ideas and the breadth of emotions he managed to convey over and above the quality of his keyboard technique.²⁷⁴ It was the 'taste' and 'feeling' he communicated and the overall *affect* he produced with his novel ideas that caught people's attention. Moreover, the instruments the performers were playing must have had an equally significant bearing on the quality of their music making. Mozart tended to bring his own fortepiano with him for that very reason rather than rely on some poorly maintained and out of tune specimen that would hardly do justice to his talents. Koželuch was noted for giving concerts in his own home, probably for much the same reasons.²⁷⁵

Malcolm Bilson's comment that he believes the instrument has a bigger impact on a work's success than the performer, has a corollary: the newness of the work and the flexibility with which it is dispatched should have a bigger impact on its success than either instrument or performer.²⁷⁶

²⁷² Jerald Curtis Graue. *Muzio Clementi and the Development of Pianoforte Music in Industrial England*. (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1971). 10/11.

²⁷³ Tia DeNora. "The Beethoven-Wölfl piano duel." In *Music in Eighteenth-Century Austria*. David Wyn Jones ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). 259-282.

²⁷⁴ See Tilman Skowronek. *Beethoven the Pianist*. (Cambridge University Press, 2010). 150.

²⁷⁵ However, we only know there was 'a short grand' in his estate at the end of his life. Hogwood, Introduction. III, xvi. But because of his social status and as his daughter became a noted pianist, he most likely owned the very best instruments of the time, both Viennese and English.

²⁷⁶ Malcolm Bilson. "The Viennese fortepiano of the late 18th century." *Early Music* 8. 2 (1980): 161/2.

The added bonus inherent in this paradigm shift would be a move away from standardization. Starting at a grass roots level, conservatoires could begin to prescribe ‘anything but’ the works of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven on their examination lists. Such an incentive would foster creativity. Performances would not be compiled from listening to 95 different versions of a work:

Now we have a generation of people who have grown up learning music through recordings. A young aspiring violinist listens 95 times to Heifetz playing the Sibelius concerto, and before that person is even aware of it, out of veneration for Heifetz’s indisputably unique achievement he or she is using fingerings and bowings that Heifetz used, absorbing these not by choice but automatically through mimicry. Then she or he hears another marvelous artist play the Sibelius and doesn’t like it because Heifetz’s ritard or portamento is missing, and another one appears somewhere else.²⁷⁷

Interpretations would be based on a sound understanding of the musical language, not on some counterfeit version cobbled together from listening to countless recordings.

The period performance movement has played a vital part in revivifying familiar works, but its efforts so far have been limited by inadequate communication between scholarship and performance, constraints of professional time, the exigencies of the recording studio and the understandable reluctance of established musicians to reassess and substantially modify their hard-won skills. The rising generation of performers on both modern and period instruments, however, is already questioning the tenets of current practice; and there are encouraging signs that our conservatoires are beginning to recognize and embrace an approach based on serious engagement with the historical evidence.

²⁷⁸

With a bit of luck, more and more scholars will realize that Leopold Koželuch was definitely no *miserabilis*, in just the same way that they came to realize Clementi was far from being a mere *mechanicus*.²⁷⁹ The prejudices that led to Leopold Koželuch’s neglect – off-the-cuff remarks from his now deified contemporaries perpetuated by off-the-cuff-remarks from scholars in our own time – will fade. This music will be explored, analyzed, performed, recorded and taught. It will be discovered by the next

²⁷⁷ Robert Levin. *Speaking Mozart’s Lingo*, 332.

²⁷⁸ Brown, *Early Music*, 74.

²⁷⁹ In future, far from being put off by such propaganda, I will head directly towards composers who exist under similar clouds of scorn. Perhaps to Steibelt ‘the charlatan’?

generation of up-and-coming pianists who will marvel at the beauty of the slow movements and the inventiveness of the brisk movements in the same way that dilettantes of the eighteenth-century did. Hopefully, more and more recordings will emerge on both historic and modern pianos and inevitably we will have the *definitive* version of the Koželuch sonata cycle, at least until an *even more definitive* version appears. Does this all sound too familiar?

Regardless of these quixotic thoughts, there do seem to be murmurings in the scholarly ranks.

Implicit in this recent scholarship is an additional call to open up yet further the canon of works considered appropriate subjects for HIP. Indeed, the title of Lawson and Stowell's volume implies a broader scope than the temporal bounds they actually set for their discussion. Furthermore, Brown's many insights into late-eighteenth and nineteenth-century performance suggest how we might proceed in exploring performance practices for not-so-familiar-or indeed unfamiliar-repertoire ... Thus the challenge is not so much to produce yet another Ninth, this time more in tune with HIP, but rather to appreciate Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's *Bebung* [or] Clementi's *legato*.²⁸⁰

My performances of these Koželuch sonatas are naturally coloured by my knowledge of eighteenth-century keyboard writing in general and the works of Haydn and Mozart in particular. I have been steeped in this musical language for a long time. However, what I do not bring to the music is any ingrained influences accrued from years of listening to other people's recordings. When I commenced this project I did not have a 101 different internalized aural versions inhabiting my subconscious mind, tugging here, tugging there, and trying to coerce me into some predestined performance path: Distant memories of a Ronald Brautigam turn of phrase or a Malcolm Bilson ornament realization, compelling me to play in a certain way without me even knowing why. This liberation has certainly been a good feeling, but perhaps a little unsettling at the same time. When something did not work, I had to find a solution myself. Moreover, a fortepianist embarking on yet another cycle of the Mozart or Haydn sonatas will have some, if not all the works imbedded in their muscular memory, a distinct practical

²⁸⁰ Nancy November. Review of *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice, 1750-1900*, by Clive Brown; *The Historical Performance of Music: An Introduction*, by Colin Lawson; Robin Stowell. *Notes, Second Series* 57. 3 (2001): 591.

advantage. In the end, after agonizing over details and grappling with evidence, I came up with performances that are representative of one particular moment in time. If I decided to record this cycle again I would undoubtedly play all the works differently. I would certainly be guided by instinct and not by any mistaken view that there really is a 'right' way to play anything. The 'right' way, as we have seen, is often just another way of describing 'flavour of the month'. Fortunately for me, I did not need to find a point of difference to stand out from the crowd; in the realms of Koželuch performance, no crowd exists. In this respect, I felt the best way I could serve Leopold Koželuch was to perform his music in as clear and unfussy a manner as possible; one that allows him to speak - always being sensitive to taste and feeling and historical practices - but always being aware that he is the one that has something new to say, not me.

APPENDIX A

Details of Naxos release



LEOPOLD KOŽELUCH
COMPLETE KEYBOARD SONATAS • 1

Few composers exemplified the late eighteenth-century Viennese keyboard style better than Mozart's contemporary, the Czech composer Leopold Koželuch. A leading performer and teacher, he was even offered Mozart's former post as court organist to the Archbishop of Salzburg. Preferring instead to preserve his independence, he produced over four decades, a series of major sonatas for fortepiano and harpsichord worthy to stand beside those of Haydn, Mozart, Clementi and Dussek, and as a precursor to those of Beethoven. This is the first volume of the complete recording of Koželuch's 50 keyboard sonatas.

1-3	Piano Sonata in F major, Op. 1, No. 1, P. XII:8	16:46
4-6	Piano Sonata in E flat major, Op. 1, No. 2, P. XII:9	15:49
7-9	Piano Sonata in D major, Op. 1, No. 3, P. XII:10	16:11
10-12	Piano Sonata in B flat major, Op. 2, No. 1, P. XII:11	16:02

WORLD PREMIERE RECORDINGS

TOTAL PLAYING TIME: 64:53

KEMP ENGLISH

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GRAND PIANO

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GP642

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APPENDIX B

Letter of support from Hon Professor Christopher Hogwood CBE

1

KOŽELUCH COMPLETE KEYBOARD SONATAS

A proposed recording

As the foremost representative of Czech music in 18th-century Vienna, Leopold Koželuch (1747–1818) was noted as composer, pianist and keyboard teacher, and ranked above Haydn and Mozart. His 50 keyboard sonatas span his entire composing career (from the 1770s to 1809) and mark not only the transition from the harpsichord and clavichord manner to the fully idiomatic forte-piano style, but also the development of the concept of the “classical sonata” itself.

Until now, pianists (and therefore listeners) have had little chance to acquaint themselves with the complete range of Koželuch’s sonatas since few existed in modern editions. I was very impressed, therefore, that when the first volume of my new complete edition appeared from the Bärenreiter publishing house, Kemp English contacted me with a view to starting a recording of the complete sonata cycle and (even more impressive) on historically appropriate keyboard instruments.

This is a groundbreaking undertaking of international significance and one that I wholeheartedly support. Kemp has been extremely scholarly in his approach to the work and in the process has been of considerable help to the edition with scrupulous proof-reading and helpful comments. This in turn means that he has access to our work before it becomes publicly available and puts him in a unique position to complete this project.

2

This initiative will help highlight Koželuch's significance as a composer and bring his works to a wider audience, while at the same time the edition and the recordings will help to bring to light the pedagogical significance of Koželuch's keyboard music: these sonatas deserve to be in the repertoire lists of all piano teachers, alongside the more well-known (but possibly over-worked) repertoire of Haydn, Mozart and Clementi.

I understand that suitable instruments are available in good condition for the recording sessions and that funding from the University of Adelaide has been acquired to cover rehearsal and research costs. It seems to me that support for the technical costs of the project are the only missing factor and I would strongly support Kemp in his application for this final contribution that is needed.

Sincerely

Christopher Hogwood, CBE
Emeritus Hon. Prof. of Music, Cambridge University

FRSA, DPhil (Hon), DMus (Hon. Cantab)
Emeritus Director, The Academy of Ancient Music
Artistic Director Laureate, Handel & Haydn Society, Boston
Visiting Professor, The Royal Academy of Music, London
Honorary Fellow, Jesus and Pembroke Colleges, Cambridge

APPENDIX C

Photographs and Specifications of the Instruments used in the Recordings



THOMAS & BARBARA WOLF Fortepiano (Washington) 1991
After Anton Walter c. 1795

FF – g3 Moderator and sustaining knee levers

(Owned by the University of Otago)



PAUL DOWNIE Fortepiano (Auckland) 2000
After Anton Walter c. 1795

FF – g3 Moderator and sustaining knee levers

(Owned by the University of Auckland)



JOHANN FRITZ (Vienna), c.1815.

Mahogany, Length 7ft 4ins (2.235m), 6 octaves, FF to f4, "Viennese" action.
Four pedals: due corde; forte; piano; Turkish music, i.e. bells, "cymbal" and
"drum". One knee-lever: "bassoon".

(Mobbs Keyboard Collection)



JOSEPH KIRCKMAN (London), c.1798.

Mahogany, Length 7ft 5 ½ ins (2.273m), 5 ½ octaves, FF to c4.
Una Corda and Forte pedals in the legs of the trestle stand. Separate bass bridge.

(Mobbs Keyboard Collection)



LONGMAN & BRODERIP Harpsichord (London).

Made by Thomas Culliford, July 1785. One manual, Mahogany, No. 444

Length 6ft 8ins (2.032m), 5 octaves, FF to f3, two 8ft, one 4ft, Lute, Harp, Machine; Venetian Swell replaced. Formerly owned by Julia Neilson Terry. This is one of only three known full-specification one-manual instruments made by Culliford with both Machine Stop and Venetian Swell.

(Mobbs Keyboard Collection)

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NOTE:

16 CDs containing 'Recorded Performances' are included with the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

The CDs must be listened to in the Music Library.