ABSTRACT

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Johann Nepomuk Hummel (1778-1837), a student of Mozart and Haydn, and colleague of Beethoven, made a spectacular ascent from child-prodigy to pianist-superstar. A composer with considerable output, he garnered enormous recognition as piano virtuoso and teacher. Acclaimed for his dazzling, beautifully clean, and elegant legato playing, his superb pedagogical skills made him a much sought after and highly paid teacher.

This dissertation examines Hummel's eminent role as piano pedagogue reassessing his legacy. Furthering previous research (e.g. Karl Benyovszky, Marion Barnum, Joel Sachs) with newly consulted archival material, this study focuses on the impact of Hummel on his students. Part One deals with Hummel's biography and his seminal piano treatise, Ausführliche theoretisch-practische Anweisung zum Piano-Forte-Spiel, vom ersten Elementar-Unterrichte an, bis zur vollkommensten Ausbildung, 1828 (published in German, English, French, and Italian). Part Two discusses Hummel, the pedagogue; the impact on his star-students, notably Adolph Henselt, Ferdinand Hiller, and Sigismond Thalberg; his influence on musicians such as Chopin and Mendelssohn; and the spreading of his method throughout Europe and the US. Part Three deals with the precipitous decline of Hummel's reputation, particularly after severe attacks by Robert Schumann. His recent resurgence as a musician of note is exemplified in a case study of the changes in the appreciation of the Septet in D Minor, one of Hummel's most celebrated compositions. The Postlude assesses Hummel's role as a teacher by also addressing his "hidden" presence. For example, core elements of his method inform the pedagogy of Isabelle Vengarova, a teacher of Samuel Barber and Leonard Bernstein. Her piano instruction is indebted to Hummel, revealing the far-reaching influence of his pedagogical legacy. The appendices address important aspects, for example, Hummel's indirect impact in the US through Charles Zeuner.

Hummel's pedagogical legacy is divulged here in its significance of impact. Renewed interest is needed in a musician of eminence who suffered much bias and neglect and deserves a full reevaluation.

THE PEDAGOGICAL LEGACY OF JOHANN NEPOMUK HUMMEL

By

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Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Maryland, College Park, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2006

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Preface

My decision to enter the field of musicology has its roots in the time I spent as a student in Vienna, having been given the opportunity to study piano for the academic year 1996-97 at the Hochschule für Musik und Darstellende Kunst as a Rotary Ambassadorial Scholar. Merely being in the city where the composers whose pieces I played had lived and worked made a strong impression on me, as did also conversations with the husband of the landlord whose apartment I rented in Vienna's Währing district, directly south of the site where Beethoven and Schubert were originally buried. The gentleman, Bruce Cooper Clarke, author of *The Mozart Starter* (Bloomington, Ill.: Medi-Ed Press, 1995) and "The Annotated Schlichtegroll" (selfpublished, 1997) proved to be a most informative and helpful person with whom to speak. One of his primary interests focused on the propagation of myth in biographies of Mozart, and he was perturbed that even the well-known standard historical texts were often biased. While I took what he said to heart, I was particularly moved when I read a series of biographies that he translated into English: the *Music and Medicine* series by Anton Neumayr (Bloomington, Ill: Medi-Ed Press, 1994). The biographies of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Weber proved especially entertaining, because the story-telling aspect of the biographies brought the composers to life for me in a new way—except for the overly brief entry on Hummel, which left me yearning for more information on the musicians about whom I had previously heard so little. Subsequently, when asked to choose a historical figure for a piano pedagogy project during my study at the University of Arizona, where I later received my Master's degree, I eagerly requested a project on Hummel. The

professor who was my mentor at the time, knowing the scarcity of information available on Hummel, wisely advised that I include Chopin as well. My initial findings amazed me, and I could not help but to think back to Clarke's crusade against the Mozart myths. It appeared to me that Hummel also had been dealt with unjustly by historians. I hope my essay provides at least an initial step towards restoring and securing both the name and the contributions of Johann Nepomuk Hummel in our history books.

*

Much of the research for this project consisted of looking through nineteenth-century source material. This material tends to be inconsistent in spelling and grammar. I have decided to be faithful to the original texts and reproduce them as they have been recorded. As with English, nineteenth-century German contains a number of spellings that are different from those of today, and that appeared to be the case in the Italian letter and the three French letters as well. I have attempted to reproduce the French accent marks in letters of John Field as he indicated them.

Those markings appear to be wrong in some cases. In regard to Hummel's treatise, unless otherwise noted, all quotations come from the authorized English translation.

And, in cases where there is a foreign language translation, unless otherwise noted, I am the translator.

Perhaps the most challenging part of this project has been to grapple with handwritten letters in German—letters which were written in a style of handwriting not used today. In a few cases, transcriptions of the letters had already been published in Benyovszky's monograph, and in some cases there were typed or

handwritten transcriptions included in the folio of the letter in question at the Goethe-Museum, Düsseldorf. For the others, a few of which have been transcribed in this work for the first time, I received assistance from my aunt in Germany and her circle of friends.

Manuscript Sources

British Library

Manuscript Collection: ADD. 47843 29-30b, 31-31b

Goethe-Museum, Düsseldorf.

Katalog der Musikalien (KM): 568, 2127, 2164, 2165, 2184, 2195, 2200, 2219, 2225, 2226, 2242, 2244 +N61, 2251, 2265, 2266, 2269, 2284, 2298, 2401, N56, N67

Hummel-Katalog: 161

Goethe-und-Schiller-Archivs Weimar

GSA 96/4868

Library of Congress, Washington, DC

Newland Zeuner Collection: Box 49, Box 56

Northwestern University Music Library

MSS 244.

Dedication

To Avagail

Acknowledgements

The blossoming of this project has been due to the efforts of a good number of distinguished people. I owe thanks first to Bruce Cooper Clarke for introducting me to Hummel through his translation of Neumayr's books and starting me on the road towards this fascinating study. Drs. Rex Woods and Jay Rosenblatt of the University of Arizona were both very encouraging in the first stages of the study. Thanks are due to Dr. Woods for the initial pedagogical building blocks, and to Dr. Rosenblatt for the initial guidance in navigating the world of musicology. An acknowledgement is due as well to Sandra Rosenblum for initial guidance on aspects of the Hummel/Chopin relationship, and to Manfred Kanngießer of the Hummel Society of Weimar for guidance in helping me locate appropriate archives. A special thanks is due to all the librarians who have been essential in locating documents: to the staff of the Library of Congress for their valuable assistance; the members of the inter-library loan department at the University of Maryland, who have made many things possible; the staffs of the Northwestern University Music library, Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh, British Library, and Goethe-Schiller Archive in Weimar, who have facilited this project with their willingness to forward photocopied documents; and in particular, Regine Zeller of the Goethe-Museum of Düsseldorf, who was kind and helpful beyond the call of duty during a personal visit to that institution. My family was of particular help during this project. Many thanks to my aunt, Inger Marie Tönnessen of Nürnberg, and Simon Kinsky and his grandmother, who assisted in deciphering manuscripts and in translating; to my mother, Wenche Hulbert, who helped with travel arrangements; and my wife, Irene Hulbert, who helped with the writing process and just about everything else. The encouragement of Ruth Waalkes and the staff at the Clarice Smith Performing Arts Center has also been cherished and appreciated. I'd also like to thank the Dissertation Committee for their time and patience in overseeing this project: to Dr. Peter Beicken for taking the time despite summer travels—his expertise in German is much appreciated, and he went above and beyond in helping with final edits; to Prof. Bradford Gowen, who has always been a great pleasure to work with, for his extraordinary knowledge and expertise in issues related to piano pedagogy; to Dr. Floyd Grave, who committed to traveling all the way from New Jersey for this project—his expertise in Hummel's teacher Haydn and related issues is highly valued; to Dr. Richard Wexler, whose insightful Beethoven class gave me much to work with, and who has earned the greatest respect from me for his overall knowledge of music history; and especially to Dr Shelley Davis, without whom the project would not have had its same impetus, passion, or refinement. Dr. Davis has earned the deepest respect from me for his knowledge of his former teacher Isabelle Vengerova's teaching practices, his general knowledge of early nineteenth-century music, his incredible expertise in the refinement of the written word, and his amazing skill as a structural architect of ideas—his continued enthusiasm for this project has been inspirational and infectious. And finally, my thanks to Jesus, without whom there would be little meaning in any of this.

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Prelude

Background

Johann Nepomuk Hummel (1778-1837), once considered a rival as a pianist to Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827), has become to many little more than a footnote in the history of music. Once hailed as Europe's greatest pianist and called by some a "modern Mozart," his biography alone should have ensured him a permanent place in the history of music. A student of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791) and a child prodigy who began a lengthy European concert tour at the age of ten, Hummel later studied as Beethoven's colleague with Joseph Haydn (1732-1809), Johann Albrechtsberger (1736-1809), and Antonio Salieri (1750-1825), and he became a teacher of Ferdinand Hiller (1811-1885), Adolf Henselt (1814-1889), and Sigismond Thalberg (1812-1871), among others. Occupying a unique place in Europe's music history as a preeminent pianist, composer, and musical entrepreneur, Hummel was at the center of a continually changing musical scene extending from the late eighteenth century through the 1830s. His training and reputation made him an important figure to the next generation of composers. Even those who did not count themselves among Hummel's students consulted with and were influenced by him, including such notables as Felix Mendelssohn (1809-1847), Frédéric Chopin (1810-1849), and Robert Schumann (1810-1856) who also became one of Hummel's fervent critics.

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¹ Karl Benyovszky, *J. N. Hummel: Der Mensch und Künstler* (Bratislava: Eos-Verlag, 1934), 112. Benyovszky refers to a September 1825 review (anonymous) in *The Harmonicon*.

Influenced by Hummel and a close reader of his monumental piano treatise. Schumann nevertheless attacked him editorially (though mainly for his compositions). These attacks contributed to a decline of Hummel's overall reputation from the early 1830s through the end of the nineteenth century. Subsequently, little has been done by music historians to revisit and reconsider Hummel's place in history. A full biography did not come about until Karl Benyovkszy wrote J.N. Hummel: Der Mensch und Künstler (Bratislava: Eos-Verlag, 1934) over seventy years ago. In more recent decades, Joel Sachs published Kapellmeister Hummel in England and France (Detroit: Detroit Monographs in Musicology, 1977), which contains biographical information specific to Hummel's concert tours of 1825, 1830, 1831, and 1833. In a chapter dedicated to Hummel, David Branson, in his John Field and Chopin, has already pointed out the links between Hummel's works (particularly his piano concertos) and Chopin's early compositional style. In addition, there has been a handful of dissertations written on topics ranging from Hummel's chamber music to his pedagogical treatise and a limited number of reports and essays in German on archival material, including Marion Barnum's 1971 dissertation from the University of Iowa entitled A Comprehensive Performance Project in Piano Literature and an Essay on J. N. Hummel and his Treatise on Piano Playing and Kurt Thomas's booklet on Hummel's life, full of beautiful illustrations and photographs, Johann Nepomuk Hummel in Weimar (Weimar: Tradition und Gegenwart; Weimarer Schriften, 1987). Most recently, Bärenreiter, in association with the Düsseldorf Goethe-Museum's Colloquium of 2000, released Zwischen Klassik und Klassizismus: Johann Nepomuk Hummel in Wien und Weimar (2003). A fascinating collection of essays, the book, edited by Anselm Gerhard und Laurenz Lütteken, contains

² New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1972: 146-67.

articles on topics ranging from Hummel's piano sonatas to his relationships with Schubert and Schumann. These books have well succeeded in laying groundwork, but more can still be done to investigate Hummel's biography, the merit of his compositions, and their influence on later composers. One area, however, that has hardly been broached is the one for which Hummel was arguably most famous during his lifetime: his role as a teacher. Writers who place Hummel in a bad light look at him as a composer first and then compare him unfavorably to Beethoven and others. It is clear, however, that Hummel was a pianist and teacher first, and should be examined as such if an accurate picture of him is to be drawn. One might find a twentieth-century parallel (albeit not a perfect parallel) in the life of Nadia Boulanger (1887-1979), the famous teacher of Aaron Copland (1900-1990), Virgil Thomson (1896-1989), and others.

Modern historians would hardly dream of slighting her for not having composed a greater number of notable works. Rather, she is seen as a successful teacher. And yet, slighting is precisely what we find in the case of Hummel.

In the course of rehabiliting Hummel's historical importance as a pedagogue, this dissertation will commence in Part One with a short review of Hummel's biography followed by a discussion of the background and influence of his seminal piano treatise of 1828, Ausführliche theoretisch-practische Anweisung zum Piano-Forte-Spiel, vom ersten Elementar-Unterrichte an, bis zur vollkommensten Ausbildung. Published simultaneously in German, French, English, and Italian, Hummel's treatise effectively documented his pedagogical viewpoints and spread his teachings internationally. Part Two discusses Hummel as a pedagogue by way of the influence he extended through his many pupils, including Hiller, Henselt, and Thalberg, and even through those, like

Chopin, who were not direct students but adhered to his system of teaching. Through his many students, the international extent of Hummel's teachings will be demonstrated, including his reach to the US through his student Charles Zeuner (1795-1857). In Part Three, reasons for the decline in Hummel's reputation are addressed and a case study is given of his Septet in D Minor, Op. 74, showing that the quality of his compositions were not wholly responsible for his damaged reputation. In addition, evidence for the resurgence of Hummel's music, particularly in recorded form, is presented. And finally, the Postlude offers an assessement of Hummel's role as a teacher and points out that despite lack of interest in him, his precepts are still perpetuated by modern teachers. The example of Isabelle Vengerova—a teacher of such notables as Samuel Barber and Leonard Bernstein—is discussed as an example of Hummel's "hidden" legacy. The appendices supplement the body of the dissertation with a translation of Hummel's own biographical statement, a brief timeline of events in Hummel's life, a list of Hummel's students (including some non-students who were adherents to Hummel's precepts) divided by geographical region, an illustration of Hummel with a discussion of his appearance, and to close, information on the American contribution of Hummel student Charles Zeuner.

In sum, this dissertation divulges Hummel's pedagogical legacy in its significance of impact and calls for renewed interest in a musician of eminence who suffered much neglect. It is evident that Hummel deserves a full and fair reevaluation apart from the biases of the past—an evaluation which looks at Hummel the musician and teacher, not just Hummel the composer.

Part One: The Treatise

Chapter I: Context: Hummel's Biography

Hummel was born on 14 November 1778 in Pressburg (now Bratislava, Slovakia) to Johann and Margarethe Hummel. Johann Hummel, an orchestra director in Pressburg, began his son in lessons at the age of three, first on the violin and later on the piano. Fortunately for the young Hummel, the family relocated to Vienna in 1786 after the Wartburg Institute, where Johann Hummel Senior conducted, was closed. This was fortunate because Hummel Senior was employed in Vienna at the Schikaneder Theater, which gave him a connection to Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart that he took advantage of by arranging an audition for his son. It is well known that Mozart did not enjoy teaching, but Mozart was so impressed with young Hummel's abilities that he offered him free lessons on the condition that the seven-year-old Hummel live with him. It was after only two years of study with Mozart³ that Hummel, a promising prodigy, embarked with his father on his first trans-European concert tour. Hummel gave his first performance in Dresden on 10 March 1789, and continued on with stops in cities which included Berlin, Hanover, and Hamburg. England was to be the final destination.

Before arriving in London in 1791, the Hummels took up residence in Edinburgh, Scotland for three months where the young Hummel learned English and both father and son taught piano lessons in order to make ends meet.⁴ It was after arriving in London, however, that Hummel had some of his greatest successes. He is reported to have studied

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³ Although Benyovszky states that Mozart had declared Hummel's education complete (p. 30), Mozart was experiencing financial difficulties in 1788 when he ended Hummel's tuition. This may have had something to do with the timing of Hummel's first concert tour.

⁴ Considering Hummel's later career, it is worth noting that he began teaching at such an early age.

with Muzio Clementi⁵ there, but perhaps more important was his meeting with Joseph Haydn. As the story goes, Haydn asked the thirteen-year-old Hummel to substitute at a Salomon concert early in 1791 for a pianist who had fallen ill. Hummel played a difficult sonata so well that Haydn kissed him and declared him a wunderkind before the crowd.⁶ It was perhaps this meeting that influenced the Hummels to embark in 1792 on their return trip to Vienna, where Hummel was to begin studies with Haydn.

By the age of twenty-one, near the completion of his studies, Hummel was recognized as one of the finest pianists in Europe. A few years later, between 1801 and 1804, Carl Czerny observed,

... Hummel's performance was a model of cleanness, clarity, and of the most graceful elegance and tenderness; all difficulties were calculated for the greatest and most stunning effect, which he achieved by combining Clementi's manner of playing ... with that of Mozart. It was quite natural, therefore, that the general public preferred him as a pianist⁷

Aside from studying and performing, Hummel's years in Vienna were spent teaching and composing. He worked as a freelancer until he received his first appointment—an appointment that would have made him the envy of many a composer in Vienna. From 1804-1811, Hummel served as "Konzertmeister" at the Esterházy court in Eisenstadt. Although Haydn, who had gone into something of a retirement, retained the title of

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⁵ See Joel Sachs, *Kapellmeister Hummel in England and France* (Detroit: Detroit Monographs in Musicology, 1977), 44 n. Sachs maintains that aside from statements by Carl Czerny, no evidence exists for Hummel having studied with Clementi. Sachs states that Hummel never mentioned such lessons, though Hummel, while in Weimar, did teach at least one Englishman (a Mr. Hodges of Bristol). According to David J. Golby in his *Instrumental Teaching in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2004), however, "The issues of legato touch, developed through C. P.E. Bach and Türk, and the use of damper pedals as part of the new aesthetic of a new era placed English theory at odds with German/Viennese conservatism. Clementi, Cramer and Dussek all promoted the new 'legato' approach, although Clementi and Cramer (and later Hummel, Moscheles, and Sterndale Bennett) retained a 'classical,' retrospective restraint in their playing, in contrast to Dussek's 'grand style,' and were all the more successful as a result" (p. 224). Thus, whether or not Hummel studied with Clementi, the former may have been influenced by the later's style just from experiencing musical life in London.

⁶ Benyovszky, 42-3. Hummel played again in a Salomon series on May 5, 1792. Included were works by Mozart as well as one of Hummel's own sonatas.

⁷ Carl Czerny, "Recollections from my Life", trans. by Ernest Sanders, *The Musical Quarterly* 42 (1956): 309. The comparison here is with Beethoven.

"Kapellmeister," it was Hummel who fulfilled the duties previously held by Haydn. His duties included the composition of sacred music—practically all of Hummel's sacred music was composed during his time in Eisenstadt, including his well-loved Mass in Bflat, Op. 77. He also composed ballets and operas, his best known of which were the ballet Helene und Paris, Op. 26, and his opera Mathilde von Guise, Op. 100. Unfortunately for Hummel, he was not the skillful mediator that Haydn was, and he eventually found himself in conflict with others in the Esterházy court. 8 In 1811, he was relieved of his duties, having been cited for "spending most of his time giving lessons and taking his compositions to the theater in Vienna, and in so doing, withdrawing himself from his local duties."9

After his dismissal from Eisenstadt, Hummel returned to Vienna and his career as a freelance composer, performer, and teacher. He met his future wife, the singer Elisabeth Röckel, ¹⁰ in 1812 and married her a year later. It was during this period, as well, that Hummel composed his successful Feenspiel ("Fairy Opera") Die Eselshaut, oder die blaue Insel (1814)¹¹ and his famous Septet in D Minor, Op. 74 (1816).¹² In search of a stable court position to replace the one he lost, Hummel accepted in 1816 with a position as Kapellmeister in Stuttgart. But the atmosphere there (coupled with the lack of quality in the musicians) prompted Hummel to resign in 1818 when he was made aware of a new Kapellmeister post in Weimar. Hummel accepted the Weimar post in 1819 and remained there until his death in 1837.

⁸ Benyovzsky, 59-60.

⁹ Benyovzsky, 63, "... die meiste Zeit mit Lectionen geben und eigenen Compositionen für die Theater in Wien zubringt, und sich dem hiesigen Dienst ganz entzieht."

¹⁰ Beethoven was also interested in Elisabeth Röckel at one point. See Ferdinand Hiller, Künstlerleben (Köln: M. Du Mont-Schauberg, 1880), 4.

¹¹ See Appendix D.
12 to be discussed in chapter 8.

Weimar provided Hummel with a near-perfect environment. The artistic environment was already bolstered by the presence of the German poet, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), with whom Hummel would later become close. 13 The extent of his duties was also to his liking. Weimar was a Protestant court, meaning that he, a Catholic, would not be required to compose sacred music. And, having found little time for composing or touring during his brief time in Stuttgart, Hummel must have been relieved to have a contract that specified an annual leave of three months. 14 This time allowed him to pursue a concert career. A brief tour to Prague and Vienna in 1820 was followed by a visit to Berlin in 1821 and a tour of Russia in 1822. 15 Hummel's success in Paris in 1825 must have been exceptional, since he was soon afterward made a chevalier of the Legion of Honor. The certificate [Figure 1], signed by King Charles X, is dated 3 November 1826, close to the time that he completed his monumental piano treatise, Ausführliche theoretisch-practische Anweisung zum Piano-Forte-Spiel, vom ersten Elementar-Unterrichte an, bis zur vollkommensten Ausbildung. ¹⁶ In 1827. Hummel rushed to Vienna to be at Beethoven's side as he lay on his deathbed, subsequently serving as a pallbearer at Beethoven's funeral.¹⁷ Beethoven's other famous pallbearer, Franz Schubert, met Hummel during that same period, when Hummel

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¹³ Goethe once said of Hummel, "Napolean plays on the world the way Hummel plays on the piano." Anton Neumayr, *Music and Medicine: Hummel, Weber, Mendelssohn, Schumann, Brahms, Bruckner* (Bloomington, Ill.: Medi-Ed Press, 1995), 55.

¹⁴ Benyovszky, 84.

¹⁵ Hummel met with John Field while in Russia. For an account of their meeting, see chapter 6.

¹⁶ Not published until 1828. See chapter 2.

¹⁷ Hummel's student, Ferdinand Hiller (see chapter 5), accompanied Hummel on the trip to see Beethoven, and changed history when he cut a lock of hair from Beethoven's head on 27 March 1827, the day after Beethoven's death. Purchased by members of the American Beethoven Society in 1994, the hair underwent scientific testing in 1996, resulting in the book by Russel Martin, *Beethoven's Hair* (New York: Broadway Books, 2000).

Figure 1



By permission of the Goethe-Museum, Düsseldorf. KM 2284

attended a performance of Schubert's music.¹⁸ While in Vienna, the former began making arrangements for tours of England and France—tours which commenced in the early 1830s.¹⁹ In the late 1830s, Hummel succumbed to sickness and his death on 17 October 1837 was widely reported in the press. His funeral service, held in Weimar, was well-attended by dignitaries and musicians of that city. The following report describes a separate service held in Vienna:

The last tribute of regard and love was paid to the memory of this accomplished and much honoured musician, at Vienna, by the performance of Mozart's "Requiem" in the Imperial Chapel.²⁰

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¹⁸ For more information about Hummel's influence on Schumann's compositions, see Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen's "Johann Nepomuk Hummel und Franz Schubert: Spuren einer kompositorischen Rezeption" in *Zwischen Klassik und Klassizimus: Johann Nepomuk Hummel in Wien und Weimar* by Anselm Gerhard and Laurenz Lütteken, editors (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag Karl Vötterle GmbH & Co., 2003), 103-122.

¹⁹ For detailed information on Hummel's career of the 1830s, see Joel Sachs, *Kapellmeister Hummel in England and France* (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1977).

²⁰ Anonymous, "Hummel," *The Musical World* No. 97 (19 January 1838): 46.

Chapter II: Genesis

Having gained a large amount of teaching experience at a young age, Hummel made a decision, possibly as early as during his Vienna period (see Appendix A), to put on paper what he thought was necessary for a complete and thorough grounding in the art of playing the piano. He had determined that his professional field lacked sufficient contemporary supporting publications and began work on the project in the 1820s, when Hummel was at the height of his career. He was clearly inclined to leave an enduring document of his teaching method. The best known treatises, those by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714-1788), Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (1718-1795), Daniel Gottlob Türk (1750-1813), Muzio Clementi (1752-1832), and Johann Baptist Cramer (1771-1858). C.P.E. Bach's seminal and influential work, Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen (Essay on the True Art of Playing the Keyboard) was first published in 1753²¹ and included instruction on figured bass in addition to basic keyboard skills like fingering and position. Clementi's comparable work, the *Introduction to the Art of* Playing on the Piano Forte, Op. 42, was published in London through Clementi's own firm in 1801. Although more recent, Clementi's work was less comprehensive and thinner, containing close to sixty pages (Bach's treatise has almost 450 pages). A similar English work, Cramer's Anweisung das Pianoforte zu spielen (1812) is even smaller (forty-six pages). There most certainly were other, lesser-known instructional books that were circulating at the time as well. In the dedication to King George IV that appears in the English version of his treatise, Hummel explains that although the piano had already

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²¹ A second part containing instruction in continuo playing and accompaniment was added in 1762, and subsequent publications of revised editions took place in 1787 and 1797.

achieved the status of being the instrument "most generally in use," the "many elementary works" in print were:

... with very few exceptions ... [to be] considered rather as epitomes in which generally speaking, what had already been said is repeated in a condensed form though in other words and with a different arrangement without any particular attention being paid to improvement and progress or to the extended compass and increased capabilities of the instrument so that even down to the present day, not a few points have remained doubtful and unsettled.²²

In his preface, Hummel speaks more specifically of time periods, stating that the "extensive compass" of the piano and the piano's universal acceptance had taken place within the last twenty years. He also explains his reasoning for the format of his treatise and speaks about its content:

My view has always been less to write a preceptor for those who, in the *strict* sense of the word, desire to learn to play in the *shortest* manner, than for those who wish to combine with the practical part, the theoretical knowledge connected with it, and who aspire to the rank of well-grounded performers.

Let no one imagine that I have every where aimed at being *new*, *original*, and *erudite*; on the contrary, I *have*, as far as possible, endeavoured to retain and turn to account, all the *good*, and the *useful*, which men of sense have written on the subject during more than half a century, and after mature consideration and long experience; and have added only what I found appropriate and suited to the present style of writing and playing, and on the other hand, have omitted that only, which, at this time, appeared to me to be superfluous.²³

Hummel clearly states that his purpose is to culminate and improve, rather than invent, and he places himself at the end of a line of those who worked within a certain historical tradition. Since Hummel's treatise is similar in some ways to C.P.E. Bach's in size, scope, and content (particularly in regard to fingering),²⁴ it may be assumed that his description of what "men of sense have written on the subject during more than half a century" includes figures like Bach whose importance Hummel seems to have emulated.

²² A Complete Theoretical and Practical Course of Instructions on the Art of Playing the Piano Forte (London: Boosey and Co., 1828).

²³ Ibid., i-ii.

²⁴ Türk's *Clavierschule, oder Anweisung zum Clavierspielen für Lehrer und Lernende* (Leipzig and Halle, 1789; unathorized edition published in Vienna, 1798), at over 500 pages, is also a large work of the same category.

In regard to dating the genesis of Hummel's treatise, much can be learned from Hummel's letters. By his own account, as can be seen in his official request for copyright permission from the King of Prussia [Figure 2], ²⁵ Hummel reported on the approximate year he began work on the treatise. In the letter, dated September 1826, 26 he calls the treatise Complete theoretical and practical Course of Instruction on Playing the Pianoforte, from the First Elementary Instruction on to a Complete Education, ²⁷ and he states that he had been working "uninterrupted" on it for five years. In a letter dated 4 October 1825, Hummel wrote to Carl Friedrich Peters (1779-1827), the Leipzig music publisher, stating that he had finished his treatise, ²⁸ while in his autobiographical letter (Appendix B) of 22 May 1826, he revealed that he had just completed "an extensive theoretical and practical school for the pianoforte."²⁹ It would probably be safe to say, then, that all the parts of the treatise had been collected and put in place by the fall of 1825, but that a fair copy with remaining corrections was not finished until the winter or spring of 1826. If Hummel's "five years" indicates the time from start to finish, then he would have begun the entire project in early 1821 or late 1820. Thus, the earliest stages of his treatise date from between one and two years after his arrival in Weimar.

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²⁵ Goethe-Museum, Düsseldorf, from Hummel Katalog No. 161.

²⁶ As can be seen at the end of the letter, Hummel left room for a day, but apparently forgot to fill it in.

²⁷ The author's translation. The translator for the English version of the treatise called it A Complete Theoretical and Practical Course of Instruction on the Art of Playing the Piano Forte Commencing with the Simplest Elementary Principles, and Including Every Information Requisite to the Most Finished Style of Performance. As can be seen, the German is significantly shorter and less convoluted than the original English version.

²⁸ Benyovzsky, 300. "Meine Schule ist beendet."

²⁹ These two documents are not in conflict. In the 1825 letter to Peters, Hummel uses the word *beendet* (ended), while in the autobiographical statement, Hummel uses the word *vollendete* (perfected, or completed).

Figure 2

Euer Majestaet!

Ind Zahnnian mut Moffmollan, would mit fait aman Raifa son Frefran sin militalififa Dingtoonly bunfuha, faban mig somarlaght, am Blank zu planiban, woonin if sin Gains Julya aman, sinst langun all sunis Sigjufaiyan fafafainy baniafatan Matford fin stab Pinnoforta imfaffant stangafallt faba. Is füfat stan titul:

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It Majestaet sinn Conig non Jonny Jan, inglori, spen Il Koeniglishe Hoheit was Joséfangog non Innu., fust smann jo ynaitig, min sansiti was nusquepietha Jui, wilnyiim fin ifan fummtlifan Unuhan za nusque lan.

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Euer Majestaet,

ullnimbruffünigsfar J. N. Hummel,

Weimar, in Saylumban 1826.

By permission of the Goethe-Museum, Düsseldorf. Hummel Catalog 161.

Reproduction has been formatted to fit the page.

Euer Majestaet!

Das Zutrauen und Wohlwollen, womit mich seit einer Reihe von Jahren die musikalische Kunstwelt beehrte, haben mich veranlaßt ein Werk zu schreiben, worin ich die Grundsätze einer, durch länger als dreißigjähriger Erfahrung bewährten Methode für das Pianoforte umfassend dargestellt habe. Es führt den Titel:

"Ausführliche theoretisch – praktische Anweisung "zum Spielen des Pianoforte, vom ersten Ele-"mentar – Unterrichte an, bis zu vollkommen-"sten Ausbildung p.p.

Durch die Gnade meiner erhabenen Schülerin, der Frau Erbgroßherzogin von Sachsen Kaiserliche

Kurheßischen Staaten

Von Seite Sachsen, Preußen, Bayern, Würtemberg, Baden, Darmstadt, Frankfurth, Braunschweig, Hannover, war ich bereits so glücklich, die Privilegien auf gedrucktes Werk zu erhalten zu erhalten(?) Hoheit in meinem Streben aufgemuntert, habe ich seit 5. Jahre ununterbrochen an diesem Werke gearbeitet und weder Fleiß noch Mühe gescheut, um es so hoher Gunst und dem Namen eines deutschen Künstlers würdig zu machen. Nun mehr vollendet, liegt es zum Druck bereit, allein die gerechten Besorgnisse wegen des so schädlichen Nachdruckes eines mit so bedeutenden Auflagekosten verbundenen Werkes und setzen nothwendigerweise den Verleger außer Stande, den Autor einigermaßen anständig für das Produkt seines Geistes und für seine mehrjährige Aufopferung belohnen zu können.

Dafür wage ich Euer Majestaet allerunterthänigst zu bitten. mir das allerhöchste Privilegium auf gedrucktes Werk für die gesammten königlich-Hannöverschem Staaten allergnädigst zu verleihen, so daß selbiges weder ganz, noch in verunglimpfter Form von Auszügen, oder unter sonstigen Namen nachgedruckt, noch auch irgend ein Nachdruck verkauft werden dürfe.

Seine Majestaet der König von Preußen, ingleichen Seine Koenigliche Hoheit den Großherzog von Darmstadt waren so gnädig, mir bereits das nachgesuchte Privilegium für ihre sämmtlichen Staaten zu ertheilen

Ich werde diese ausgezeichnete Gnade Eurer Majestaet als die höchste Aufmunterung und Belohnung meines Kunststrebens so lange ich lebe, mit dem höchsten gefühl der Dankbarkeit anerkennen, und ersterbe in tiefster Ehrfurcht

Euer Majestaet,

Weimar, den September 1826

Allerunterthänigster J. N. Hummel

Your Majesty,

The confidence and goodwill, with which the world of musical art has honored me for a number of years, has induced me to write a work, wherein I have comprehensively represented the principles of a method for the pianoforte that has been proven through more than thirty years of experience. It is entitled:

"Complete theoretical and practical Course of Instruction on Playing the Pianoforte, from the First Elementary Instruction on to a Complete Education, etc."

By the grace of my illustrious pupil, the Grand Duchess of Saxony, Imperial States of Hessia, I am happy to have received already publishing privileges from the imperial states for Saxony, Prussia, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, Darmstadt, Frankfurt, Brunswick, and Hannover.

Your Highness, encouraged in my efforts, I have worked on this treatise continuously for five years and have spared neither industriousness nor effort to make it worthy for its high honor and also of the name of a German artist. Now completed, it is ready to go to print. However, concerns are justified because the printing of such an important work, incurring high costs and causing financial loss, necessarily incapacitates the publisher from paying the author for the product of his intellectual achievements and for having had made such a sacrifice for several years.

For this reason, I dare to ask Your Majesty most subserviently to grant me most graciously, the highest printing privilege for this work for the entire states of the Kingdom of Hannover; so that it may not be reprinted in its entirety, or in distorting excerpts, or under another name, and that no reprint may be sold.

His Majesty the King of Prussia, as well as His Royal Highness the Archduke of Darmstadt, were so gracious as to have already given me the desired privileges for their entire territories.

I shall acknowledge this excellent grace of Your Majesty with the highest feeling of thankfulness, as the greatest encouragement and reward of my artistic endeavours as long as I live, and I humbly submit to

Your Majesty

Weimar, the [?] of September 1826

Your utmost obedient servant, J. N. Hummel

It may be precisely because of his position in Weimar that Hummel even had time to work on the treatise. He had an extremely busy schedule in Vienna and Eisenstadt, and the environment in Stuttgart may not have been conducive to such a task. But the flexibility he received with his post at Weimar was considerable, and it seems likely that he may have received support for such a venture from the Duchess of Weimar Maria Pawlowna, one of Hummel's students. The importance Hummel placed on the work surfaces in a statement by his student Ferdinand Hiller (1811-1885), who wrote that Hummel's wife, the former Elizabeth Röckel, a singer, was rather perturbed that he discarded an opportunity to fulfill an opera commission from Paris—his reason for doing this being that "he spent most of his time on his piano school."

Though Hummel finished the treatise by 1826, the same year he received copyright permission, it was not published until 1828. Although he had been in communication with the publisher Peters of Leipzig, Hummel's German edition was

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³⁰ Hiller was a student of Hummel's from late August of 1825 until 1827. Based on the years of his study with Hummel, this statement suggests that Hummel may have exaggerated when he wrote in 1826 that he had completed the method.

³¹ Künstlerleben (Köln: M. Du Mont-Schauberg, 1880), 6-7. "Am meisten beschäftigte ihn zu jenen Zeiten seine Clavierschule."

eventually published in Vienna by the firm of Tobias Haslinger (1787-1842) and dedicated to Czar Nicholas I of Russia. While the first edition boasts 444 pages in three parts, Haslinger produced a second edition in 1838 [Figure 3] of 468 pages which includes various editorial changes to the text (though not to the musical examples) and additional information in the final segment on improvisation.³² In its original format, the book weighed around five pounds and included over 2,000 musical examples, plus descriptions concerning fingering, repertoire, and proper positioning at the keyboard, among other things.

While the size of the treatise and the work entailed in printing it undoubtedly contributed to the length of time between its completion in 1826 and its publication in 1828, it also seems that time was needed for Hummel to coordinate a joint publication with France and England—a practice of Hummel (and Haydn, among others) that gave him some protection against unauthorized copies.³³ The English edition of the work [Figure 4], dedicated to King George IV, was published by the firm of Thomas Boosey in London, also in 1828. No translator is given on the title page, and Marion Phyllis Barnum, author of a dissertation on Hummel's treatise, suggests Thomas Boosey Jr.³⁴ as a possible translator,³⁵ while Joel Sachs cites Mary Anne Bacon, daughter of

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³² A second edition was not made of the French and English editions. Neither Dieter Zimmerschied (*Thematisches Verzeichnis der Werke von Johann Nepomuk Hummel*, Hofheim am Taunus: Musikverlag Friedrich Hofmeister, 1971) nor Joel Sachs ("A Checklist of the Works of Johann Nepomuk Hummel," *Notes* XXX, No. 4, June 1974: 732-754) mention the date of 1838. A number of libraries, however, including the Library of Congress and British Library list 1838 as the date for the second edition. In addition, Andreas Eichorn, in his preface to the 1989 reprint of the second edition (Straubenhardt: Zimmermann), cites 1838 as the date of the second edition.

³³ International agreements on copyright had not yet come into existence. For more information on this subject, refer to Joel Sachs, "Hummel and the Pirates: The Struggle for Musical Copyright," *The Musical Quarterly* LIX (1973), 31-60.
³⁴ Director of the music branch of the company from 1816 to 1854 and son of Thomas Boosey Sr., the

³⁴ Director of the music branch of the company from 1816 to 1854 and son of Thomas Boosey Sr., the founder of the company. On p. 46 of her dissertation, Barnum suggests Boosey as a possible candidate. ³⁵ "A Comprehensive Performance Project in Piano Literature and an Essay on J. N. Hummel and his Treatise on Piano Playing," (DMA diss., University of Iowa, 1971), 45-6.

Figure 3

Ausführliche

the oretisch-practische

Anweisuns

zum

vom erfen Clementar-Unterrichte an bis zur vollkommenfien Ausbildung;



Zweite Auflage. Eigenthum des Verlegers.





der Musikalienhändler:

Wien, bei Tobias Haslinger,

k.k. Hof-und privil. Kunft-und Musikalienhändler.

London, bei Boosey & C?

(Nº 5201.)

Paris be A. Farrenc.

Richard MacKenzie Bacon (editor of *The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*), as the translator.³⁶ Barnum cites a role by Moscheles in negotiating the English publication,³⁷ but a negotiator may not have been necessary in France, as the publisher's wife was one of Hummel's former students. The publisher, Aristide Farrenc (1794-1865), distinguished his edition from the English by naming the translator on the title page, Daniel Jelensperger, a professor at the Paris Conservatory [Figure 5]. The title page of the French edition names King Charles X as the dedicatee.³⁸ While Dieter Zimmerschied, author of the thematic catalogue on Hummel, reports that the date of publication was 1828,³⁹ a certificate granting the rights of publication to Farrenc may be found in the archive of the Goethe-Museum in Düsseldorf.⁴⁰ The attached notarization, dated 17 March 1829, suggests that Farrenc did not publish the work until 1829.⁴¹.

Haslinger also published an Italian edition of the treatise, ⁴² translated from the German by a professor G. Radicchi of Vienna, presumably in the same (though unspecified) year. In addition, *The Musical World*, in a memoir of Hummel, reported that his treatise had been "translated into the Italian, French, English, and Spanish languages," ⁴³ although on the basis of an extensive search, such a translation of the treatise into Spanish could not be verified.

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³⁶ Kapellmeister Hummel in England and France, 62. Sachs presumably learned this from his investigation of Miss Bacon's autograph collection at the University Library of Cambridge.

³⁷ P. AA

³⁸ Barnum mistakenly reports that the French edition, like the German, was dedicated to Nicholas I.

³⁹ Thematisches Verzeichnis der Werke von Johann Nepomuk Hummel (Hofheim am Taunus: Friedrich Hofmeister, 1971), 205.

⁴⁰ KM 2242.

⁴¹ More evidence for the 1829 date can be found in a letter from Hummel to his student Hiller dated 18 October 1828 in which the former asked Hiller (then in Paris) to check with the French publisher Farrenc on whether there was still time for him to send a list of corrections (Benyovszky, 216).

⁴² Metodo compiuto teorico-pratico per il Pianoforte dai primi elementi fino al più alto grado di perfezione. ⁴³ Anonymous, "Memoir of Hummel," *The Musical World* IV, No. 45 (20 January 1837): 74.

Figure 4

A Completel
Chevretical and Bractical
COURSE OF INSTRUCTIONS.
Art of Playing the Piano Forte
Commencing with the SINCPLEST ELECTRICATEDLES,
and including every information requisite to the
Most finished Style of Performance
Most Tountly Dedicated to
Dis Raijesty George IV.
277
The RUM WEL. Chapel Muster to the Grand Dake of Saxony Rnight of the Royal French Legion of Honor, and Member of Various Reademical Sociolisis
Ent Sta Hall.
I. O. N. D. O. N. 3. Buesey & C. Importers and Sublishers of Foreign
28. Holles Street, Oxford Street. Sold by GEORGEN MANKY

Figure 5



In addition to the publications in Europe, library records indicate that Hummel's treatise was published up to two times in the United States. Columbia University's library holds an English copy of the treatise published sometime between 1832 and 1847 by Firth & Hall in New York. David Paine is listed as the editor of this version, as he is of the version at Yale University's library, which was published in Boston sometime between 1830 and 1839. Barnum states that the American edition is practically identical to the English.

Regarding the contents of the treatise: a dissertation providing detailed commentary on its subject matter has already been written,⁴⁴ but a brief description of its contents in the present dissertation is in order. Various aspects of the treatise will also be revealed in the course of this dissertation's discussion on Hummel's students.

The three volumes that make up the treatise progress, more or less, from the beginnings of musical instruction to the advanced. After the preface, which contains practical advice for parents of piano students and teachers of piano, the treatise commences in volume one with instructions on posture, position, and note-reading. Even from the earliest pages, it is clear that the treatise is formatted more like a reference text for a teacher or adult student than as an exercise book for a child. Volume one contains three sections, the first of which ends with a series of five-finger exercises. The second section includes information on sharps and flats, ties and the dotting of notes, and further musical examples/exercises that move very quickly into the span of an octave. The third section goes into detail on key and time signatures and gives the most important

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⁴⁴ Marion Phyllis Barnum, "A Comprehensive Performance Project in Piano Literature and an Essay on J. N. Hummel and his Treatise on Piano Playing" (DMA diss., University of Iowa, 1971). Parts of the first chapter of Hummel's treatise have also been reproduced in Reginald Gerig's *Famous Pianists and Their Technique* (Washington: R. B. Luce, 1974): 72-79.

examples up to that point of exercise pieces: a set of sixty practical pieces. Volume one ends with supplementary chapter that lists the names of some of the other pieces that might be used in piano instruction.

At just over three hundred pages (compared to volume one's one hundred and ten pages), Volume two of Hummel's treatise is the most substantial. Dealing only with fingering, the volume is divided by fingering type with ten chapters on subjects like "the omission of one or more fingers" and "changing and crossing over the hands." Again, the reference-like nature of the work is evident. Rather than having composed new pieces for the treatise that teach the fingering principles, Hummel used passages from existing works—many of the passages come for his own works for piano.

The final volume, shorter than volume one (at seventy-four pages), contains two sections. The first deals with ornaments and contains the page well known for altering the performance practice of the trill. The second section has to do with a finished style of playing and touches on taste and beauty in playing, pedaling, types of pianos, use of the metronome, and even on tuning the piano. The concluding chapter is on improvisation.

For illustrative purposes, the table of contents to the German and English editions of Hummel's work appears in Figures 6-10.

Figure 6

VIII
Inhalt.
and the state of t
Vorrede
ERSTER THEIL.
ERSTER ABSCHNITT.
Elementar-Unterrieht
Vom Sitze am Klavier
Drittes Kapitel. Vom Noten plan und von den Schlüsseln
Viertes Kapitel. Von der Tastatur und den Noten
Fünftes Kapitel. Von der Gestalt der Noten, ihrem Werth, und den auf sie Bezug habenden Pausen. 4. Vorbereitende-Übungen. 6.
ZWEITER ABSCHNITT.
Erstes Kapitel.
Von den Versetzungszeichen
Praktische Beispiele darüber, und Finger-Übungen
DRITTER ABSCHNITT.
Erstes Kapitel. Von den Tonleitern, Tonarten, Vorzeichnungen und Intervallen
Vom Zeitmass und Takt
Wie man den Takt angeben soll
Viertes Kapitel. Von den Wiederholungs- und Vortragszeichen
Von Worten, die auf langsamere oder schnellere Bewegung des Zeitmasses, auf Affekt, Stärke und Schwäsche des Spiels Bezughaben
60 Übungsstücke aus allen Tonarten, worin die im ersten Theil erklärten Regeln in Anwendung gebracht sind 59. Zusatz Kapitel.
Auswahl zweckmässiger Komposizionen fürs Pianoforte zur stufenweisen Fortschreitung
ZWEITER THEIL.
EINLEITUNG.
Vom Fingersatze überhaupt
Vom Fortrücken mit einerlei Fingerordnung bei gleich förmiger Figurenfolge; nebst dazu erforderli- chen Applikatur-Übungen
Zweites Kapitel. Vom Untersetzen des Daumens unter andere Finger, und Überschlagen der Finger über den Daumen; nebst Übungen

Figure 7

VIII
Adding discount to
Dritte s Kapitel. Vom Auslassen eines oder mehrer Finger; nebst Übungen
Viertes Kapitel. Vom Vertauschen des einen Fingers mit dem andern auf demselben Tone; nebst Übungen
Pin Pin a Wantiful
Von den Spannungen und Sprüngen; nebst Übungen
Sechstes Kapitel.
Vom Gebrauch des Daumens und des fünften Fingers auf den Obertasten; nebst Übungen
Siebentes Kapitell.
Vom Überlegen eines längern Fingers über einen kürzern, und Un terlegen eines kürzern unter einen
längern; nebst Übungen
Vom Abwechseln eines oder mehrer Finger auf derselben Taste, bei wiederholtem und nicht wiederhol-
tem Tonanschlag; und umgekehrt _ vom mehrmaligen sogleich wiederhölten Gebrauch ein es und des=
selben Fingers auf zwei oder mehren Tasten; nebst Übungen
Neuntes Kapitel.
Vom Abwechseln, Überschlagen und Eingreifen der Hände; nebst Übungen
Zehntes Kapitel.
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DRITTER THEIL.
ERSTER ABSCHNITT.
Erstes Kapitel.
Erstes Kapitel. Von den Ausschmückungen und Manieren (Verzierungen) überhaupt, nebst ihren Zeichen
Zweites Kapitel.
Vom Triller mit seinem Nachschlag
Drittes Kapitel.
Von dem uneigentlichen Triller oder der getrillerten Note ohne Nachschlag
Viertes Kapitel.
vom Schneiler
Fünfte s Kapitel. Vom Doppelschlag; (von Vielen Mordent genannt.)
Sechstes Kapitel.
Von den Vorschlägen, Zwischenschlägen und andern Verzierungen
Praktische Beispiele
ZWEITER ABSCHNITT.
Erstes Kapitel. Vom Vortrage überhaupt
Zweites Kapitel. Einige Hauptbemerkungen, den schönen Vortrag und Ausdruck betreffend
Einige Hauptbemerkungen, den schönen Vortrag und Ausdruck betreifend
Drittes Kapitel.
Viertes Kapitel.
Über die zweckmässige Behandlung der verschiedene Pianoforte von deutschem oder englischem Me-
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Über Nutzen, Gebrauch und Anwendung des Mälzel'schen Metronoms
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Chapter III: Significance

That Hummel was regarded by many as one of the greatest, if not the greatest, music teacher in Europe becomes evident from the reaction to his treatise. About its initial publication, *The Harmonicon* reported:

The success which has attended the publication of Hummel's "Piano-forte School," may be estimated from the fact, that, on the day of publication, more than eighteen hundred copies were disposed of.⁴⁵

Robert Schumann was among those who studied the treatise. While a student at Heidelberg, he studied it in February 1829, and when a student of Friedrich Wieck (1785-1873), Schumann resumed a concentrated study of the treatise during the summer of 1831, having copied exercises from the treatise into a sketchbook for easy reference.⁴⁶ A review of that same year from *The Harmonicon* praises Hummel for the work:

A work of this kind, from so experienced a professor as M. Hummel, cannot but be calculable, for he is one of those musicians—we suspect the number to be small—who really think, who know how to generalize, as well as to enter into the nature of, and adapt themselves to, various capacities, and therefore are enabled to communicate knowledge to others,—a task which but a small proportion of teachers are, we fear, qualified to perform, though they may be skilful composers or brilliant performers.⁴⁷

Admittedly, at nearly 500 pages, the treatise could be viewed as daunting. This same review summarizes some of the points of the treatise, uses them to contradict the practices at that time of certain English teachers, and affirms that "M. Hummel's precepts are all clearly delivered and incontrovertibly correct, and his examples are of the fittest kind." Owing to the treatise's length and complexity, however, the reviewer cautions against use of it for anything but serious study:

... his [Hummel's] work, however, is, as he states, calculated only for such as mean seriously to sit down to the *study* of music; for such as merely wish to play

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⁴⁵ Anonymous, "Foreign Musical Report" VII, No. 3 (March 1829): 67.

⁴⁶ Eric Frederick Jensen, "Schumann, Hummel, and 'The Clarity of a Well-Planned Composition,' *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 40, 1-3 (1999): 63-4.

⁴⁷ Anonymous, "Didactic: Hummel's Art of Playing the Piano-Forte. Part I. Elementary Instructions with Sixty Practical Pieces (Boosey and Co., *Holles-street*.)," XIX, No. 5 (May 1831): 114-15.

a light air with a few easy variations, or a quadrille, or to accompany a song, it is much too diffuse, and the lessons will be found almost useless. None should open the volume with the hope of profiting by it, unless they mean to dedicate, in a devoted manner, a certain portion of their time, and all their thought while so engaged, to the art. For others, books better adapted may be found in every music-shop. We recommend this volume as much to the notice of masters in general, for their own information, as to mere learners, in the common acceptation of the word.⁴⁸

Certainly, despite its success, the size and scope of the treatise brought on detractors. A reviewer from 1835, for example, considered that while the treatise was of "infinite value to those who have resolution enough to get through it,"

. . . its ponderous bulk, and mass of contents, afford a prospect somewhat similar to that of a journey through the Arabian desert, and are sufficient to terrify any one who has not the dogged perseverance of a German student. ⁴⁹

Of course, Hummel stated that his treatise was not necessarily for those who "desire to learn to play in the *shortest* manner," but rather for aspiring performers seeking a degree of "theoretical knowledge." It would seem, then, that the treatise was not meant as a text for teaching beginners, who may have found it to more of an impassable jungle than a desert, but rather for those (like Schumann) who were headed toward a serious career in music. However, Dr. Georg Christoph Grosheim, a contemporary with a stated sympathy for Hummel, wrote in an 1829 review that he saw the treatise as a piano school for beginners, with an express purpose of "instructing the beginner, repeatedly, in musical semeiography [notation], fingering in piano playing, and performance," and

⁴⁸ Ibid., 115.

⁴⁹ George Hogarth, *Musical History, Biography, and Criticism. Being a General Survey of Music, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (London: Parker, 1835), 375-74. Quoted in Sachs, *Kapellmeister Hummel in England and France*, 96.

⁵⁰ Hummel vol. 1, i.

⁵¹ Ibid., i.

⁵² "Recensionen: Hummel, J.N.: Ausführliche theoretisch-praktische Anweisung zum Pianofortespiel, vom ersten Elementarunterricht an bis zur vollkommensten Ausbildung. Wien bei Tobias Hasslinger," *Caecilia. Eine Zeitschrift für die musikalische Welt* 11, no.

proceeded to criticize it for being "too extensive" and to successfully fulfill its role as such. Grosheim felt that the extensive portion on fingering should have been shortened⁵⁴ or simplified, and that its length could subject the treatise to mockery.⁵⁵ Of course, simplicity was not Hummel's aim, and, although Grosheim demonstrates great respect for Hummel.⁵⁶ he demonstrates the understandable stance of disagreement on some of the treatise's contents that other contemporaries might also have taken—a stance which demonstrates that Hummel's pedagogical ideas were not necessarily reflective of common practice at the time.⁵⁷

While controversy over its contents was to have been expected, the treatise's size may have been responsible for hindering its staying-power. For Fétis, the treatise's high price, in addition to its size, put it out of the reach of the general public.⁵⁸ The same sentiment was expressed by Grosheim, who stated the treatise was so expensive that, since he could not purchase a copy for himself, he had to borrow a copy from a wealthy friend. Thus, "for thousands, the treatise was unaffordable." But this issue appears to

^{43 (1829): 233. &}quot;... dem Anfänger, wiederholt, die musikalische Semeiographie, die Fingersetzung beim Clavierspiel, den Vortrag auf diesem Instrumente zu lehren."

⁵³ Ibid., 334. ". . . zu weite Ausdehnung."

⁵⁴ Ibid., 334. "... die Regeln vom Fingersatze abzukürzen."

⁵⁵ Ibid., 335. "Zwar liegt es vor Augen, dass dies Mittel gegen das Weitschweifige, nur zu oft seine Grenzen übersehreitet, wodurch dem Spötter vorgearbeitet wird."

⁵⁶ Ibid., 335. Grosheim stated, "Regarding the contents of the work, Hummel's name alone is a guarantee of the greatest possible perfection." (Was den innern Gehalt des vorliegenden Werks betrifft, so bürgt der Name des [Hummel] schon für die möglichst meisterhafte Vollendung desselben.)

⁵⁷ Grosheim disagreed with the very notion of guiding a student too much, and, therefore, disagreed with Hummel's premise for writing the treatise. In explaining his view, Grosheim relates an anecdote of Mozart, who supposedly told a young Hummel that "talent" was the only book of instruction one needed, and he (Grosheim) stresses that instruction books should leave the student to his own genius (p. 235). Specifically, Grosheim disagrees with, among other things, Hummel's inclusion of rules of expression (Grosheim felt them unecessary for talented students) and his suggestion that beginning students make careful use of a metronome (Grosheim failed to mention that Hummel also stated in vol. 3, p. 65, that it was an error to think the player was bound to follow the metronome throughout an entire piece, not allowing for feeling). ⁵⁸ Walter Schenkman, "Beyond the Limits of Urtest Authority; A Contemporary Record of Early

Nineteenth-Century Performance Practice," College Music Symposium Vol. XXIII, No. 2 (1983): 147. ⁵⁹ Grosheim, 334. "... für Tausende nicht zu erschwingende Preis."

have been solved, at least in England, when *The Musical World* elected to publish the treatise in monthly installments:

We are happy to perceive that the invaluable legacy bequeathed to the rising generation of pianoforte players, by the unrivalled Hummel, in his great work upon that instrument, wherein, all that is valuable in precept and example is combined, is now placed within the reach of nearly every student of the pianoforte, by being published in twelve monthly parts, at a moderate price.⁶⁰

In addition, principles from the work can be found scattered throughout articles in various journals, bringing portions of its content to those who could not afford to or chose not to purchase it. Its principles were doubtless also perpetuated as well through Hummel's own students. It seems justified that some credited his treatise as having been a primary contributor to Hummel's fame:

If he had not acquired the prodigious mass of information, which is to be found in his legacy to rising artists, he never would have risen to the eminence he enjoyed. But it was not the least distinguishing feature of his genius, that he was able and willing to communicate it so unreservedly and in so perspicuous a manner. ⁶¹

In addition to the treatise itself, the process that Hummel went through to have it published had an influence on other musicians of the time, as demonstrated in a letter to Hummel from Louis Spohr (1784-1859) regarding Spohr's own Violin School. In the letter, dated 11 October 1831, Spohr comments on the completion of his violin school and asks if Hummel would be willing to disclose how much Haslinger paid Hummel for his piano school. "Of course I know," Spohr wrote, "that your work is three times more important . . ."⁶²

But Hummel's work also served as a springboard off of which future pianist/teachers could attempt to make improvements. Friedrich Wieck, for example,

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⁶⁰ Anonymous, "Miscellaneous: Hummel's Celebrated Pianoforte School," No. 103 (1 March 1838): 149.

⁶¹ Anonymous, "Misccellaneous: Hummel," *The Musical World* No. 95 (5 January 1838): 13.

⁶² Benyovzsky, 318.

published *Clavier und Gesang; Didaktisches und Polemisches* in 1853 (Leipzig). In part a reaction to Hummel's work, Wieck's treatise addresses step-by-step instruction of beginning students more thoroughly, providing his contemporaries with an effective manual for teachers, while Hummel's treatise remains most effective as a reference work. Carl Czerny had the approach of composing large numbers of original pieces, many of which were published in the 1850s, which could be parceled out rather easily to students in a progressive fashion. Hummel's treatise does not provide such an easily accessable progression of pieces, and, not being overly user friendly, would have been difficult for teachers to use in lessons as an instruction book. The fact that the treatise did fall out of use is mentioned by Hummel's student Ferdinand Hiller (1811-1885), who in the late nineteenth century wrote:

... it is strange enough that a work, which, in many ways, stands alone, and is due to an epoch-making pianist and composer, could have been forgotten so quickly.⁶³

As will be demonstrated by the proliferation of Hummel's ideas through his students, however, it is clear that the legacy of his treatise, even though it fell out of use, may be found in the highest levels of teaching, where piano instructors of advanced students passed on the precepts of Hummel's treatise without necessarily crediting the source. The generation that absorbed the treatise made it their own before continuing on with newer styles of pianism.

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⁶³ Künstlerleben (Köln: M. Du Mont-Schauberg, 1880), 7. ". . . es ist sonderbar genug, daß ein Werk, welches in vieler Beziehung einzig dasteht und von einem epochemachenden Pianisten und Componisten herrührt, so schnell vergessen werden konnte."

Part Two: The Pedagogue

Chapter IV: Hummel and Chopin; Mendelssohn

The efforts of Hummel in the production of his treatise are to be admired, and the recognition it gained him was certainly deserved. The true test of its success, however, is in proof of its dissemination. While Hummel had many students with whom he used the materials he produced, most of them (as is also the case with the students of Liszt) are names unknown to modern ears. An effort could be made to trace Hummel's pedagogical model through the students of his students, who may have been, in many instances, local teachers of music in various cities, promulgating Hummel's original precepts. But the power of the Hummel's pedagogical model may also and more easily be perceived in well-known historical figures with whom he had relatively brief contact. Two such luminaries are Frédéric François (Fryderyk Franciszek) Chopin (1810-1849) and Felix Mendelssohn (1809-1847).

Chopin and Hummel

On 17 March 1830, Frédéric Chopin, aged twenty, gave his Warsaw debut.

Although Chopin was but a recent graduate of the Warsaw Conservatory, the newspapers already hailed him as a master. One unnamed reviewer made a particularly significant comparison:

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As a performer he even surpasses Hummel in both delicacy of feeling and exquisiteness of taste. If he does not quite equal Hummel in technique and smoothness of tempi, he at least is unrivaled by anyone else. As a composer, his Adagio and Rondo are worthy of Hummel himself.⁶⁴

Comparisons with Hummel were not unique to Chopin. At the time of the review, it was not uncommon to pit promising young musicians against the standards set by the then famous pianist and composer Johann Nepomuk Hummel. In some instances, these comparisons can be taken lightly, but with Chopin, similarities with various aspects of Hummel exist not only in compositional style but also in Chopin's later practices as a teacher. Various authors have touched upon some of these parallels, but no extensive comparison of Chopin and Hummel as pedagogues has yet surfaced. Comparing the principles and techniques discussed in Hummel's treatise with descriptions of Chopin as a teacher reflect much of Hummel's broad influence and the dissemination of the ideas contained within his treatise. But as Chopin's biography demonstrates, he was aware of Hummel even before the treatise was published and before he became an acquaintance.⁶⁵

Evidence exists of Chopin's inclination toward Hummel from the time of Chopin's earliest training. Although his childhood piano teacher, Adalbert Zywny, was actually a violinist, Chopin later took composition with Jozef Elsner, who, according to biographer Adam Zamoyski, "steered his pupil . . . towards Hummel, Moscheles and

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⁶⁵ See Appendix A for a biographical timeline of events.

⁶⁴ As reported by William G Atwood, *Fryderyk Chopin: Pianist from Warsaw* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 210. This is a translation of a portion of an article that appears in the *Gazeta Korespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego*, Warsaw, 19 March 1830. As Sandra Rosenblum pointed out, "smoothness of tempi" is better translated as "evenness of tempi" (private communication to author). This reference may be to Chopin's more extensive use of tempo rubato.

Field, whom he saw as the greatest composers of the day."⁶⁶ Adolph Gutmann, often referred to as among Chopin's favorite students, ⁶⁷ stated after his master's death:

Chopin held that Clementi's *Gradus ad Parnassum*, Bach's pianoforte fugues, and Hummel's compositions were the key to pianoforte-playing, and he considered a training in these composers a fit preparation for his own works. He was particularly fond of Hummel and his style.⁶⁸

Wilhelm von Lenz, who had personal encounters with Chopin, wrote that Chopin often said (while in Paris), "There is but one School, the German." While Chopin was probably referring to a school of composition, he most certainly could have been referring to a pedagogical school as well. David Branson and Jim Samson have explored compositional grounding in the style of Hummel, but the possible linkage of Chopin to a "German" pedagogical school is not commonly addressed.

While Chopin apparently received some grounding in Hummel's "school" from Elsner, he had the opportunity to meet Hummel personally in 1828, the year Hummel's treatise had finally been published. Hummel was on concert tour, and Warsaw was on his list of stopping places. Chopin did not record any reaction to this encounter. His seeing Hummel, the man, might have given him similar impressions to the ones noted by Ferdinand Hiller, a student of Hummel who would later become a friend of Chopin. Hiller met Hummel first in 1825 and subsequently described his teacher later in his autobiographical book *Künstlerleben* in the following way:

As is well known, Hummel's features were not comely; his forehead carried the stamp of his intelligence and his hair was a strikingly handsome chestnut brown, however, his cheeks were too thick, full of pockmarks, and the two halves of his face were not in correct ratio to each other. His

⁶⁶ Adam Zamoyski, Chopin: A Biography (London: Collins, 1979), 38.

⁶⁷ Chopin's C-sharp Minor Scherzo (Opus 39) is dedicated to Gutmann—the only male student to whom Chopin dedicated a work.

⁶⁸ Frederick Niecks, *Frederick Chopin: as a Man and Musician* vol. 2 (New York: Novello, Ewer & Co., 1888), 189.

⁶⁹ The Great Piano Virtuosos of Our Time from Personal Acquaintance: Liszt, Chopin, Tausig, Henselt (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), 59.

⁷⁰ See David Branson, *John Field and Chopin* (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1972), 146-67.

⁷¹ See Jim Samson, *Chopin* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1996), 35-63.

deep-set blue eyes had, however, an extremely hearty, kind expression, and they shone as transfigured if he was in good spirits while sitting at the piano. Calling him rather big (his figure was actually corpulent) was a roughly appropriate way of describing his features. Despite his looks, he exerted a great appeal on all the world, and later I saw him showered with homages of every kind, in Vienna as well as in Paris, in which the admiration that was demonstrated was due not only to his talent, but also to the warm sympathy that his character aroused.⁷²

Apparently Hummel's appearance was somewhat distracting and not very appealing. However, Chopin left no such record of his first impression, he only referred to Hummel in very warm and friendly terms. Chopin preferred not to say anything negative about Hummel's appearance. In fact, Chopin's letters demonstrate that a friendly relationship resulted from their first encounter. In August, 1829, Chopin wrote home from Vienna, where he was giving his debut concert outside of Poland. Referring to his friend, Alexander Wertheim, Chopin stated: "In Carlsbad he saw Hummel and says that Hummel asked after me and that he will write to Hummel today and tell him about my debut." After his Warsaw concerts in 1830, Chopin returned to Vienna and wrote to his family in December about what he referred to as Hummel's extraordinary kindness:

Talking of painting, Hummel came to see me yesterday morning with his son, who has done a portrait of me, so lifelike that it could not be bettered . . . Hummel is extraordinarily kind. Since he is friendly with Duport, who used to be a famous ballet dancer and is now manager of the Kärntnerthor Theatre, [Hummel] introduced me to him yesterday evening.⁷⁵

Although there is only circumstantial evidence, it may be that Hummel also gave Chopin some assistance in achieving his first publication outside Poland. Hummel, who was known for writing recommendation letters for students and others, was on very friendly terms with Tobias Haslinger (1787-1842), who published many of Hummel's own works. It seems more than a passing coincidence that Chopin submitted compositions to

⁷² Köln: M. Du Mont-Schauberg, 1880. P. 4.

⁷³ See Appendix D for a description by Carl Czerny and further discussion on the matter of Hummel's appearance.

⁷⁴ Arthur Hedley, trans. and ed., *Selected Correspondance of Fryderyk Chopin* (London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1962), 24-5.

⁷⁵ Hedley, 70.

Haslinger in Vienna the year of Hummel's trip to Warsaw and succeeded in having Haslinger publish his Opus 2 variations. The record strongly suggests that Chopin admired Hummel as a person and recognized Hummel as an outstanding pianist and composer. As is documented by comments made in his sketches for a method and in various letters, Chopin also recognized Hummel as a widely respected teacher. For example, Chopin mentions Hummel's fingering acumen in his sketches for a method, putting the only other teacher he mentions, Friedrich Kalkbrenner, in a negative context (disputing Kalkbrenner's wrist technique). This contrast is telling, since Chopin nearly enrolled in formal lessons with Kalkbrenner and had at least one lesson with him upon the former's arrival in Paris. Chopin's early teacher, Zywny, having been a violinist, may have brought Chopin to believe that he lacked adequate training. As Chopin repudiated parts of Kalkbrenner's teaching method, however, Hummel, seems to have been Chopin's only remaining model.

In his recognition of Hummel, Chopin was not alone—for many pianists, just having studied with Hummel meant recognition. Robert Schumann's desire to attain recognition as a pianist by studying with Hummel, for example, has been well documented. Chopin would have known that Hummel worked with many fine students, and, in fact, became close friends in Paris with Ferdinand Hiller, a Hummel student with

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⁷⁶ See Hedley, 225.

⁷⁷ Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger, *Chopin: Pianist and Teacher as Seen by his Pupils*, trans. Naomi Shohet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 195. Other evidence of Chopin's respect for Hummel's teaching ability lies in his references to Hummel in his letters. On at least one occasion, Chopin characterizes a pianist positively by mentioning that he is/was a student of Hummel. See Hedley, 13, where "Hauck" is mentioned by Chopin as a Hummel student, and p. 99, where Chopin comments on Hiller's training with Hummel.

⁷⁸ For the most thorough investigation of this, see Eric Frederick Jensen, "Schumann, Hummel, and 'The Clarity of a Well-Planned Composition," *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 40, 1-3 (1999): 59-70.

whom Hummel maintained close contact.⁷⁹ Chopin may also have known of Hummel's role in the education of Carl Czerny (who was in Vienna at the time when Chopin visited), Sigismund Thalberg (who established a career in Paris while Chopin was there), and Felix Mendelssohn, with whom Chopin became close. When comparing ideas from Hummel's method book with Chopin's pedagogical views, it becomes clear that Hummel's influence on Chopin did, indeed, include both teaching style and content.

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Most of what we know today about Chopin's teaching philosophy comes from statements by his students and from Chopin's own sketches for a piano method. Chopin had originally intended to complete an entire method book, but all that remains of his intentions is a torso consisting of sixteen covered sides of manuscript paper. From these sketches, a link to Hummel can be clearly established. On the tenth page, Chopin's familiarity with Hummel's method is revealed in a direct reference to Hummel, which reads "As many sounds as there are fingers—everything is a matter of knowing good fingering. Hummel was the most knowledgeable on this subject." This undoubtedly refers to the literally thousands of musical examples in which Hummel deals solely with fingering. While specific examples of Chopin's fingerings are not included in his sketches for a method, the extent to which Hummel's fingerings influenced Chopin can

⁷⁹ As evident in letters exchanged between Hiller and Hummel while Hiller was in Paris. See Benyovszky, pp. 216-23.

These method sketches are a collection of autograph notes made up of twelve separate folios. The folios are of various types (some single sheets and some double sheets), making for a total of sixteen covered sides and twenty blank sides. For an English translation of the sketches, see Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger, *Chopin: Pianist and Teacher as Seen by his Pupils*, trans. Naomi Shohet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 190-7.

⁸¹ Eigeldinger, 195.

be seen by comparing them with a description of Chopin's fingerings made by the Polish master's student, Carl Mikuli:⁸²

In the notation of fingering, especially of that peculiar to himself, Chopin was not sparing. Here pianoforte-playing owes him great innovations which, on account of their expedience, were soon adopted, notwithstanding the horror with which authorities like Kalkbrenner at first regarded them. Thus, for instance, Chopin used without hesitation the thumb on the black keys [and] passed it even under the little finger . . . if this could facilitate the execution and give it more repose and evenness.

Chopin's use of the thumb and little finger on the black keys may be seen in measures 47-48 of his Etude F Major, Op. 10, No. 8 [Musical Example 1].

Wusical Example 1 8^{va} 1 5 cresc.

Musical Example 1

This corresponds with Chapter 6 in the second part of Hummel's method. In the examples entitled "On the use of the thumb and little finger on the black keys" (p. 224), Hummel demonstrates cases when such fingerings are appropriate includes the following [Musical Example 2]:

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⁸² Chopin's musical examples and fingerings in this article are taken from the G. Henle Urtext edition of his Etudes (München, 1983). The Mikuli citation appears in the foreward to each of the fifteen editions of Frédéric Chopin, *Complete Works for the Piano*, ed. Carl Mikuli (New York, 1934), [ii].

Musical Example 2



An example of Chopin's passing of the little finger over the thumb may be observed in measures 17-18 of his Etude in A Minor, Op. 25, No. 11 [Musical Example 3]:

Musical Example 3



And the corresponding Hummel fingering may be found in Chapter 2 of the second part of Hummel's method. Chapter 2 is entitled "On the passage of the thumb under the other fingers, and of the fingers over the thumb, with exercises." The following example is taken from page 129 [Musical Example 4]:

Musical Example 4



Mikuli continues:

With one and the same finger he took often two consecutive keys (and this not only in gliding down from a black to the next white key) without the least interruption of the sequence being noticeable.

The first of Chopin's three studies (without opus number) for the *Méthode des Méthodes* by Moscheles and Fétis provides for a good example of Chopin's use of this fingering.

The etude in question is listed in the Henle edition as the Etude in F Minor KK II b/3 No.

1. The following example is of measures 46-7 [Musical Example 5]:

Musical Example 5



Chapter 8 of the second part of Hummel's method is "On changing one or more fingers on the same key, with or without the repetition of the note; and, inversely, on the successive application of the same finger on two or more different keys; with exercises." Musical Example 5 presents some problems in a comparison with Hummel in that it does not fit Hummel's criteria for the use of the same finger on different keys. Hummel provides the following rules:

It [the same finger on consecutive keys] is employed . . . in passages where the same finger glides from a black key down to the white one . . . in *passages in several parts*, on occasion of extensions and syncopations . . . on two different keys, separated by a rest . . . on notes played *staccato* . . . after a skip without an intermediate rest . . . and . . . scales of *double or triple notes* on the white keys. 83

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⁸³ Hummel vol. 2, 254.

Chopin's use of the thumb on three adjacent notes fits none of these characteristics.

While this may point to a uniqueness in Chopin's fingerings, the possibility remains of merely the title of Hummel's chapter having inspired Chopin's fingering practice in this instance. One of the examples of the "successive application of the same finger to two or more keys" is provided by Hummel on page 273 of the second volume of his treatise [Musical Example 6]:

Musical Example 6



Mikuli furthermore states that:

The passing over each other of the longer fingers without the aid of the thumb he [Chopin] frequently made use of, and not only in passages where the thumb stationary on the key made this unavoidably necessary.

An example of this may be found in the first two measures of Chopin's Etude in A Minor, Op. 10, No. 2 [Musical Example 7]:

Musical Example 7



The corresponding section in Chapter 7 of the second part of Hummel's method has the caption (p. 237): "On passing a long finger over a shorter, and passing a short finger under a longer one, with exercises" [Musical Example 8]:

Musical Example 8



Mikuli also discusses Chopin's fingering of chromatic thirds:

The fingering of the chromatic thirds based on this (as he marked it in Etude, No. 5, Op. 25)⁸⁴ affords in a much higher degree than that customary before him the possibility of the most beautiful legato in the quickest tempo and with a perfectly quiet hand.

A comparison between Hummel's method (vol. 2, p. 88) [Musical Example 9] and Chopin's Etude in G-sharp Minor, Op. 25, No. 6 (measures 9-10) [Musical Example 10], demonstrates equivalent fingerings:⁸⁴

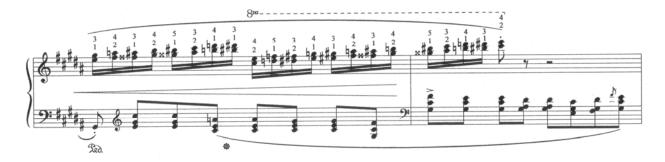
Musical Example 9



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⁸⁴ Mikuli made an error here. The etude in question is Op. 25 No. 6.

Musical Example 10



Not only did Chopin agree with Hummel on fingerings but both also agreed on other fundamentals: position and posture at the keyboard, practice habits, teaching policies, and repertoire for teaching. Even Chopin's adherence to tradition that pianists must listen to great singers, and in extreme cases, learn how to sing in order to improve their musicianship is found in Hummel's method.⁸⁵ To quote Hummel:

What relates to beauty and taste in performance, will be best cultivated, and perhaps ultimately most easily obtained, by hearing music finely performed, and by listening to highly distinguished musicians, particularly Singers gifted with great powers of expression. Indeed, among those musicians and Composers who in their youth have received instructions on singing, there will generally be found more pure, correct, and critical musical feeling than among such as have only a general and extrinsic idea of melody and good singing.⁸⁶

According to Mikuli, Chopin also compared singing and natural phrasing to the reciting of speech. Chopin frequently stated that the unmusical pianist:

... struck him as if someone were reciting, in a language not understood by the speaker, a speech carefully learned by rote, in the course of which the speaker not only neglected the natural quantity of the syllables, but even stopped in the middle of words. 87

Hummel was a bit less descriptive in his Piano Method, but he had made essentially the same point:

⁸⁷ Reginald R. Gerig, Famous Pianists and Their Technique (New York: Robert B. Luce, Inc., 1975), 168.

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⁸⁵ The concept of singing to improve pianism is by no means unique to either Hummel or Chopin. Friedrich Wieck, Schumann's teacher, wrote a book entitled *Clavier und Gesang* ("Piano and Singing"), and Sigismond Thalberg, a student of Hummel and contemporary of Chopin, called his method "The Art of Singing on the Piano."

⁸⁶ Hummel vol. 3, 39. Hummel includes a footnote to his statement: "Hasse, Naumann, Gluck, both the Haydns, Mozart, and the most celebrated Composers of all ages, were singers in their youth."

[Just] as in speaking, it is necessary to lay an *emphasis* on certain syllables or words, in order to render our discourse impressive, and the meaning of our words intelligible to the hearer, so in music the same thing is requisite. 88

In order to achieve the delicacy needed to "sing" or "speak" on the piano, Chopin spoke to his students about how to use touch to produce a variety of sounds. Chopin's student, Henry Peru, stated:

He made me practice first of all constantly varying the attack of one single note, and showed me how he could obtain diverse sonorities from the same key, by striking it in twenty different ways.⁸⁹

Hummel also spoke of finger control, stating that a "correct and beautiful style of performance" requires that the performer be "perfectly master of his fingers . . . capable of every possible gradation of touch." If Chopin did not include "every possible gradation of touch" in his "twenty ways to strike a key," then he certainly must have come close.

Regarding posture at the piano, Chopin states in his sketches that the "elbow(s) [should be] level with the white keys." Observations from Chopin's students reveal that he believed "all rapid passages in general" should be played with the hands "slightly turned, the right hand to the right, and the left hand to the left" with "the elbows [remaining] close to the body, except in the highest and lowest octaves." Hummel wrote that the student should sit "neither too high nor too low . . . [with] the elbows rather turned towards the body, yet without pressing against it," so that "the right hand may

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⁸⁸ Hummel vol. 3, 54.

Eigeldinger, 32. Some authors (see Jeanne Holland 1972) feel that this is undoubtedly an exaggeration. The present author, however, is of the opinion that the combination of Chopin's instrument and expertise would have made possible the production of a wide variety of tone colors (perhaps in the form of subtle changes in nuance). See the chapter on Hummel's legacy for the use of such a technique by the students of the 20th-century pedagogue Isabelle Vengerova, *infra*.

⁹⁰ Hummel vol. 3, 41.

⁹¹ Eigeldinger, 190.

⁹² Ibid., 31.

conveniently reach the highest, and the left hand the lowest keys, without altering the position of the body." Hummel also wrote that the hands should be "turned rather outwards, like the feet." 93

With both Chopin and Hummel, the teaching of posture is linked to the teaching of practice habits. With Chopin, practice habits included daily time limitations.

According to Chopin's student, Madame Camille Dubois, Chopin "feared above all . . . the abrutissement⁹⁴ of the pupils." She went on to state:

One day he heard me say that I practiced six hours a day. He became quite angry and forbade me to practice more than three hours . . . [as] . . . was also the advice of Hummel in his pianoforte school. 95

And indeed it was! Hummel put his views on practice hours as follows:

Many entertain the erroneous opinion that to arrive at excellence, it is necessary to practice for at least 6 or 7 hours every day; but I can assure them, that a *regular*, *daily*, *attentive* study of at most three hours is sufficient for this purpose; any practice beyond this, damps the spirits [and] produces a mechanical, rather than an expressive and impassioned, style of playing. 96

During these three hours of practice, both Hummel and Chopin supported the use of the metronome. Mikuli mentioned that "In keeping time Chopin was inflexible, and many will be surprised to learn that the metronome never left his piano." Hummel wrote that every composer and musician should own a metronome, and that teachers "should also take care to impress their pupils with an idea of the advantages to be derived from the use of it." ⁹⁸

⁹³ Hummel vol. 1, 2-3.

⁹⁴ Abrutissement can be translated as "stupefaction by overwork."

⁹⁵ Eigeldinger, 27. According to Jeanne Holland, 216, "One cannot be sure . . . that Hummel recommends the three hours of practice for advanced students." In his article on Hummel in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 1980, Joel Sachs writes that "Hummel believed in hard work, with intensive, but not excessive, daily practicing." If Sachs's statement is accurate, then Hummel would seem to have kept the "three-hour-rule" himself. It would follow, therefore, that he would have asked his advanced students to do the same.

⁹⁶ Hummel vol. 1. iii-iv.

⁹⁷ Frédéric Chopin, *Complete Works for the Piano*, ed. Carl Mikuli (New York: G. Schirmer, ca. 1894), [i]. ⁹⁸ Hummel vol. 3, 65n.

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Hummel's policy on lesson fees has been criticized in the literature. In his biography of Franz Liszt, Alan Walker points out that Liszt's father originally wanted his son to take childhood lessons with Hummel, but "his [Hummel's] fees were high; he charged 1 louis d'or a lesson, 99 an exorbitant sum in those days." What is generally not mentioned about Hummel is that his lesson rates were a matter of principle. Many modern teachers would agree with Hummel's statement that "Parents, in the choice of a master, should direct their attention less towards cheapness of instruction, than to ascertaining that he is a man thoroughly conversant with the principles of his art" Hummel most certainly was "conversant," and he rightly reflected it in his lesson fee. That Chopin agreed with this idea can be seen in a letter written by Joseph Filtsch, brother of Chopin's star student, Karl Filtsch: 102

[Liszt], great executant though he is, . . . cannot equal Chopin as a teacher. I do not mean that Liszt is not an excellent teacher: he is the best possible—until one has had the good fortune of knowing Chopin, who is, in the matter of method, far ahead of all other artists. However, [Liszt gives his lessons free], whereas the other [Chopin] strictly claims his 20 francs. 103

In the course of paying for lessons, students will expect that their teachers provide some guidance through the repertoire. In this regard, Chopin followed Hummel's

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⁹⁹ According to the *Webster's New World Dictionary, Third College Edition* (New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1988) and the *Random House Webster's College Dictionary* (New York: Random House, 1991), the "louis d'or" is "a former gold coin of France, issued from 1640 to 1795"; or "a later French gold coin worth twenty francs."

¹⁰⁰ Franz Liszt, Vol. I: The Virtuoso Years, 1811-1847 (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1988), 64-5.

¹⁰¹ Hummel vol. 1, iii.

¹⁰² Karl Filtsch, a Hungarian boy who studied with Chopin between 1841 and 1843, was considered by many to be Chopin's most promising student. Tragically, he took ill and died in 1845 at the age of fifteen.
¹⁰³ Hedley, 221. See note 37. Twenty francs is equivalent to a "louis d'or." Holland, 205, points out one instance when that particular coin is mentioned by a Chopin student. Marie von Harder from St. Petersburg (she began studies with Chopin at the age of fourteen) writes that "Chopin wished to be paid after each lesson with a louis d'or which she was to place on the piano as she left his apartment."

example as well. All of Chopin's students began with Clementi's *Preludes and Exercises*. Also stressed were Bach, Cramer, Moscheles, Field, and, of course, Hummel. ¹⁰⁴ In the repertoire section of his book, Hummel wrote that when the student has "sufficiently studied the practical examples contained in the second part of this school [the fingering and other exercises in vol. 2]" he/she should commence with "Clementi's *Preludes and Exercises*. Cramer's studies, as well as the difficult compositions of other distinguished composers. ¹⁰⁶ In selecting repertoire for his students, Chopin seemed to esteem Bach above all other composers. This is evident from his statement to Madame Dubois that her "best means to make progress" was to practice Bach's works constantly. ¹⁰⁷ Not surprisingly, Hummel also admired Bach, having written that J. S. Bach's works were "a means of forming the taste for the loftiest departments of the art."

Chopin's use of rubato is well known. At first glance, the following statement by Hummel seems to indicate that he would have disagreed with Chopin on this point:

In the present day, many performers endeavour to supply the absence of natural inward feeling . . . by a capricious dragging or slackening of the time [tempo rubato], introduced at every instant and to satiety. 109

Once Chopin's rubato is undertood, however, it becomes clear that there is agreement rather than conflict. Mikuli explains:

¹⁰⁴ Eigeldinger, 60-1.

The fact that Chopin began his students with Clementi's *Preludes and Exercises* points to the possibility of Chopin having bypassed (or, perhaps, just referenced) the second part of Hummel's method when teaching his students. This may be explained by the fact that all of Chopin's students were relatively advanced when they began studying with him, whereas Hummel taught both beginners and veterans of the piano. Chopin may have felt that his students where advanced enough to proceed with Hummel's recommended repertoire.

¹⁰⁶ Hummel vol. 1, 110.

¹⁰⁷ Niecks vol. 2,190.

¹⁰⁸ Hummel vol. 1, 110.

¹⁰⁹ Hummel vol. 3, 40.

... in his oft-decried tempo rubato one hand—that having the accompaniment—always played on in strict time, while the other, singing the melody, either hesitating as if undecided, or, with increased animation . . . [maintained] the freedom of musical expression from the fetters of strict regularity. 110

Chopin's student, noted mezzo soprano Pauline Viardot (1821-1910), points out that this way of playing "is very difficult since it requires complete independence of the two hands,"111 and Chopin himself said "let your left hand be your conductor and always keep time." Hummel makes observations in the third part of his method that parallels these descriptions of Chopin's rubato. After a musical example consisting of a portion of the third movement of his Sonata in D Major, Op. 106 [Musical Example 11], Hummel writes:

Musical Example 11



Mikuli, [i].Eigeldinger, 49.Niecks vol. 2. 101-2.

In such passages it must be remarked . . . each hand must act independently . . . the left hand must keep the time strictly; for it is here the firm basis on which are founded the notes of embellishment, grouped in various numbers, and without any regular distribution as to measure... he must play the first [right hand] notes of the bar rather slower than those which succed them, so that at the end of the bar he may not be compelled to lengthen the notes, in order to fill up the time remaining, or else to leave a chasm altogether. 113

Another area where, at first glance, Chopin appears to have little in common with Hummel, is that of pedaling. Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger writes: "Chopin . . . expanded piano technique by developing a new dependence on pedal . . . it acts as an integrating element (unlike with Hummel)."114 Few would question Chopin's importance to the development of pedal use, but in examining this development, the origins of a basic pedaling practice cannot be overlooked. Here are some of Hummel's opinions on the use of pedals:

A performance with the dampers almost constantly raised, resorted to by way of a cloak to an impure and indistinct method of playing, has become so much the fashion, that many players would no longer be recognised, if they were debarred the use of the Pedals . . . every player should indulge in the use of them with the utmost moderation; for it is an erroneous supposition that a passage, correctly and beautifully executed without pedals, and of which every note is clearly understood, will please the hearer less, than a mere confusion of sounds, arising from a series of notes clashing one against another. 115

This statement appears to be an attack on anyone using the pedal extensively, as Chopin is commonly thought to have done. According to Mikuli, however, Chopin said that the pedal should be used "with the greatest economy." ¹¹⁶ In the diary of Chopin's student Friederike Streicher (dedicatee of Chopin's Allegro de concert, Op. 46), we find the following account of Chopin's pedaling practices:

¹¹³ Hummel vol. 3, 53.

¹¹⁴ Eigeldinger, 20.

¹¹⁵ Hummel vol. 3, 62.

¹¹⁶ Eigeldinger, 57.

In the use of pedal he [Chopin] had likewise attained the greatest mastery, was uncommonly strict regarding the misuse of it, and said repeatedly to the pupil: "The correct employment of it remains a study for life." ¹¹⁷

If the use of the pedal is defined as its application, then the "misuse" of it must be defined as application in the wrong place or at the wrong time. Thus, if Streicher's statement is accurate, Chopin, like Hummel, discouraged pedal misuse. ¹¹⁸ Of course, this may have been based on pedagogical grounds. Many piano teachers ask students to play without using pedals in order that the teacher may more accurately scrutinize finger accuracy. Chopin did likewise:

Chopin did not want [me to use the] pedal, yet he himself used it, particularly the soft pedal—without however indicating this to his pupils, in order not to exaggerate or overstep its resources.¹¹⁹

Similarly, Hummel wrote that the student should "never employ the Pedals before he can play a piece correctly and intelligibly." Once the student is ready, he or she will find that "the use of the damper pedal, combined occasionally with the piano pedal... has an agreeable effect in many passages..." Chopin most certainly would have agreed [see Musical Examples 12 and 13]. 121

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¹¹⁷ Niecks vol. 2, 341.

Hummel's basic rule for the use of the damper pedal is the following: "... [the pedal is] recommended in slow [rather] than quick movements, and only where the harmony changes at distant intervals" (Hummel vol. 3, 62).

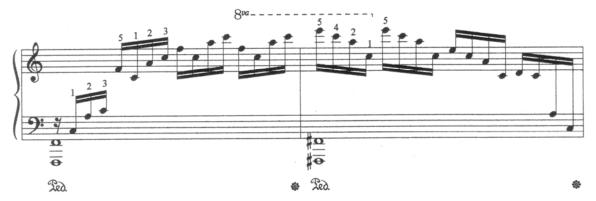
¹¹⁹ Eigeldinger, 58. This statement was made by Mme de Courty, a student of Chopin's about whom little is known.

¹²⁰ Hummel vol. 3, 62.

¹²¹ Historian Antoine-François Marmontel remarked on some instances where Chopin found it agreeable to employ the pedals: "He [Chopin] often coupled them to obtain a soft and veiled sonority, but more often still he would use them separately for brilliant passages, for sustained harmonies, for deep bass notes, and for loud ringing chords. Or he would use the soft pedal alone for those light murmurings which seem to create a transparent vapour round the arabesques that embellish the melody and envelop it like fine lace." See Eigeldinger, 58.

Musical Example 12

Pedaling as demonstrated in Chopin's Etude in C Major, Opus 10, No. 1 (mm. 3-4).



Muscial Example 13

Pedaling as demonstrated by Hummel's treatise, vol. 3, p. 63.



It is noteworthy that Hummel and Chopin preferred playing on pianos of similar touch and sonority. In his method, Hummel discusses the differences between the Viennese (or German) pianos and English pianos. He made clear his preference for Viennese piano, and he described it as follows:

It allows the performer to impart to his execution every possible degree of light and shade, speaks clearly and promptly, has a round flutey tone, which, in a large room, contrasts well with the accompanying orchestra, and does not impede rapidity of execution by requiring too great an effort. ¹²²

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¹²² Hummel vol. 3. About English pianos, Hummel points out (p. 65) that the "mechanism is not capable of such numerous modifications as to degree of tone as ours [Viennese pianos]."

Chopin clearly favored pianos made by Pleyel, which are reported to have been similar to the older Viennese type. Liszt once observed that Chopin particularly cherished Pleyel pianos for their "silvery . . . sonority and . . . lightness of touch," these reasons being precisely those for which Hummel preferred the Viennese piano. As posture and fingering are related directly to the depth and weight of keys, and finger control and pedaling interpretation are dictated by the sonority and resonance quality of the instrument, the importance of the role of the instrument proves most significant. Their mutual instrument preferences provide a key factor in defining the pedagogical relationship between Chopin and Hummel. Chopin's instrument of choice could be explained as a by-product of his Hummel-like (Viennese school) tendencies, and, it could also be that Chopin's love of the instrument compelled him to teach in a manner appropriate to it.

In sum, a comparison of Chopin's pedagogical approach with that of Hummel gives a new dimension to the introductory remarks in Hummel's Piano Method, where he wrote:

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¹²³ Chopin student Emilie Gretsch (maiden name von Timm), a childhood student of one of Robert Schumann's teachers, gave this account: "Until now I have worked more on heavy keyboards than on light ones: this has greatly strengthened my fingers. However, on this type of piano it is impossible to obtain the subtlest nuances with movements of the wrist and forearm, as well as of each individual finger. These nuances – I've experienced them as Chopin's on his beautiful piano, with its touch so close to that of the Viennese instruments. He himself calls it a 'perfidious traitor' [*un traitre perfide*]. Things that came out perfectly on my solid and robust Erard became abrupt and ugly on Chopin's piano. He found it dangerous to work much on an instrument with a beautiful ready-made sound like the Erard. He said these instruments spoil one's touch: 'You can thump it and bash it, it makes no difference: the sound is always beautiful and the ear doesn't ask for anything more since it hears a full, resonant tone.' "See Eigeldinger, 26

¹²⁴ Nicholas Temperley, Gerald Abraham and Humphrey Searle, *Early Romantic Masters I: Chopin, Schumann, Liszt* (London: Macmillan, 1985), 37.

If, by means of this treatise, I should succeed in rendering myself useful, not to the present time only, but also to posterity, I shall consider this as the best and brightest recompence of my endeavours. ¹²⁵

Although Hummel's method was not frequently used by musicians of the twentieth century, it may have had a profound impact on us through Chopin. Unfortunately, no published work has yet come to light that sufficiently explores Hummel's pedagogical legacy through Chopin to later generations of pianists. Because Hummel's influence has been largely overlooked, some of his pianistic innovations may have been overlooked as well, and they certainly present us with most fertile soil for further investigation.

It is unfortunate that Chopin never completed his method, which would most certainly have provided performers and researchers with invaluable new information. It would have been especially interesting to see in how many ways a completed Chopin method may have reflected or transcended the precepts promulgated by Hummel, specifically with regard to Chopin's own compositions. Hummel's method arrived well before Chopin's works brought about questions of interpretive legato, pedal use, and rhythm, particularly with regard to ethnic dances such as mazurkas and polonaises. Unfortunately, Chopin himself did not give specific insight into this, but if he had completed his treatise, his indebtedness to Hummel probably would have been more clearly documented and discernable.

¹²⁵ Hummel vol. 1, ii.

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Mendelssohn and Hummel

Felix Mendelssohn and Hummel met for the first time in April of 1821, when Mendelssohn was merely twelve years old and while Hummel was touring in Berlin. Although not much is known about this first meeting, it does appear that it involved a performance of Mendelssohn's recently composed *Die beiden Pädagogen*, ¹²⁶ a one-act Singspiel, composed with an accompaniment by string quartet and dedicated to Hummel. The dedication and performance for Hummel demonstrate again the high esteem he enjoyed as a teacher. Mendelssohn met Hummel a second time when the former traveled with his teacher, Carl Friedrich Zelter (1758-1832), to Weimar in November of that same year. Zelter, who served as a sort of "musical adviser" to Goethe (their correspondence from 1799 to 1832 amounted to nearly 900 letters), was on friendly enough terms with Goethe to introduce the young Mendelssohn to him. During his stay in Weimar from November 2 to November 19, Mendelssohn performed frequently at Goethe's estate—not only in the presence of Goethe, but also for members of Weimar's musical community, including Goethe's frequent guest, Johann Nepomuk Hummel. Mendelssohn's two weeks in Hummel's home town provided him with the opportunity to play for Hummel almost daily, and Mendelssohn's Fantasy in E-flat Major, Op. 18 (c. 1805), appears to have been the work performed most frequently. According to Larry Todd, author of Mendelssohn: A Life in Music (2003), "Hummel judged that the youth's playing had advanced considerably since their last meeting."127 Hummel did, however, recommend

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 ^{126 &}quot;The Two Pedagogues," a one-act *Singspiel* to a libretto by J. L. Casper based on Eugène Scribe's comedy *Les deux précepteurs*, composed by Mendelssohn in March, 1821.
 127 P. 86

that Mendelssohn pay greater attention to posture, advice that, as is apparent in a letter he wrote to his family in Berlin, Mendelssohn took to heart.¹²⁸

The two weeks Mendelssohn spent in Weimar have since earned Hummel recognition as a teacher of Mendelssohn, as is generally acknowledged in the New Grove Dictionary. In addition to what Mendelssohn may have learned from Hummel during his short stay in Weimar, Mendelssohn was also influenced by Hummel's compositions. Hummel's piano concertos, which, as has been mentioned, influenced Chopin, played an important role in Mendelssohn's musical development. While in Berlin during his first meeting with Mendelssohn, Hummel performed his own Piano Concerto in A minor, Op. 85. 129 Todd is of the opinion that Fanny Mendelssohn's performance of a Hummel concerto on 24 March 1822 must have been the same Op. 85 concerto, a concerto that "thoroughly captivated" Felix Mendelssohn. 130 Wolfgang Dinglinger has written extensively on the influence of this concerto on Mendelssohn's own Piano Concerto in G Minor, Op. 25, of 1831. From a pedagogical standpoint, however, it is Hummel's Op. 74 Septet which had the more lasting impression. Mendelssohn performed the Septet in London on 21 May 1832, ¹³² and it was also Mendelssohn's piece of choice when he began teaching classes at the Leipzig Konservatorium (a school that he had helped found

¹²⁸ Ibid. The letter in question, dated 14 November 1821, is held in the collection of Mendelssohn's letters at the New York Public Library (Letter No. 8).

¹²⁹ Anonymous, "Berlin: Hummel, Klavierkonzert in a-moll (gespielt vom Komponisten)," *Akkgeneube Musikalische Zeitung, mit Besonderer Rücksicht auf den Österreichischen Kaiserstaat* V, No. 42 (26 May 1821): 331-32.

¹³⁰ Todd, 93-4.

¹³¹ See Wolfgang Dinglinger, "Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdys Klavierkonzert a-moll: Umgang mit einer Modell-komposition," in *Festschrift für Cecile Lowenthal-Hensel zum 3. Oktober 1993* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1993), 105-30.

¹³² "Mr. Sedlatzek's, Concert Room, King's Theatre, Monday Morning, May 21st," *The Harmonicon* 10, no. 6 (1832): 154. The review does not specify whether he performed the full or quintet version.

in 1843) on 3 January 1846. William Smyth Rockstro (1823-1895), an English pianist who attended the first classes taught by Mendelssohn, gave the following account:

Mendelssohn's choice of following the Hummel with Chopin and Bach is quite fitting, as Chopin's work was influenced by Hummel, and Bach's fugues were recommended by Hummel in his treatise as "a means of forming the taste for the loftiest departments of the art." Unlike Hummel, however, Mendelssohn (according to Rockstro) did not deal with simple technique, with the exception of the first lesson on the Septet's opening chord. The reason for this avoidance of technical details likely has to do with the fact that Mendelssohn dealt with advanced students and left issues of technique to other teachers at the Konservatorium. But, like Hummel who, as stated earlier, wrote in his treatise that a good pianist should learn good "taste" by listening to good singers, Mendelssohn is reported by Rockstro to have told his students "You will learn far more from them [good singers] than from any players you are likely to meet."

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¹³³ William Smyth Rockstro, Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (London: S. Low, Marston, 1934), 105-7.

¹³⁴ Hummel vol. 1, 110.

¹³⁵ Rockstro, 107-8.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 107.

Hiller

Possibly Hummel's best-known full-time professional student, Ferdinand Hiller had a distinctive career during which he played a significant role in German musical life. Of Jewish descent, Hiller was born in Frankfurt am Main to a wealthy family, his father a merchant. According to an 1855 biographical sketch in Dwight's Journal of Music, "His early inclination to music was fostered by his parents, by affording him every means of developing his talents and taste." ¹³⁷ Indeed, Hiller states in his own autobiographical account that it was his father who initiated contact with Hummel and arranged for the young Hiller to begin lessons in Weimar. 138 Hiller's first piano instructor, Alois Schmitt (1788-1866), was, at that time, one of Frankfurt's most important pianists. He brought Hiller to the point of having publicly performed a Mozart concerto at the age of ten, which Reinhold Sietz and Matthias Wiegandt, authors of the New Grove Dictionary (2001) article, cite as the event that led to Hiller's placement with Hummel. While Sietz and Wiegandt write that Louis Spohr (1784-1859), Wilhelm Speyer (1790-1878), Iganz Moscheles, and Felix Mendelssohn heard the performance, which led to Mendelssohn's recommendation that Hiller study with Hummel, Hiller states in his own autobiographical account that it was through Speyer, a student of Spohr's, that Hiller had an opportunity to meet and play for Spohr while on an autumn trip to Offenbach in 1824. Hiller states that Spohr "showed no dissatisfaction [with Hiller's playing] and advised in no uncertain

¹³⁷ Anonymous, "Ferdinand Hiller," *Dwight's Journal of Music* VIII, No. 10 (8 December 1855): 78. ¹³⁸ Ferdinand Hiller, *Künstlerleben* (Köln: M. Du Mont-Schauberg, 1880), 1-2.

terms that I be sent to Hummel, about whom he spoke with warm admiration." ¹³⁹ Mendelssohn, born in 1809, was merely fifteen when Hiller was advised to study with Hummel. Of course, Mendelssohn, having taken instruction from Hummel himself in 1821 and a friend of Hiller at the time, certainly could have reinforced Spohr's recommendation, though Hiller fails to mention this scenario in the first chapter of his *Künstlerleben*.

Hiller arrived in Weimar to begin his instruction with Hummel on August 28, 1825, and continued studies with Hummel until 1827, the same year he accompanied Hummel on a trip to Vienna to visit the dying Beethoven. On their second visit to Beethoven, Hiller recalls what Beethoven told Hummel:

"You are a happy person; you have a wife who cares for you, who is in love with you—but poor me!"—and he sighed heavily. He then asked Hummel to bring his wife, even if she could not decide whether she wanted to see the man, whom she had known at the height of his powers, in such condition ¹⁴⁰

This conversation is put into perspective when one realizes that Beethoven was at one time interested in Elizabeth Röckel, who later chose Hummel as her husband. ¹⁴¹ In addition to his musical instruction, lessons with Hummel happily brought Hiller into contact with the greatest men of the age: at Weimar, where Hiller had performed in Goethe's home, to Vienna, where in addition to meeting Beethoven, Hiller visited with Hummel the home where the latter had received lessons from Mozart, and he (Hiller) learned as well the location of the piano where Hummel had received his instruction from Mozart, as well as the location of the the writing desk where Mozart sat when he

¹³⁹ Hiller, 1: "Er bezeigte sich nicht unzufrieden und rieth unbedingt, mich Hummel zusenden, von dem er mit warmer Bewunderung sprach."

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 58: "'Du bist ein glücklicher Mensch; du hast eine Frau, die pflegt dich, die ist verliebt in dich—aber ich Armer!—und er seuzte schwer.' Auch bat Hummel, ihm doch seine Frau zu bringen, dich sich nicht hatte entschließen können, den Mann, den sie auf der höhe seiner Kraft gekannt, so wiederzusehen."
¹⁴¹ Ibid., 4.

composed, and even the location of the billiards table where the young Hummel experienced the wrath of Mozart after having accidentally punctured the table with the cue. Hummel's Viennese connections brought Hiller and his teacher to an evening performance of Schubert lieder, with Johann Michael Vogl (1768-1840) singing and Schubert at the piano. Hiller describes:

Schubert had little technique, and Vogl had even less voice, but both had so much life and feeling, and were wrapped up so completely in their performances, that it would have been impossible to re-perform the wonderful compositions more clearly, and at the same time, with greater elation. . . . [Hummel] was seized so deeply, that tears sparkled on his cheeks.¹⁴³

Having had experiences most certainly unmatched by those of any other music student, Hiller returned, at the age of sixteen, to his home in Frankfurt.

Hiller's career that followed, doubtless in large part owing to the doors opened to him by Hummel, was nothing less than spectacular. After a year at home, Hiller left in 1828 for Paris, where he would remain until 1836, and where his close friends would come to include Chopin, Liszt, and Berlioz. Hiller, Chopin, and Liszt performed Bach's Triple Concerto in a concert at the Paris Conservatory on December 15, 1833, 144 and various accounts exist of friendly gatherings that included Chopin, Liszt, Mendelssohn, Berlioz, and Hiller. 145 In a letter to his friend Tytus Wojciechowski, Chopin wrote:

Hiller is an immensely talented fellow (a former pupil of Hummel) whose concerto and Symphony produced a great effect three days ago; he's on the same lines as Beethoven, but a man full of poetry, fire and spirit. 146

¹⁴² Ibid., 52.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 49: "Schubert hatte wenig Technik, Vogl hatte wenig stimme, aber beiden hatten so viel Leben und Empfindung, gingen so gänzlich auf in ihren Leistungen, daß es unmöglich gewesen wäre, die wunderbaren Compositionen klarer und zugleich verklärter wiederzugeben. . . . [Hummel] war so tief ergriffen, daß Thränen auf seinen Wangen perlten."

William G. Atwood, *Fryderyk Chopin: Pianist from Warsaw* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 82-3. Hiller also performed a number of his own works.

¹⁴⁵ See Ruth Jordan, *Nocturne: A Life of Chopin* (New York: Taplinger Publishing Company, 1978), 110-

¹⁴⁶ Frédéric Chopin, ed. E. L. Voynich, *Chopin's Letters* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1988), 156. The letter was written in Paris and is dated 12 December 1831.

Notable as well is the weight Chopin gave to Hiller based largely on his association with Hummel. That Hiller remained in contact with Hummel during this time is evident from the healthy correspondence they maintained that demonstrates the close relationship Hiller continued to enjoy with his teacher.¹⁴⁷

After his stay in Paris, and following a short return to Frankfurt, Hiller left for Italy in 1837, where he again met with Liszt, and at Milan with Rossini, where he also received from Gaetano Rossi (1774-1855) the libretto to Hiller's opera Romilda. Rossini had a hand in helping to arrange a performance at La Scala in 1839. Hiller returned to Germany in 1839, and, with Mendelssohn's help, he was able to secure a performance of his oratorio Die Zerstörung Jerusalems, his "best and most successful work," 149 produced in Leipzig on 2 April 1840. Further studies in Italy were followed by a return to Germany in 1842, where he replaced Mendelssohn as director of the Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra in 1843, directed concerts (and befriended the Schumanns) at Dresden in 1844, became Kapellmeister at Düsseldorf in 1847, and took his final position as Kapellmeister at Cologne, where he remained until his retirement owing to illness a year before his death. Hiller helped found the Cologne Conservatory, a school which he made "into one of the best in the world and attracted the most famous European composers to the city," including Verdi, Gounod, and Brahms. Like Hummel a frequent visitor to England, Hiller was highly regarded there and was invited to compose a work for the opening of the Royal Albert Hall in 1871. A favorable description of the

¹⁴⁷ For examples of letters exchanged between Hiller and Hummel, see Benyovsky, pp. 216-222.

¹⁴⁸ See the entry on Hiller in Sir George Grove's *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1900). Hiller's first opera was widely reported to have been unsuccessful.

Anonymous reprint from *Musical World*, "Ferdinand Hiller," *Dwight's Journal of Music* XXX, No. 15 (8 October 1870): 325.

Hans-Peter Schwarz, trans. Louise Willmot, *Konrad Adenauer: A German Politician and Statesman in a Period of War, Revolution, and Reconstruction* (Providence, RI: Berghahn Books, 1995), 26.

Cologne Conservatory appeared in the June 24[,] 1854 edition of the *London Musical World*:

The Rheinische Musik-Schule was founded in 1850, and is under the able and intelligent direction of Herr Ferdinand Hiller. Its object is to provide musical students, of both sexes, with a thorough education in every branch of the art, under the superintendence of the best masters, and at an unprecedently small cost. The course of instruction is thus divided among the following professors:-*Practical Composition, Analysis of Classical Works, Instrumentation, etc.*—Herr Ferdinand Hiller (Director), *Organ*—F. Weber (Sub-director), the well-known conductor of the Kölner Männergesangverein. *Pianoforte*—Herren F. Hartmann and M. Pixis. The former of these is highly esteemed for his skill as a quartet player. The latter is one of the noted family of artists who bear the name of Pixis. *Harmony and Counterpoint*—Herr F. Derckum. *Singing*—Herren C. Reinthaler and E. Kock. The former, besides his talents as professor, is a composer of reputation. *Declamation and Literature*—Herr R. Benedix, the well-known dramatic author.

Instruction is also given on all kinds of wind instruments; and the institution possesses an organ as well as an extensive library. The pupils have constant opportunities of taking part in concerted music, besides playing at sight, and from score. In addition to the instruction they obtain, they are allowed an *entrée* to the weekly meetings of several musical societies in town for the practice both of vocal and instrumental music, in whose performance and practice meetings they are at liberty to take a part, when sufficiently advanced. To all the concerts given in Cologne, they are also accorded the privilege of a free admission.

Pupils are received in April and October in each year, and the yearly charge made for each is £13. It seems incredible that the institution can maintain itself at so small a charge; but the mystery is solved, when we are informed that its chief support is derived from the liberal contributions of the burghers of Cologne, who, with good reason, look upon music as essential to the well-being of the state. Lodgings for the pupils are provided by the directors in the houses of respectable families, with a guarantee that the yearly expenditure of each need not exceed £50, or at most, £60. Living is remarkably cheap in Cologne, and a closer acquaintance with it proves it to be not near such a "stinking" place as the poets, and especially Coleridge, have represented it.

We have been favoured with a prospectus of the Rheinische Musik-Schule, and have good authority for stating that the directors carry out the task they have undertaken with the utmost efficiency and zeal.¹⁵¹

The institution, sounding very much like a modern, state-sponsored music conservatory, may well reflect Hummel's influence in the composition, analysis, and instrumentation classes taught by Hiller. Additionally, the effort to immerse students in performances by professionals may have had its root in Hummel's recommendation that his students learn good taste by listening to good musicians. The provision to students of free tickets to all concerts was certainly a push in that direction.

Hummel's adherence to the "classic" style was also evident, through Hiller, in the musical preferences of Cologne, which "was regarded as the bastion of conservative

¹⁵¹ "Music School at Cologne, from the *London Musical World*, June 24," *Dwight's Journal of Music* V, No. 12 (July 29, 1854): 132.

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opposition to Wagnerian music."¹⁵² In his article on Hiller in the Grove's Dictionary of 1900, ¹⁵³ Alfred Maczewski (listed in the "List of Contributors" as "Concert-director, Kaiserslautern") wrote:

Hiller occupies in some respect the same position which Spohr held before his death, as the 'Altmeister,' the representative of the old classical school. His pleasant genial personality, and his great intelligence and wide range of knowledge, make him welcome whever he goes. In England he has many friends, who are always glad to see him, and hear his delicate legato style of playing, soon, alas, to be numbered with the things of the past.

Although Hummel is not mentioned in this paragraph, the legacy of Hummel presented here is unmistakable. Hummel was criticized for being of the "classical" school; he was lauded as a professor of great intelligence; he wrote about and practiced the use of patience and kindness in instruction; he was well-known and loved (during his time) in England; and a chief feature of his technique was that of a "delicate legato." It is unclear what is meant by "soon, alas, to be numbered with the things of the past." While the author could have been misled into believing that Hiller's style of piano playing was the last of its sort (perhaps not having heard the legato technique of Henselt or other Hummel students), he could also be referring to Hiller himself—his expected death and the resulting loss of further performances in England. The article, though published after Hiller's death in 1885, refers to Hiller as "one of the most eminent of living German musicians."

Some of Hummel's legacy, through the career and influence of Hiller, can be understood in more depth with a consideration of Hiller's account regarding Hummel as a teacher—the only account of a lesson with Hummel that has thus far come to light.

Hiller also describes, in his *Künstlerleben*, Hummel as a composer, performer, and person. Hiller's description of Hummel as a composer has pedagogical implications, as Hummel,

¹⁵² Schwarz, 26.

¹⁵³ Reprint of the volume 1 of the dictionary, originally published in 1877.

who composed at the piano, once took time, during a composition session, to discuss composition techniques with Hiller. The occasion took place when Hiller, filled with curiosity, ascended to the second floor of Hummel's house during his composition hour and quietly listened in a neighboring room. It was not long, however, before Hummel closed the piano and entered the room where Hiller was listening, exclaiming "I thought, actually much more felt, that I wasn't alone anymore!" Hummel then went on to explain to Hiller one of his composition techniques, which relates as well to piano pedagogy: "While I sit at the piano, I stand in the corner as a listener at the same time. Whatever does not meet with my approval as a listener, I do not write down." As Hiller points out, this practice of external listening demonstrates the importance Hummel placed on "taste." Hummel's kindness can be seen in this episode, as Hiller was not reprimanded for disturbing Hummel's composition session. Hiller later describes Hummel as "so kind and good and friendly to me." The adjectives are found in the atmosphere of the description Hiller paints of a piano lesson with Hummel:

My lessons with Hummel began in the afternoon at three o'clock. After the first greetings, the cage of a slightly obtrusive canary was covered with a light cloth; since the canary was more virtuoso than nightingale-like lyricist, the bit of darkness already made him quiet, and not even the sound of the piano brought him to sing. Unlike his bird, the master was now being stimulated from his night-time-like silence into vocal activity by flirting glances from his wife. He sat me down at the pianoforte, listened keenly, rebuked in mild but very clear words, and, if he wanted the nuances of a spot to be made particularly clear, he took my hand away and (since he sat at my right) used his left hand to help. The direction and structure of his lesson was not fundamentally different from general practice. In order to establish individual fundamentals, to add good examples to his explanation with words, he let me practice while he watched, and he indicated other spots, down to the last detail, to be studied as homework. Very attentive to fingering, and extremely strict in regard to clarity and purity, he was nothing less than pedantic in regard to lecturing on "singing passages;" but when he demonstrated, the impression he gave was such that one sought, without further explanation, to imitate his playing. He had his students practice only his own compositions, but we did not need to acquire the works ourselves. His collected works, which were bound with modest, thin cardboard, were found in a large, ancient, deep-brown bookcase, which stood in the main hallway. Assembled for use in pedagogical order, it was always a great delight when the key

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¹⁵⁴ P. 6: "Dacht ich's doch, oder vielmehr, ich hab's gefühlt, daß ich nicht mehr allein war!"

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.: "Während ich am Flügel sitze, stehe ich zugleich in jener Ecke als Zuhörer, und was mir dort nicht zusagt, wird nicht aufgeschrieben."

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 13: "So lieb und gut und frendlich Hummel nun zu mir war."

was fetched, the bookcase opened, and a new volume chosen and handed over. However, the sole use of his works did not go on longer than considered necessary for the course of study, and I was allowed, for my first public appearance in Weimar (which occurred before having had much opportunity to settle in) the C sharp minor Concerto by Rieß, which I still had in my fingers from former times.¹⁵⁷

Students who studied with Hummel while he was in Vienna may not have found Hummel relying on his own compositions to the same extent—Hiller began lessons with Hummel at a time when the latter was hard at work finishing up his piano treatise, which may explain the bookcase filled with Hummel's compositions in pedagogical order. Although Hiller states that only Hummel's compositions were used, something for which Hummel was later criticized, he also affirmed that other compositions were allowed, and he gave the example of having performed a concerto by Ferdinand Ries (1784-1838). Most important, Hiller in his account reiterated Hummel's modeling of piano technique after singing technique, and he demonstrated that Hummel used a combination of lecture and

¹⁵⁷ Pp. 13-14: "Meine Unterrichtsstunden bei Hummel hatten Nachmittags um drei Uhr Statt. Nach den ersten Begrüßungen wurde der Käfig eines etwas aufdringlichen Kanarienvogels mit einem leichten Tuche bedeckt; da derselbe mehr Virtuose als nachtigallartiger Lyriker war, machte ihn schon das geringe Dunkel verstummen und nicht einmal die Töne des Klaviers brachten seine Kehle in wetteifernde Tätigkeit. Im Gegensatz zu seinem Vögelchen wurde jetzt der Meister aus seiner nachtischlichen Stille von der schäkernden Gattin zu mitteilsamer Tätigkeit angeregt. Er setzte sich zu mir ans Pianoforte—hörte scharf zu, tadelte in milden, aber sehr klaren Worten und nahm, wenn er die Nuancierung einer Stelle besonders deutlich machen wollte, die Hand, und zwar (da er mir zur Rechten saß) die linke Hand zu Hilfe. Die Art und Weise seines Unterrichts unterschied sich nicht wesentlich von der allgemein gültigen. An das Einzelne Allgemeines anknüpfend, zum erläuternden Wort das gut Beispiel fügend, ließ er manche Stellen unter seinen Augen üben und bezeichnete andere auf's genaueste für das häusliche Studium. Sehr aufmerksam, was den Fingersatz anging, überaus streng in Bezug auf Deutlichkeit und Reinheit, war er nichts weniger als pedantisch hinsichtlich des Vortrages der Gesangstellen; hatte er aber eine vorgespielt, dann war der Eindruck ein solcher, daß man sie nachahmend nachzuspielen versuchte, ohne sich Rechenschaft davon zu geben. Er ließ nur seine eigenen Kompositionen üben, die man sich aber deshalb nicht anzuschaffen brauchte. In einem großen, antiken, dunkel-braunen Bücherschrank, der auf dem Eingangsflur stand, befanden sich sein sämmtlichen Werke, in bescheidenen Pappdeckel eingebunden. In pädagogischer Ordnung erhielt man sie zur Benutzung, und es war immer eine große Freude, wenn der Schlüssel geholt, der Schrank geöffnet und ein neuer Band gewählt und ausgehändigt wurde. Die Ausschließlichkeit seiner Werke ging aber nicht weiter, als der Meister es für seinen Unterricht nothwendig erachtete, und es wurde mir zu meinem ersten öffentlichen Auftreten in Weimar ohne Weiteres das Cismoll-Concert von Rieß gestattet, welches ich noch von früher her in den Fingern hatte." ¹⁵⁸ Robert Schumann, "Etuden für das Pianoforte: Rudolph Willmers, 6 Etuden. — Op. 1.— 1 Thir. —

Leipzig, bei Fr. Hofmeister," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* XI, No. 25 (24 September 1839): 98.

demonstration while teaching. Hiller elaborated on Hummel's playing style when he demonstrated—his smoothness, suppleness of touch, and singing line:

The appeal, the smoothness, and suppleness of his touch—the grace and simple emotions of his singing line on his delicate instrument, and the clarity and ease of his technique were often admired, and he did not lack energy and pathos either . . . ¹⁵⁹

That Hiller's playing exhibited Hummel's smoothness—evenness of line—was confirmed in 1880 by Ernst Pauer (1826-1905), who wrote of Hiller: "The certainty and evenness of his playing, and the absence of that jerky, fussy activity, now too common, make it a rare treat to be present at his performances." The respect that Hiller earned as a pianist appeared in an anonymous review of an 1853 London concert: "M. Hiller has long been accepted as one of the best pianists on the continent, and his masterly playing on the present occasion was worthy of his reputation." 161

In his article on Hummel in the 2001 edition of the *New Grove Dictionary*, Joel Sachs posits that, although Hummel mostly taught piano, "Hiller found him even more gifted as a composition teacher." In Hiller's words:

[As a teacher of composition, Hummel] had developed a great, genuine pedagogical talent, and it is a crying shame that he applied this skill so little. With complete certainty, he immediately recognized what could be made better within my strengths and marked them for me with the most understandable words (though only with spoken words). I should shorten, enlarge here, make it more forcefull there—in the next few measures, create a prettier counter-motif—in the next part, create a more effective passage. 162

In order to comprehend Hiller's assessment of Hummel as a talented composition teacher, this statement needs be viewed in context. Earlier in the paragraph, Hiller had revealed

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¹⁵⁹ Hiller, 12: Den Reiz, die Weichheit und Elsticität seines Anschlags,—die Grazie und einfache Empfindung seines Gesanges auf dem spröden Instrumente, die Klarheit und Leichtigkeit seiner Technik hat man vielfach bewundert, und daß es ihm auch an Energie und Pathos nicht mangelte . . .

¹⁶⁰ "The History of Pianoforte Playing," *Dwight's Journal of Music* XLI, No. 1044 (23 April 1881): 66. ¹⁶¹ *Dwight's Journal of Music* III, No. 17 (30 July 1853): 135.

¹⁶² Ibid., 14: "Hierbei entwickelte er großes, echtes Lehrertalent, und is ist jammerschade, daß er dasselbe so wenig in Anwendung gebracht. Mit voller Sicherheit erkannte er sofort, was besser zu machen in meinen kräften stand, und bezeichnete mir's mit den verständlichsten Worten, aber auch nur mit solchen. Hier sollte ich kürzen, dort erweitern, hier besser moduliren, dort energischer durchführen—bald ein hübscheres Nebenmotiv erfinden—bald eine Passage wirksamer gestalten."

that, although he initially practiced with much energy, "admittedly, neither at that time nor later, did I ever have enough patience and energy for enduring a regimen of strict practice." He then details his desire to spend more time in the study of composition. Thus, Hiller's especially high praise of Hummel as a teacher of composition may simply reflect Hiller's own enthusiasm for composition over piano. The night-cap anecdote demonstrates that Hummel not only taught composition lessons, but that it was common knowledge that he did so. Hummel's initial reluctance to spend more time teaching composition to Hiller may have derived from something as simple as the agreement between Hummel and Hiller's father, who was paying Hiller's tuition, regarding the

Irrespective of the area of musical instruction at which Hummel excelled, it is most apparent that Hiller respected and admired Hummel as a teacher. In the autobiographical account of his time with Hummel, Hiller added two telling documents: a type of "musician's creed" written by Hummel, and a paragraph of fatherly-like advice from Hummel to Hiller:¹⁶⁵

Der Tonkunst Zweck

Das Herz zu rühren, zu erfreuen und das Ohr zu ergötzen, ist ihre Bestimmung. Trockene Künstelen nur allein ist Pedanterie und gehört nur für die Augen; jedoch Die Kunst mit Gefühl und Geschmack sinnig verbunden, erhöht Der Tonkunst Reiz, gibt ihr Ernst und Würde, und gleitet den Künstler an's wahre Ziel.

The Musician's Purpose

To stir the heart, to give pleasure, and to delight the ear is his mission.

Dry artistry is only pedantry and belongs only to the eyes; however

Art which is appropriately bound with feeling and taste, increases

The appeal of the artist, gives him gravity and dignity, and keeps the artist sailing on course to his purpose.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 14: "zu streng nachhaltigem Ueben hatt ich freilich weder damals noch später je Geduld und Energie genug"

¹⁶⁴ See Chapter VII, p. 185.

¹⁶⁵ Hiller, 17.

This statement demonstrates a reason for the later conflict that would develop between Hummel and the romanticists. Since Hummel's overall aim in music was to serve the listener, the late-romantic notion of art for art's sake, sometimes in spite of the audience, would not have found much sympathy with him.

Hummel's advice to Hiller, given in the same year that Hiller's lessons came to a conclusion, deals with the artist, rather than the listener: 166

Mein Rath

Bilden sollst Du Dich zwar nach guten Meistern in Form und Plan, doch nicht annehmen ihren Styl, denn der muß Dein eigen sein; sonst wirst Du als Nachahmer gescholten, dem des Urbilds Kraft und Geist fehlt.

Sey thätig, aber nicht zu eilig; denn Gutes verlangt auch Nachdenkens.

Nehme täglich die Feder zur Hand, damit sie Dir nie fremd und ungewohnt wird; doch, leg' sie zur rechten Zeit auch wieder weg, damit sich Dein Geist nicht stumpft; sondern zu neuer Schöpfung stärkt.—

Schicke Dein Produkt nicht mit den letzten Federstrich in die Welt, sondern gönne ihm kurze Zeit Ruhe; nimm es dann später wieder zur Hand, und entspricht es Deinem Gefühle noch eben so wie damals, als Du es schufst, dann laß' es in Frieden zieh'n.

Uebergehe Tadel mit Stillschweigen und tadle selbst nie. Genieße die Welt, indem Du ihr Genüsse zu bereiten strebst; vergesse aber dabei das Losungswort nicht: "Mässigung."

Dies, lieber Ferdinand, ist der treue Rath den Ihnen gibt

Ihr, Sie liebender Lehrer

Weimar, dem 27. Mai 1827

Joh. Nep. Hummel

My Advice

You should broaden your mind, but make sure, you do so in shape and plan of the good masters, however, do not accept their style, because your style must be your own; otherwise you will be scolded as an imitator, as one who is missing the strength and spirit of a prototype.

Stay busy but don't be too rushed, because consideration is required of that which is good.

Let your hand hold your pen daily, so that it never becomes unusual to you; but also, lay the pen aside at the right time, so that your spirit is not made blunt; rather, let your new creations be fortifying.—

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 17-18.

Don't send your work into the world as soon as it is completed, rather treat it to a short time of peace and quiet; then take your hand to it again later, and see if it meets with your feelings in the same way it did previously, and when you are satisfied with it, then leave it alone (don't alter it further).

Continue on past disparaging remarks with silence and never disparage yourself.

Delight in the world by striving to draw up its delights; but do not forget the following motto:

"Moderation."

This, dear Ferdinand, is faithful advice that I give to you.

Your loving teacher,

Weimar, 27 May 1827

Johann Nepomuk Hummel

Again an anti-avant-garde romantic, Hummel here demonstrated his practical side, recommending that Hiller minimize the stresses of life as a musician—advice that Hummel certainly gave to his other students, advice that Hiller likely passed on to his students, and advice that pertains to musicians of today as well.

Hiller's importance to musical life in Germany is far-reaching. As founder and director of one of Germany's most prestigious music conservatories, and, in his day, one of Germany's most notable composers, he no doubt influenced hundreds of students, helping to prepare those who would teach music to the professionals of the latenineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Students of Hiller's include such names as Max Bruch (1838-1920), an outspoken opponent of the music of Wagner and teacher of Ottorino Respighi and Ralph Vaughan Williams; Frederick Corder (1852-1932), founder in 1905 of the Society of British Composers; Engelbert Humperdinck (1854-1921), composer of *Hänsel und Gretel*; and Joseph Ludwig (1844-1924), who became a professor at the Royal Academy of Music in London. Considering the career he led, it seems odd that Hiller's name does not carry more weight today and that his compositions

have been so utterly forgotten. There is a possibility, though unconfirmed, that anti-Semitic forces may have contributed to the decline of his name after his death. Even while he still lived, articles pointed to his heritage in a somewhat bigoted fashion: "He [Hiller] possessed a quality common to those of the Jewish race, quickness of perception, and managed to unite the old and new schools." While not concluded in negative terms, this quote from Pauer is enough to demonstrate that Hiller was viewed differently. A biographical sketch from 1855 first states that Hiller "is of Jewish descent, the son of a rich Frankfort am Main gentleman" and later comments that "[we] at present incline to the opinion that they [Hiller's compositions] exhibit more knowledge and musical learning than original genius." Of course, his support of musical conservatism may have had a role in his decline. In 1856, an anonymous correspondent from the London *Musical World* wrote:

... to this oasis [of Hiller's music] has the genius of Herr Hiller conducted us, by offering to our notice creations distinguished by profundity and clearness of thought, carried out in a masterly and invariably correct manner, and marked, lastly, by an admirable and noble instrumentation, free from all straining after mere effect. These [Hiller's] compositions, without ignoring the present, are connected, in all their attributes, with a period of art, whose productions and influence a more modern race of dwarfs would willingly assign to oblivion, in order to pass for Titans themselves. ¹⁶⁹

A stinging rebuttal of the "modern" school of playing at the time, which included names like Liszt and Wagner, the music of Hummel (from the "period of art" [that] "dwarfs would willingly assign to oblivion") is defended as a model for Hiller's—demonstrating a recognized influence of Hummel on Hiller's works. This biographical sketch, then, demonstrates that an attempt was underway by certain forces, even in the 1850s, to

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¹⁶⁷ Ernst Pauer, "The History of Pianoforte Playing," *Dwight's Journal of Music* XLI, No. 1044 (23 April 1881): 66.

¹⁶⁸ Anonymous, "Ferdinand Hiller," *Dwight's Journal of Music* VIII, No. 10 (8 December 1855): 78. ¹⁶⁹ "Ferdinand Hiller, "*Dwight's Journal of Music* IX, No. 6 (10 May 1856): 44.

discredit Hiller. The debate can be observed as well by comparing the *Musikalisches*Conversations-Lexicon of 1870,¹⁷⁰ which called Hiller "one of the outstanding masters and teachers of music," with Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians (1900, article by Alfred Maczewski), which states:

Being throughout his life in easy circumstances, he has been always able to indulge his taste for a variety of intellectual interests, to the neglect perhaps of that concentration of the whole powers which is necessary to stamp any mental production as a work of genius. . . . Hiller has naturally but little sympathy with the so-called new German school. He has never concealed his sentiments on this point, but we may confidently say that he has never expressed them in a manner unworthy of him as a man or an artist.

Thus, before and after Hiller's death, a complicated array of factors, which included anti-conservative sentiment and possibly anti-Semitism (of course, Hiller's compositions, which deserve to be looked at again, may have played a part as well) contributed to the devaluing of his name. An area ripe for reasearch, Hiller's many unedited letters would be an excellent place to begin in the search for clues to the story behind his legacy and the later decline of his reputation.

¹⁷⁰ Full title: Musikalisches Conversations-Lexikon: Eine Encyklopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften für Gebildete aller Stände (Leipzig: List & Francke).

^{171 &}quot;... einer der hervorragenden Meister und Lehrer der Tonkunst."

Henselt

Adolph (von) Henselt (1814-1889),¹⁷² among pianists perhaps Hummel's best-known student, was the son of a cloth manufacturer and began violin lessons at the age of six, followed soon after by piano lessons.¹⁷³ In 1826, he commenced advanced piano lessons with Josepha von Fladt, who thought highly enough of the youth to recommend him to King Ludwig I of Bavaria,¹⁷⁴ who subsequently sponsored Henselt's study at Weimar with Hummel. King Ludwig wrote the following letter of recommendation to Hummel on Henselt's behalf [Figure 11]:

Herr Kapellmeister Hummel, ein junger Klavierspieler Henschel [sic] wird demnächst von München nach Weimar eine Reise unternehmen, eigens um sich seiner Kunst bei Ihnen, oder Sie so berühmt sind, zu vervollkommen. Ihre Kunstliebe macht Ihnen zwar alles, und . . . [illegible] . . . , dieser Jüngling aber empfehle ich Ihnen noch ganz besonders, und wünsche, daß Sie zu seiner Fortbildung und zum Beförderung zum Zwecke seiner mitwirken mögen. Ich versichere Ihnen hierbei besonderes Wohlwollen womit ich Ihnen zugetan bin. Den 7ten September 1831.

Ludwig

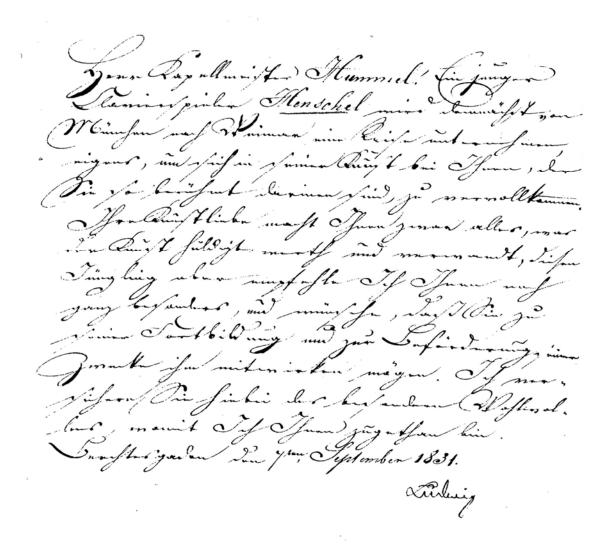
Herr Kapellmeister Hummel, a young pianist Henschel [sic] will, before long, be taking a trip from Munich to Weimar, solely in order to come to fullfillment in his art through study with you—you who are so famous. Although the love of art means everything to you, and . . [illegible] . . . , however, I still recommend this young man to you quite particularly, and I hope, that you will play a role in allowing him the promotion of his purpose to further his education. I assure you that, in this request, I will extend to you special goodwill. The 7th of September, 1831. Ludwig

¹⁷² Although Henselt's given name is often spelled "Adolf" in the literature, Henselt himself spelled it "Adolph," which is, therefore, the spelling that will used in this dissertation.

Anonymous, "Some Living Composers: Adolf Henselt," *Dwight's Journal of Music* XXXV, No. 21 (22 January 1876): 168.

¹⁷⁴ Although the most recent entry in *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* and the biographical sketch in *Dwight's Journal of Music* list King Ludwig I as the ruler of Bavaria, the notes included with King Ludwig's recommendation letter for Henselt to Hummel at Düsseldorf's Goethe-Museum state that he was the King of Baden.

Figure 11



Evel Francels

The for Day Manight Hummel in Manier

By Permission of the Goethe-Museum, Düsseldorf. KM 2298.

After spending over six months with Hummel in 1832, Henselt concluded his studies in Weimar with a performance of Hummel's A-flat Major Piano Concerto, Op. 113, during the summer of that year. After returning to Munich, Henselt continued on to Vienna where he studied composition with Simon Sechter (1788-1867) and Anton Halm (1789-1872) from 1832 to 1834. It was during this time that he practiced piano for ten hours a day. ¹⁷⁵ "As a natural consequence, his health broke down and he was compelled to take a vacation." This incident may be the one to which the author of an 1838 article in *The Musical World* referred:

As a boy, Henselt was distinguished for talents at once solid and shining—yet an unsuccessful debut altered the whole tenour of his youthful aspirations. But combining an invincible perseverance with a masculine strength of mind and great energy of spirit, he seculed himself for four years, during which, he was occupied in the most ardent and devoted study of the art, and it is to what may be considered a fortunate mishap, that Adolphe Henselt has now placed himself as a pianoforte composer and performer in the ranks of the most exalted of living musicians. ¹⁷⁷

While it is an exaggeration to say that Henselt spent four years in seclusion, he did spend some time recuperating in Carlsbad in May of 1836. Although Henselt clearly violated Hummel's principles by practicing excessively, a glimpse of his opinion of Hummel when Henselt was in Vienna can be seen in a letter he wrote to Hummel in 1835, asking for advice on career-related matters [Figure 12]:¹⁷⁸

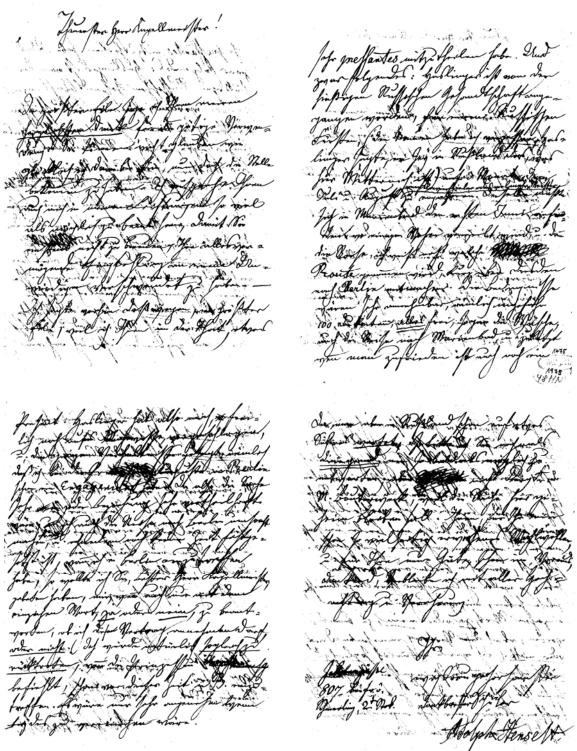
¹⁷⁵ Stefan Hofmann, author of the Henselt entry in *Music in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (1994), states that Henselt practiced up to sixteen hours a day during this time.

¹⁷⁶ Dwight's Journal of Music (1876)

Anonymous, "Douze Etudes Caractéristiques de Concert pour le Pianoforte, dediés à sa Majesté Louis, Roi de Bavière, et composées par Adolphe Henselt. Op. 2 (Review)," *The Musical World* 112 (3 May 1838): 18.

¹⁷⁸ See figure 12. Original is housed in the archive of the Goethe-Museum, Düsseldorf, KM 2219. Deciphered by Benyovsky (pp. 223-25).

Figure 12



By Permission of the Goethe-Museum, Düsseldorf. KM 2195.

Theuerster Herr Kapellmeister!

In größter Eile sage ich Ihnen meinen herzlichsten Dank für die gütige Verwendung. Sie können nicht glauben wie glücklich ich darüber bin, nun doch die Stelle bekommen zu haben. Ich verspreche Ihnen auch mich in meinen Leistungen so viel als möglich zu bemühen, damit Sie einstens nicht zu bereuen. Ihre allesvermögende Empfehlung an einen Unwürdigen verschwendet zu haben. — Ich sagte vorhin deßwegen, in größter Eile, weil ich Ihnen in der That, etwas mehr pressantes mitzutheilen habe. Und zwar Folgendes: Haslinger ist von der hiesigen Russischen Gesandtschaft angegangen worden, für einen Russischen Fürsten (den Namen habe ich vergessen, Haslinger sagte, er sey in Rußland daß, was hier Metternich ist) auf 3 Monate, Juni, Juli, u. August einen Klavierspeiler oder vielmehr-Meister zu engagieren. Derselbe müßte sich in Marienbad den ersten Juni einfinden, wo einige Wochen verweilt wird, u. dann die Reise, ich weiß nicht welche Route genommen wird, kurz über Dresden nach Berlin mitmachen. Die Bedingnisse wären sehr annehmbar, nämlich ungefähr 100 Dukaten, alles frei, sogar die Wäsche, auch die Reise nach Marienbad, u. zuletzte wenn man zufrieden ist auch noch ein Present. Haslinger hat also mich, freilich noch aufs Ungewisse, vorgeschlagen, u. die ganzen Verhältnisse gesagt, nämlich daß ich bei der Prinzessin Augusta in Berlin schon ein Engagement habe. Da also die Sache sehr, in jeder Beziehung sehr vortheilhaft wäre, ich auch die Reise nach Berlin umsonst machen könnte, u. ohnedem noch keine Zeit festgesetzt ist, wann ich in Berlin einzutreffen habe, so wollte ich Sie. Bester Kapellmeister gebeten haben, mir, wenn auch nur mit dem einzigen Wort, ja oder nein, zu beantworten, ob ich diesen Vertrag annehmen darf, oder nicht. (Ich würde natürlich sogleich zurücktreten, wenn die Prinzessin Augusta befiehlt, schon vor dieser Zeit in B. einzutreffen. Es wäre nur sehr angenehm wenn bevdes zu vereinigen wäre.)

Da man aber in Rußland schon auf etwas Sicheres wartet, so bitte ich Sie nochmals dringend, mir so bald als möglich zu antworten; aber nicht durch Fr. M. Bouterwek, weil die Sache hier geheim bleiben soll. Ihnen, für Ihr mir schon so vielfertig erwiesenes Wohlwollen u. für Ihre neue Güte, schon im Voraus dankend, verbleibe ich mit aller Hochachtung und Verehrung.

Ihr ewig treu gehorsamster dankbarer Schüler Adolph Henselt

Vienna, the 3rd of April 1835

Dearest Herr Kapellmeister!

Very quickly, I'd like to give you many thanks for so kindly interceding for me. You cannot believe how happy I am about having received this job. I'd also like to promise you that, as much as I possibly can, I will do my best to perform my job well, so that you won't one day regret having wasted your all-too-generous recommendation on one who is unworthy. — What I said just now was done very quickly, because, in fact, I have to inform you of something more urgent. And it is the following: Haslinger stopped by the local Russian embassy for a Russian prince (I've forgotten the name, but Haslinger said that he is in Russia what Metternich is here) in order to engage a pianist—or much more, a master—for 3 months: June, July, and August. The pianist has to arrive in Marienbad on the first of June, where he will stay a few weeks before taking the trip. I don't know which route will be taken, but it will be briefly through Dresden on the way to Berlin. The compensation is quite acceptable, namely 100 ducats (more or less), everything included, even the laundry and the trip to Marienbad, and finally, if everything is satisfactory, a bonus gift. Haslinger has also made a proposal to me (though it is uncertain) and has discussed with me all the conditions, namely that there is already an engagement waiting for me with Princess Augusta in Berlin. The thing is, that, in all respects, it would be very advisable

if I would also be available to go on the journey to Berlin, and still have time to settle when I arrive in Berlin. So I would like to ask you, the best of Kapellmeisters, if you would tell me, with just a yes or a no, if I should accept this contract or not. (Of course I would immediately step down if the Princess Augusta orders that I arrive in Berlin earlier. It's just that it would be very nice if both jobs could be combined.)

Since something a bit more certain is already waiting for me in Russia, I urgently ask you once more to respond as quickly as possible; but not through Ms. M. Bouterwek, because this is all supposed to remain a secret. I thank you for the goodwill you have already shown me so many times, and in advance for the kindness of a reply. I remain yours with all due respect and admiration.

Your eternally faithful and obedient thankful student, Adolph Henselt

This letter again confirms the role that Hummel played in obtaining posts for his students. While it is not clear to which position Henselt refers in his second sentence, the third sentence reveals that a recommendation from Hummel helped him to obtain it. In addition, the opportunity for the new position takes its root in Henselt's relationship with Tobias Haslinger, a Viennese publisher who issued many of Hummel's works. Hummel's friendship with Haslinger is evident from the number of letters they exchanged on personal matters. Henselt's connection with Haslinger was almost certainly a result of Hummel's intervention. The role that Hummel's network played is made clearer by the reference to Malwine Bouterwek, also a Hummel student, and one who apparently helped him as a conveyer of messages. It is fascinating that Henselt, having studied with other teachers in Vienna for longer than he did with Hummel, would have placed such an important career decision so completely in the hands of a former teacher. Henselt, may well have have considered himself still under Hummel's tutelage.

Although the author of the biographical sketch in *Dwight's Journal of Music* gets the order of the cities wrong, he does write that ". . . in a concert tour, [Henselt was]

visiting Berlin first and then Dresden and Weimar."¹⁷⁹ This account suggests that Henselt took the position, which would have had him travel through Dresden on his way to Berlin. And Henselt did stop again in Weimar in 1836, where he remained for some months.

The position in Russia mentioned by Haslinger in Henselt's letter may have been the same one that he took in St. Petersburg in 1838. After his arrival, Henselt was appointed to the School of Jurisprudence, a post he would continue in for ten years. He also became a chamber pianist to the Empress, and later a teacher at the Institute for Women, established by Teresa Oldenburg, wife of the prince. Henselt's role as a teacher brought him much acclaim in Russia, and the Czar elevated him in 1879:

In recognition of the great services rendered him as Inspector of Music in the Imperial Schools for Noble Young Ladies in this Capital and Moscow, Herr Adolph von Henselt has been created by the Czar an Actual Councillor, with the title of "Excellency." 180

Henselt's primary role in Russia was as a pedagogue, in part owing to his nervousness at playing in public. While he managed his lessons "with almost unheard of punctuality and energy,"

... the mere thought of giving a concert makes him ill! After his first appearance, no amount of persuasion was sufficient to induce him to given another concert—in thirty-three years he gave but three! 181

This reluctance, however, did not hinder Henselt from following in the footsteps of Hummel and attempting a European concert tour that included a trek to London. In anticipation of the coming concert, an anonymous English reviewer wrote:

We hear that his pianoforte player—whom for the information of the curious, we may say is reported to be a left-handed scion of Bavarian royalty—will succeed Döhler and Thalberg as the principal wonder of London in the musical exhibitions of next spring. The studies by which

¹⁷⁹1876, p. 168.

¹⁸⁰ Anonymous, "St. Petersburgh," Dwight's Journal of Music XXXIX, No. 996 (21 June 1879): 104.

¹⁸¹ Wilhelm von Lenz, *The Great Piano Virtuosos of Our Time*, 99.

Henselt is already known in England promise in his performance not only a finished mechanism, but the most refined taste and expression. 182

The mention of nobility was obviously an attempt to drum up public support for the coming concert season, but there is no evidence that Henselt was of Bavarian royalty.

In addition to teaching and performing, Henselt spent some time composing and editing. While his F Minor Piano Concerto demonstrates Hummel's influence in its descending double-notes, his output was considered relatively small. Clara Schumann is reported to have commented on Henselt's preoccupation with teaching and the negative effect it had on his ability to spend time composing. Like Hummel, however, Henselt also spent much time editing and arranging the works of others. One of his projects, published posthumously, was a collection of studies on the works of others, including Beethoven, Chopin, Mendelssohn, and Weber. Henselt took portions of certain works and made exercises of them: he mentioned in the preface, "I presuppose that the purely instructive aim of this work sufficiently justifies the alterations I have ventured to make in the specimens from the various compositions." The exercise on Hummel's Fantasie, Op. 18, is shown in this dissertation as Musical Example 14. 184

That Henselt continued to be influenced by Hummel was attested to as well by von Lenz: "Henselt has by no means ceased to be a good Hummel pupil. The artist does his best by the well-known Sonatas dedicated to Papa Haydn, the Fantasia in E-flat, (Op. 18), and the Quintets and Trios by Hummel." And descriptions of Henselt's technique and teaching practices also indicate Hummel's pervasive influence.

¹⁸² The Musical World 147 (3 January 1839), 13.

¹⁸³ See the article on Henselt in the New Grove Dictionary (2001).

¹⁸⁴ Meister-Studien für Clavier (Berlin: C.A. Challier & Co., 1892), 23.

¹⁸⁵ P. 107.

Musical Example 14



Significantly, a most noticeable aspect of Henselt's playing was his remarkable legato touch. An 1894 article from *The Musical Times* reported:

Henselt's ways at the keyboard may be taken as the link between Hummel's and Liszt's; that is to say, with Hummel's strictly *legato* touch, quiet hands and strong fingers, Henselt produces effects of rich sonority, something like those which Liszt gets with the aid of the wrists and pedals. . . . Henselt's way of holding the keys down as much as possible with the fingers, over and above keeping the dampers raised by means of the pedals, does not seem the most practical . . . Nevertheless, be his method of touch needlessly cumbrous or not, if applied to effects à *la* Chopin and Liszt, the result under his own hand is grand; so grand, indeed, that though his appearances in public have been fewer than those of any other celebrated pianist, he has been hailed by judges like Robert Schumann and Herr von Lenz as one of the greatest players. ¹⁸⁶

This rather telling description gives an account of a strict adherent to Hummel's teachings. As Hummel states in the first part of his treatise, the pianist should not exsert

¹⁸⁶ Anonymous, "From my Study," *The Musical Times* 35, No. 619 (1 September 1894), 590-1. The author states that he is quoting from the writings of Edward Dannreuther (1844-1905).

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"beyond what a free and quiet position of the hand requires." And in the third part of his treatise, Hummel comments on using the pedal with moderation. The extent to which Henselt observed this technique is demonstrated by Liszt's reaction to his playing, when hearing Henselt on a visit to St. Petersburg in 1842. After witnessing the extent of his legato, Liszt enviously remarked "I could have had velvet paws too, if I had so wished!" and on a later visit, after being told that Henselt had made progress, commented "Understand, an artist like Henselt does not 'make progress." The relationship of Henselt's technique to Hummel's advice that piano playing be related to singing seems to surface in an account by von Lenz of Henselt's inability to keep himself from, on occasion, humming with his melody:

... in the very midst of a composition, wherever his enthusiasm seizes him ... he reinforces the singing melody by humming it himself! The artist's voice is anything but lovely, and ruins the effect, as he knows full well when he is told that he has been singing again, for he himself does not know it. Never, never have I heard such a magical 'cantilena' flow from the pianoforte, as in those moments when Henselt's voice joins his playing. 190

Hummel also had other advice for Henselt:

Working hard and keeping busy lead to the goal. Do not work so constantly that your health is damaged; however, work every day, so that it becomes something of a habit for you . . . three hours of practice on the piano are necessary every day, two hours of giving lessons pays your keep; two hours for exercise and relaxation of the spirit; the other hours have to be dedicated to composition and other similar efforts. Also, the study of the French, and later the Italian and English languages, is of use to the artist. Never be conceited and proud of your talent, rather be polite and friendly to everyone, modest, without dismissing yourself or appearing to grovel. ¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁷ P. 4.

¹⁸⁸ P. 53.

¹⁸⁹ von Lenz, 105.

¹⁹⁰ P. 93

¹⁹¹ Thomas, 58-9. The author states that he is quoting from an 1890 article in the *Neue Musik-Zeitung*: "Fleiß und Tätigkeit führt zum Ziele. Arbeite nicht zu anhaltend damit es der Gesundheit nicht schädlich werde; arbeite jedoch jeden Tag, damit es dir zur Gewohnheit werde . . . Drei Stunden Übung am Pianoforte sind täglich nötig, zwei Stunden Lektion geben zur Erwerbung des Unterhalts; zwei Stunden zur Bewegung und Geisteserholung; die übrigen Stunden sind der Komposition und Versuchen in verschiedenen Gattungen derselben zu widmen. Auch die Erlernung der fronzösischen und später der italienischen und englischen Sprache sind dem Künstler von Nutzen. Sei

While on the surface it appears that Henselt spurned Hummel's instruction to limit his practice time, Henselt was, in reality, looking for another way to attain Hummel's main point. Hummel wrote "any practice beyond [three hours] damps the spirits [and] produces a mechanical, rather than an expressive and impassioned, style of playing." Hummel's aim, then, in reducing the practice time to three hours is to avoid mechanical playing. Henselt commented on mechanical playing in the preface to his *Meister-Studien*:

Habit, at first a welcome help, can degenerate into tyranny. The pupil who only attains skill by one and the same way of practising, becomes at length the slave of his fingers; he exchanges the freedom of interpretation for mere mechanical execution, in short, he becomes a machine and loses all mastery over his fingers. This is especially noticeable in pieces which have been played a long time; in such, these tyrannical habits become strikingly apparent. My experience has convinced me that there is a remedy for this evil. It consists in strictly and consistently changing the accent of the time. This varying of the time requires an amount of attention and force of will, which restore to the feeling that mastery which the latter must exert over the fingers. ¹⁹³

Henselt thus remains true to Hummel's aim, although he is reported to have, throughout his life, continued to have practiced excessively. He likely taught more than two hours a day as well (as did Hummel)—Hummel's advice in teaching a mere two hours may have been for Henselt while he was still a student. With regard to Hummel's advice on exercise and relaxation, von Lenz mentions that Henselt took up the practice of gymnastics while living in St. Petersburg. "For the same health reasons, he [Henselt] walks endless distances every day in St. Petersburg." Regarding the study of

nie eingebildet und stolz auf dein Talent, sondern sei gegen jedermann freundlich höflich, bescheiden, ohne dich wegzuwerfen oder kriechend zu erscheinen."

¹⁹² Hummel vol. 1. iii-iv.

¹⁹³ Note that Henselt's use of the word "habit" has to do with motor-memory and/or technical security in the fingers, whereas, in his advice to Henselt, Hummel uses the word "habit" to describe keeping to a regular schedule. Henselt calling habit "tyranny" is, then, an attack on "mindless" playing, and not on Hummel's advice.

¹⁹⁴ P. 100.

languages, it appears that Henselt was comfortable enough with the English language to undertake a tour of England.

In yet another description of Henselt's practice habits, his adherence to yet another principle of Hummel comes to light, even if distorted. This particular principle has to do with, in Hummel's words, "a means of forming the taste for the loftiest departments of the art:" 195

Henselt says that Bach can never grow old, and this is very true [but] such a study of Bach as Henselt made, every day of his life, has never before been heard of! He played the fugues most diligently on a piano so muffled with feather quilles that the only sound heard was the dry beat of the hammers against the muffled strings; it was like the bones of a skeleton rattled by the wind. In this manner the artist spared both his ears and his nerves, for he reads, at the same time, on the music-rack, a very thick, good book—the Bible—surely the most appropriate companion for Bach. After he had played Bach and the Bible quite through, he begins all over again. The few friends whom Henselt allows to approach him in those late hallowed evening hours, he requests to continue their conversation—that does not disturb him in the least. But the rattle of the skeleton in the piano disturbs them, and tortures their nerves instead of quieting them. Thus seated at a dumb piano with Bach and the Bible for company, the composer . . . earned his daily artistic bread! 196

Of course, the earlier statement by Hummel has to do with the learning of the works of J. S. Bach and Handel, which Hummel recommended in his treatise as the terminating works to "more difficult compositions of distinguished composers, ancient and modern." Chopin also upheld Bach in the same manner, demonstrating a common heritage.

A comparison can be made between Hummel's opinion concerning pianos and Henselt's. While Hummel wrote of his preference for the Viennese piano, the following account of Henselt's arrival in St. Petersburg appears in *The Musical World*:

Henselt, Lipinski, and Vieutemps, arrived here the day before yesterday; the first and last from Warsaw, and Lipinski from Lemberg. P., the pianoforte maker, has just now the most splendid instrument ever made in Petersburg. Henselt had no sooner seen him than he flew off to his piano. After trying it he jumped up and exclaimed—"That is what I call a piano; just what I have always thought of and wished for: the English pianos rattle too much, and those of Vienna,

¹⁹⁵ Hummel vol. 1, 110.

¹⁹⁶ von Lenz, 97-8.

notwithstanding their clear and beautiful tone, are not sufficiently powerful. Both are united here; and if Petersburg produces such instruments as this, I, for one, shall never go away. 197

Through the pedagogical legacy Henselt left in Russia, in can be said that Hummel's mark was made on the Russian school of piano playing. Henselt's students included Segei Rachmaninoff's teacher Nicolai Zverev (1832-1893), who reportedly had the students who boarded with him practice three hours per day. 198 Thus, Rachmaninoff and Chopin were related through Hummel. Some of Henselt's other students were Ella Georgiyevna Adayevskaya (1846-1926), who started with Henselt at the age of eight and later wrote opera and became interested in folk music; Ingeborg von Bonsart (1840-1913), who was first a travelling virtuoso and later a successful opera composer; ¹⁹⁹ Heinrich Ehrlich (1822-1899), a journalist and music critic who taught piano at the Stern Conservatory in Berlin and at the Vienna Conservatory; Vladimir Nikitich Kashperov (1826-1894), who worked at the Moscow Conservatory and attempted to bring the Italian Opera style to Russia; Laura Rappoldi (1853-1925), who taught piano at the Dresden Conservatory for over twenty years; and Vladimir Vasil'yevich Stasov (1824-1906), a Russian arts publicist who became quite influential with the Russian Five. This partial list demonstrates that what Harold Schonberg wrote in *The Great Pianists*²⁰⁰ was not altogether correct. Possibly influenced by anti-Hummel sentiment of the late nineteenth century, ²⁰¹ Schonberg conjectured that "Henselt was a textbook German, relentless to the

¹⁹⁷ Anonymous, "M. Henselt at Petersburgh," *The Musical World* 112 (3 May 1838): 23. The pianomaker, listed as "P.," may be Pleyel, who was also Chopin's preferred manufacturer.

¹⁹⁸ Segei Bertensson and Jay Leyda, *Sergei Rachmaninoff: A Lifetime in Music* (New York University Press: 1956), 10.

¹⁹⁹ Her most successful piece, the *Kaiser-Wilhelm-Marsch* of 1871, was performed in Chicago at the 1893 opening of the Columbian Exposition's Women's Exhibit.

New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963.

²⁰¹ See chapter 8.

point of savagery as a teacher (he obviously detested teaching)."²⁰² The proof that Schonberg gives for this is the following anecdote from an unknown source:

Students would enter all atremble to be greeted by a Henselt dressed in a white suit, wearing a red fez, clutching a fly-swatter in his hands. "Begin!" The pupil would begin and soon hit a wrong note. "Falsch! Play it again!" So went the lesson. "Falsch! Falsch!" In the meantime he was striding around the room, swatting flies. If he were completely uninterested in the pupil he would stop trying to decimate the fly population of Russia, bring in his dogs and play with them. ²⁰³

To round out his point, Schonberg then states, "small wonder that he never turned out an important pupil." Schonberg was obviously unfamiliar with Rachmaninoff's teacher or any of the other Henselt students listed above. ²⁰⁴ In addition, the anecdote, rather than seeming to indicate a bad teacher, seems to indicate a lesson with an unprepared student during a fly epidemic. Telling the student "you played this the wrong way, let's try it again" has been uttered by the best of teachers and need not be interpreted in a negative light. And the use of his dogs could well have been a wholesome way for Henselt to relieve frustration while working with difficult students. Schonberg also wrote, "Students who did interest him received fairer treatment, including much illustration at the second piano."203 What can be seen by the anecdote and this description, then, is an imitation of the practices of Hummel. Hummel was also concerned about wrong notes, as Hiller cited him as being interested in clean playing, and he also taught interpretation and style through demonstration (which, of course, can be difficult for the students to imitate if they cannot play the correct notes). The amount of time Henselt dedicated to teaching, despite warnings by Hummel not to teach too much, and the recognition he

²⁰² Schonberg, 202.

²⁰³ Ibid., 203

²⁰⁴ It should be noted that a good number of Henselt's successful students were women, owing to his role at the Institute for Women in St. Petersburg. It is well known that historical texts of the past have tended to overlook the contributions of women. Schonberg did not write about the successes of Henselt students simply because the musical establishment did not write about them.

received for his contrubitions to Russia demonstrate that he held his role as a teacher in high esteem.

In addition to his influence as a teacher, Henselt influenced Glinka, Balakirev, and Tchaikovsky, among others, as a composer. For the Russian influence of Henselt, and Hummel by implication, there appears to be a veritable treasure trove of possibilities for further research. It would be difficult but doubtless ultimately most rewarding to explore precisely how deeply Henselt ingrained the teachings of Hummel into a Russian musical legacy.

Thalberg

Sigismond Thalberg (1812-1871), the great rival to Franz Liszt at Paris in the 1830s, and considered by many to be one of history's greatest piano virtuosos, has long been listed as Hummel's student. François-Joseph Fétis (1784-1871), who knew Thalberg and promoted him in the press against Liszt, 205 repeated the information that was already available in the German press at the time—namely, that Thalberg had been a student of Hummel. The fact that, after establishing the link with Hummel, Fétis disputed information from other biographers about Thalberg having studied piano with the bassoonist August Mittag (1795-1867) demonstrates that at the least, Thalberg did not dispute having been linked with Hummel: "His German biographer speaks of lessons with Sechter and Hummel, but in our conversations he [Thalberg] did not acknowledge the first bassoonist of the Imperial Chapel as his piano master." Establishing certainty in this link is difficult, however, since there are questions about the place and time. An early edition of Grove's Dictionary of Music (1900) addresses these problems by stating that misinformation had been circulated regarding Thalberg's early education. 207 That

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²⁰⁵ See Dana Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt* (Cambridge University Press: 2004), 18-25.

²⁰⁶ Biographie Universelle des Musiciens et Bibliographie Générale de la Musique (Paris, 1875). Besides the 2001 edition of the New Grove Dictionary (and several earlier editions) and Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart (1994), the assertion by Fétis of Thalberg's link with Hummel is echoed in various studies, including Reginald Gerig's Famous Pianists and their Technique (Washington: R. B. Luce, 1974), 69; Alan Walker's Franz Liszt: The Weimar Years 1848-1861 (Cornell University Press, 1989), 98n.; and R. Allen Lott's From Paris to Peoria: How European Piano Virtuosos Brought Classical Music to the American Heartland (Oxford University Press, 2003), 116. In addition, George T. Ferris from as far back as 1881, in his The Great Violinists and Pianists, brings up Thalberg's tutelage by Hummel, as did earlier Hermann Mendel's Musikalisches Conversations-Lexicon of 1879.

²⁰⁷ The Hummel Society of Weimar also informed me that they will not list Thalberg as a Hummel student owing to the lack of supporting documentation.

article goes to the extent of omitting Hummel's name altogether, ²⁰⁸ but in that case, the omission may have had something to do with anti-Hummel sentiment. ²⁰⁹ Since Thalberg was so successful a virtuoso, any links to Hummel are significant. Therefore, it is important to demonstrate that despite difficulties in the account, Thalberg could indeed have had foundational piano studies with Hummel.

Supposedly the illegitimate son of the Count Moritz Dietrichstein, Thalberg began his studies in Vienna with the bassoonist Mittag. Ferris (1881)²¹⁰ and more recently, Robert Wangermée, author of the Thalberg article in the New Grove Dictionary of Music (2001), have maintained that Thalberg was then passed on to Simon Sechter (also a teacher of Henselt) and to Hummel, who continued Thalberg's instruction in piano. This was supposed to have happened when Thalberg was approximately ten years old (1822), however, Hummel was no longer residing in Vienna at that time (see Appendix A) and a trip to Vienna would have been difficult, as he used his three months of leave on his concert tour in Russia (March-May).²¹¹ In 1823, Hummel went on concert tour again, this time to Holland and Belgium. He spent 1824 in Weimar working on his piano treatise, and concert tours in 1825 and 1826 took him to Frankfurt, Paris, Dresden, and Berlin. When Hummel went with Hiller to Vienna in 1827, Thalberg, then fifteen, could have already been in London studying with Moscheles. The biggest problem, then, with

²⁰⁸ Louis Engel, author of the Grove's Dictionary of Music's (1900; originally published between 1877 and 1889) article on Thalberg, wrote: "About Thalberg's piano teachers a number of divergent reports are current: but it is certain that he learned from Mittag, and that the great organist and harmonist, Sechter, the first German who simplified and most clearly demonstrated the principles of harmony, taught him counterpoint." Engel also wrote, "Czerny never taught him," but the name of Hummel is not even mentioned.

²⁰⁹ See chapter 8.

²¹⁰ New York: D. Appleton and Company, p. 252.

²¹¹ See Benyovsky, 105-9.

verifying the Thalberg-Hummel link is in placing Thalberg and Hummel in the same city at the same time.

While documentation for the following scenarios has not come to light, it is certainly possible that they could have occurred without having been recorded. The first possibility is that a mistake was made and that Thalberg had actually been in Vienna earlier. When Thalberg was eight, in 1822, Hummel was on concert tour in Vienna, as well as in Prague and Munich. Hummel could certainly have taught the young Thalberg during the month of May. It is also possible that Hummel did make one or more trips to Vienna during the years after 1822 when Thalberg was supposed to have been there.

Since Hummel had family and many friends in Vienna, it was certainly a desirable place for him to visit, but documentation for this has not yet come to light. And finally, Thalberg could have been sent to study with Hummel in Weimar for several months (his family certainly had the financial means to allow for this), although it seems that such information has not yet been suggested.

In addition to the support for a Hummel-Thalberg link in the biographies of Fétis and others, there is circumstantial evidence in a letter by Hummel to Johann Baptist Streicher (1796-1.871), an instrument builder in Vienna, regarding the purchase of an instrument. In the letter, dated 15 December 1836, Hummel speaks of Henselt, mentioning that he will be departing from Weimar for Vienna soon, and that he will help to facilitate the purchase of the piano. Hummel also gives credit to Henselt for having better knowledge of current products than he: "Henselt, who knows the new types better

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²¹³ Reproduced in Benyovsky, 285-6. Original is housed in the Austian National Library in Vienna

²¹² Hummel, however, began in his position in Stuttgart in 1816, when Thalberg was just four. It is highly unlikely that Hummel would have taught someone at such a young age, particularly considering that he recommends a starting age (for boys) of eight (see vol. 1 of Hummel's treatise, p. iv)

than I do, recommended it [instrument No. 7] in particular."²¹⁴ Later in the letter, Hummel brings up Thalberg's name, stating the following:

I share your opinion on Thalberg's English pianos. The German is not used to this kind of sound and misses the brilliance. The Englishman, however, loves the volume of the tone and finds ours blunt. Therefore, I think that it is best for each to stay with his own, and come to fulfillment in his art the best that he can, so that both [the German and the Englishman], then, can accomplish their purpose. 215

Thalberg, who had the financial means to do so, could easily have brought English pianos to the continent, or he could be referring to the use of the English-like Erard (a French piano)—Thalberg took seven Erards with him to the United States. Streicher may have known Thalberg from his youth in Vienna. Hummel, as well, seems to speak of Thalberg with a degree of familiarity, and mention of Thalberg is preceded by mention of Henselt, two of Hummel's most famous students. It appears that they disagree with Thalberg's use of English pianos in German concerts—it may be possible, of course, that this resulted in a loss of business for Streicher. Thus while inconclusive, this letter does seem to be evidence that Hummel had personal knowledge about Thalberg. If Hummel had taught Thalberg, Hummel would certainly have made known his preference for the Viennese instrument (as he did in his piano treatise), and Thalberg's rejection of that advice would then have been something on which to comment.

Whatever links may have existed between Hummel and Thalberg, they most assuredly shared an almost identical philosophy regarding piano performance and technique. Thalberg is known to have studied with Moscheles as well, who, having

²¹⁴ "Henselt, der diese neue Gattung genauer kennt als ich, empfiehlt sie mir besonders."

²¹⁵ "Ihre Ansicht über Thalberg's engl. Flügel theil ich ebenfalls; der Deutsche ist nicht daran gewöhnt an diese Art Ton und vermißt die Brillance. Der Engländer hingegen liebt den Volume des Tons und findet den Unsrigen stumpf. Daher glaube ich, es tut jeder am Besten er bleibt bei dem Seinen, und vervollkomme seine Art so viel er kann; somit haben dann Beide ihren Zweck erreicht." ²¹⁶ Lott (2003), 153.

studied in Vienna with Albrechtsberger and Salieri, was of the same school as Hummel, and accounts of Thalberg's approach closely resemble, if not echo, those of Hummel. In the spring of 1836, Thalberg was performing in London. Naturally, English journals would be interested in bringing up the connection he had with England, Moscheles having been an English resident at the time, and we find the following entry:

Thalberg is, we hear, to perform at the Philharmonic Concert next Monday. His style is described to be perfectly original; and that in execution he rivals, if not exceeds the most celebrated of the modern pianists. He proposes to play entirely solo, in order that the audience may the more fully appreciate his manner. Eight years ago, he took lessons in this country of Mr. Moscheles.²¹⁷

It was Thalberg's "special" technique that probably serves as the strongest link to Hummel. Even were he not Hummel's direct student, Thalberg exhibited aspects of Hummel's technical preferences in each performance with remarkable regularity.

Thalberg's special technique contained three aspects which, in particular, are redolent of Hummel: stage demeanor; legato and an emphasis on a singing tone; and cleanness and clarity in playing. The first of these, his stage demeanor, has been described as follows:

When his time came, a medium-sized gentleman in the prime of life, rather stoutly built, and so severely simple, yet neat and tasteful, in his manner and attire, that he might have been mistaken for a well salaried secretary of our Board of Missions, or a Judge of the Supreme Court—with modest assurance and dignity enough for either—Thalberg stepped upon the platform, and quietly sat down to his work. He never once got his feet upon the keys, nor even his elbows; nor did his hands toss over each other, showering colored lights from diamonded fingers. During all his performances there was scarcely a perceptible motion of his head or shoulders, nor indeed any more agitation than would be observed in a Wall Street banker passing over his golden notes from one side to the other, as if there were almost too many to inspect within bank hours.²¹⁸

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²¹⁷ Anonymous, "Miscellaneous," *The Musical World* I, No. 8 (6 May 1836): 129. It is also thought that Thalberg had instruction in Paris with Johann Peter Pixis (1788-1874) and Friedrich Kalkbrenner (1785-1849), both of whom were German immigrants who had been students of Albrechtsberger in Vienna. While, unlike Hummel, Kalkbrenner, who emphasized wrist technique, was known for using the *guide-mains*²¹⁷ (A horizontal bar attached to the piano on which the forearms can rest, supposedly allowing the wrists to relax and improve in flexibility. Originally invented by Johann Bernhard Logier (1777-1846) and called the "chiroplast"—see Eigeldinger, 96, note 17). There probably were some similarities in style between Hummel, Kalkbrenner, and Pixis. Thalberg, however, arrived in Paris after having already begun his career as a virtuoso (Ferris, 254), which leaves open the question of how much lessons with Kalkbrenner and Pixis could have changed an already-formed technique.

²¹⁸ New York Daily Advertiser (27 November 1856); quoted in R. Allen Lott, "The American Concert Tours of Leopold de Meyer, Henri Herz, and Sigismond Thalberg" (Ph.D. Diss., The City University of New York, 1986), 358-8.

This illustration is of a "quiet" demeanor, which is precisely what Hummel taught his students:

In general, to attain the necessary facility, steadiness, and certainty in playing, we must avoid every violent movement of the elbows and hands; and the muscles must not be exerted beyond what a free and quiet position of the hand requires. The quickness of motion lies only in the joints of the fingers, which should move with lightness and freedom, and not be lifted up too high from the keys. . . . unbecoming habits should be carefully avoided, as holding the face too near the book, biting the lips, nodding the head to mark the time, opening or distorting the mouth, etc. etc., as they are prejudicial to the health, and contrary to gracefulness of demeanour.²¹⁹

Not only did Thalberg take this teaching to heart:

The personal demeanor of Thalberg upon the stage is entirely free from all those pompous affectations too often displayed by artists who have been petted by a talent worshiping public, and from the *entrée* to the *exit* he appears more like the private gentleman at home than the most distinguished pianist of the world. 220

But, perhaps more so than any pianist in history, or at least of the time, he took sitting entirely still during performances to an extreme:

The audience is amazed. He himself sits immovably calm; his whole bearing as he sits at the piano is soldier-like; his lips are tightly compressed and his coat buttoned closely. He told me he acquired this attitude of self-control by smoking a Turkish pipe while practicing his piano-forte exercises: the length of the tube was so calculated as to keep him erect and motionless.²²¹

About Thalberg's famous legato, Liszt once commented, "Thalberg is the only artist who can play the violin on the keyboard." Thalberg's specialty in performance—as can be seen in pieces like his Fantasy on Rossini's *Moses in Egypt*—involved right and left hand arpeggios in the upper and lower extremes with a melody in the center range of the instrument, which was exchanged between the hands and often played by the thumbs. The legato playing of the middle-range melody added greatly to the playing

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²¹⁹ Hummel vol. 1, 3-4.

²²⁰ Boston Post (12 January 1857); quoted in Lott (1986), 362.

²²¹ Ferris. 251

²²² Engel, Grove Dictionary of Music (1900).

²²³ Lott (1986), 368.

of the piece and created a sort of "three-hand" effect.²²⁴ The fact that Thalberg's best-known pieces were fantasies on operas is telling. To Thalberg, the "singing" voice was quite an important feature in piano playing, and he sought, indeed, as Hummel had earlier strongly recommended, to imitate the singers themselves. Thalberg wrote:

In songs, the character of which is grand, boble, or dramatic, it is necessary to *sing from the chest*: a great demand to make upon an instrument, from which must be drawn all the sound it is capable of emitting without ever striking the keys, but in assailing them by degrees, enforcing, pressing them with vigor, energy and warmth. In songs, simple, tender, and graceful, one must, so to speak, knead the key, manipulate it with a hand without bones and fingers of velvet; the key in this case, must be rather felt than struck.²²⁵

Hummel had explained this type of technique in his piano treatise by describing the technique as "well-directed pressure:"

The *Adagio* requires expression, a singing style, tenderness and repose. . . . the notes must be much more sustained, more closely connected, and, as it were, rendered vocal by a well directed pressure. . . . everything depends upon the nicely calculated weaker or stronger pressure of the fingers, upon a smooth and well connected style of playing; occasionally, upon the most delicate withdraying of the fingers from the keys, and upon the nice delicacy of the fingers themselves. ²²⁶

Cleanness and clarity in playing, which was described by Hiller as so important an element in Hummel's lessons, and for which Hummel was lauded in his own performances, was taken by Thalberg, perhaps to an extreme. One reviewer found that "His accuracy is marvelous to the verge of the miraculous," another wrote simply "Of Thalberg little need be said. His fine execution and delicacy of touch proved a great treat."

That the school of playing to which Thalberg belonged was Hummel's is made clear by Fétis, who saw in Thalberg "the advantages of both the singing and brilliant

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²²⁴ Ibid., 370.

Wardle Corbyn, trans., *The Thalberg Concert Book, and the Piano-Forte Album* (New York: Wardle Corbyn, 1856), 7-8; quoted in Lott (1986), 366.

²²⁶ Hummel vol. 3, 42.

²²⁷ New York Courier and Enquirer (11 November 1856); quoted in Lott (1986), 362.

²²⁸ Anonymous, "Shrewsbury," *The Musical World* XX, No. 9 (27 February 1845): 104.

schools of piano playing."²²⁹ Although Wangermée interprets this as meaning the brilliant school of Clementi combined with the singing school of Hummel and Mozart, ²³⁰ Czerny called the school of Hummel, Moscheles, and Kalkbrenner the "modern brilliant school."²³¹ Perhaps, in the final analysis, they actually belonged to one and the same school. It is most telling that Mendelssohn, whose style emanated, in part, from Hummel, declared Thalberg's "calm ways and self-control much more worthy [than Liszt] of the real virtuoso."²³² Schumann's opinions on Thalberg, as compared with Henselt, Liszt, and Clara Schumann, prove fascinating as well as interesting:

Liszt is distinguished for the most passionate declamation; Thalberg the most refined voluptuousness; Clara Wieck the most ardent enthusiasm; Henselt the most delicate lyrical taste. Thalberg pleases us in the highest degree, and often enraptures; Liszt gives us the idea of supernatural power; Clara Wieck transports us to the higher regions; Henselt beautifully excites and gratifies the imagination. In purity of playing we would place them in the following order:— Thalberg, Clara Wieck, Henselt, Liszt. In extempore ability, Liszt, Clara Wieck. In depth and warmth of feeling, Thalberg, Henselt, Clara, Liszt. In eleveation of spirit, Liszt; in knowledge of the world, Thalberg; in somewhat affection of manner, Henselt; in self-respect, Clara Wieck. In musical judgement, Liszt, Thalberg. In beauty of design, Thalberg, Henselt, Clara, Liszt. Boldness, Liszt, Clara. Egotism, Liszt, Henselt. Acknowledging the merit of others, Thalberg, Clara. Not one gives the character of a piece of music without the individual colouring of his own mind; not one plays according to the metronome. In physical facility, Thalberg, Clara, Henselt. In aptitude to study, Liszt, Thalberg, Clara. In composition, Henselt. Playing without grimaces, Thalberg and Clara. Liszt is the representative of the romantic school of the French; Thalberg, that of the seducing Italian; and Henselt and Clara represent the German sentimental school. 233

Final comparisons can be made between Hummel and Thalberg in their concert careers. Like Hummel, Thalberg embarked on tours of continental Europe, England, and Russia. Thalberg also taught during his tours—his students of influence included Eduard Ganz (1827-1869), whom Thalberg taught in England, a pianist who founded a music school in Berlin in 1862. Also, like Hummel, Thalberg was criticized by Schumann for

²²⁹ Quoted in Lott (1986), 365.

²³⁰ New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 2001.

²³¹ David Rowland, *Early Keyboard Instruments: A Practical Guide* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), 2. ²³² Engel, *Grove Dictionary of Music* (1900).

²³³ "Characteristic Peculiarities of Four Great Pianoforte Players," *The Musical World* No. 114 (17 May 1838): 47-8.

performing only his own pieces in concert, and writing his pieces for the express purpose of pleasing the public.²³⁴ Unlike Hummel, however, Thalberg embarked on successful concert tours of the New World. Even were it ultimately determined that Thalberg was not a direct student of Hummel, he at the very least may be credited with having been among those who brought Hummel's style and approach to the Americas.

²³⁴ Lott, 364.

Chapter VI: The International Perspective

The United States

From 1856-1858, Thalberg crisscrossed the United States in a series of successful concert tours, bringing with him his Hummel-like style which spawned many an imitator..

More than twenty years before Thalberg's arrival, the churches of Boston and Philadelphia had their very own Hummel pupil affecting the direction of sacred music.

And from just before Thalberg until many years after he had left, the New York Philharmonic Society had an influential associate with a Hummelian background.

Charles Zeuner

Charles Zeuner (1795-1857) was born Heinrich Christoph Zeuner²³⁵ in Eisleben, Germany, the birthplace of Martin Luther. A fascinating composer, teacher, and church musician (organist and pianist) who has been overlooked by most historians, Zeuner has not been included by those few who have attempted to list the names of Hummel's pupils. Not much is known about Zeuner's childhood and early education, other than that he began music studies at an early age. This is shown in the "Zeuner-Newland Collection" of the Library of Congress, a collection that includes many of the items from Zeuner's personal library, ²³⁶ one of which is a figured bass exercise book dating from 1807. ²³⁷ The year, shown clearly on the title page (see Appendix E), indicates that by the age of twelve, he had already received a good amount of musical training. When he studied with Hummel remains unknown, ²³⁸ but since his early training took place during the time that Hummel was in Eisenstadt (1804-1811) or Vienna (1811-1816), where Hummel also spent time during his Eisenstadt years, early lessons would have to have taken place in one of those two cities. The proximity of Zeuner's hometown to Weimar (approximately fifty miles) and the fact that he later studied with Michael Gotthard Fischer (1773-1829) in Erfurt, fifteen miles from Weimar, make it seem more likely that he studied with Hummel at a later date, probably sometime between 1819 and 1822. Hummel was then

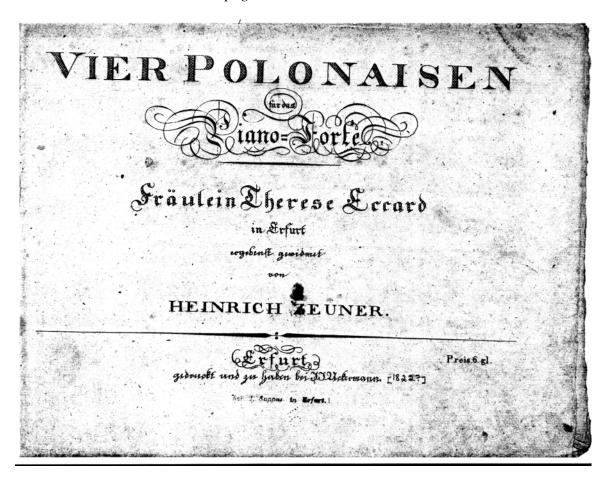
²³⁵ Zeuner took the name "Charles" when he immigrated to the US—presumably in an attempt to "fit in." ²³⁶ Upon his death, much of Zeuner's personal library was purchased at an auction by William A Newland, a church organist active in Philadelphia. The collection is of Newland's personal library, to which Zeuner's library had been added.

²³⁷ Box 56, the Newland/Zeuner collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Box 56 actually contains 10 books of figured bass exercises. As many pages are identical except for slight alterations and corrections, they appear to be practice books, with the most complete manual probably having been copied from a source provided by Zeuner's childhood teacher. No publication prior to this dissertation has come to light that discusses the origin of these books or suggests a link with a particular teacher.

²³⁸ The New Grove Dictionary of Muisc (2001) lists Hummel as a teacher of Zeuner.

beginning his tenure in Weimar. The Erfurt venue is supported by the publication there in 1822 of a set of piano variations and four polonaises [Figure 13 and Musical Example 15], ²³⁹ composed in a style similar to that of Hummel. ²⁴⁰

Figure 13 Cover page to Four Polonaises, 1822



 ²³⁹ Box 48, Newland/Zeuner Collection
 ²⁴⁰ Hummel's Polonaise in B-flat, Op. 55, "La bella capricciosa" (ca. 1811) was one of his better known works. He also published 6 Polonaises (for orchestra and piano) in 1815, and he was well-known for his variations.

Musical Example 15

Polonaise No. 1 from Four Polonaises, 1822



Since Zeuner was elected organist to the Handel and Haydn Society on 24
September 1830, he must have emigrated sometime between 1822 and 1830. Karl
Loveland, author of "The Life of Charles Zeuner, Enigmatic German-American
Composer and Organist," states that most sources place his date of emigration at 1824.²⁴¹
Whether or not he arrived before 1830, however, it was during the early 1830s that
Zeuner's musical career in Boston began to blossom. Collections of hymns that he
published include *Church Music, Consisting of Anthems, Motets, and Chants with Organ*Accompaniment (1831), The American Harp: A Collection of Church Music (1832)
[Figure 14] The Ancient Lyre (1833), and The New Village Harmony, A Musical Manual

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²⁴¹ The Tracker XXX, No. 2 (1986): 20.

for Sabbath Schools (1833).²⁴² Of these, the prefaces to *Church Music* and *The Ancient Lyre* have proven useful in ascertaining influence from Hummel.

Figure 14²⁴³

THE AMERICAN HARP.

A COLLECTION OF

CHURCH MUSIC.

COMPOSED AND ARRANGED

BY CHARLES ZEUNER.

THIS EXCELLENT WORK HAS BEEN THE BASIS OF a majority of the popular collections of Sacred Music for the past dozen or fifteen years; and though nearly a quarter of a century has elapsed since its first issue, it yet retains an unquestioned

SUPERIORITY OVER ALL SIMILAR WORKS, AND
IS ESTEEMED BY ALL SINGERS AND MUSICAL
AMATEURS AS THE CHOICEST VOLUME OF
SACRED MUSIC IN PRINT.

For a number of years copies of it have only with great difficulty been obtained. Its scarcity induced those who possessed them to retain them, refusing to part with them on any terms. On account of the value at which they were held, together with the actual standard merits of the work, repeatedly alluded to by the best judges of Church Music, the undersigned have published a new edition, and are now prepared to supply the public at the following rates.

Published by

OLIVER DITSON & CO.

The preface to his *Church Music*²⁴⁴ [Figure 15] intended as a tutor for an

American public that was, perhaps, not as well educated in music as the Europeans,

²⁴² At least two of these collections, *The American Harp* and *The Ancient Lyre* had numerous editions. *THe Ancient Lyre*, for example, had at least twenty editions, with the twentieth having been published in 1852. The dates listed represent the first edition.

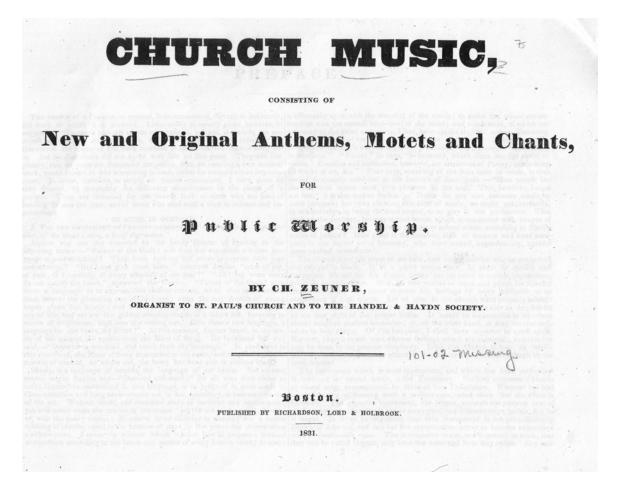
²⁴³ An advertisement from *The New York Musical World* XX, No. 13 (25 September 1858): 621, demonstrating the widespread availability of Zeuner's works.

²⁴⁴ Boston: Richardson, Lord & Holbrook, 1831.

smacks of Hummel. In it, after lamenting that the organ "is not yet sufficiently known in America," ²⁴⁵ Zeuner discusses good taste in organ playing:

... he [the organist] will not display his powers by an execution of rolling or vaulting passages; or by weltering in howling discords, or in affected interludes. Nor will he follow the fashion of always taking the full chord, with the left hand: a maneuver occasioning such a thundering noise that the hearer does not know, at all, what he hears, or what is played.²⁴⁶

Figure 15



This, of course, sounds similar to Hummel's caution against "impure and tasteless excesses," though it may also be an expression of a more general singing school of the time. Zeuner's continued similarities with Hummel, however, make the later's influence

²⁴⁵ ibid, i.

²⁴⁶ ibid., ii.

²⁴⁷ Hummel vol. 3, 40.

seem likely. Zeuner also, for instance, comments on the purpose of music, calling certain authors, namely those who have written that amusement is music's only purpose, "too narrow." His hard-headed personality is evident in his elaboration: ". . . if the intention of the Creator had been only what the author, above cited, has told us of it: art would be no more to man than the thistle to the ass."248 Hummel, while not quite as colorful in his speech, did say that "dry artistry" (or, art without meaning) "is only pedantry," while art "bound with feeling and taste" gives a degree of dignity to the artist. And, as one would expect with a student of Hummel, "taste" ends up being the very point of the first pages of Zeuner's, preface. An example of bad taste may be found, according to Zeuner, in the use of popular songs as hymn tunes:

If a person, however, hears Scottish love-songs [in a church service], known to almost every child, he must indeed ponder, whether he be in an insane hospital, or a meeting-house. Vulgarity, wry faces, extravagance in gesture or manner, ²⁵⁰ and indeed, any breach of good breeding, are less inexcusable in the intercourse of society than the slightest evasion beyond the bounds of dignified and correct deportment in the church.²⁵¹

How well this was understood by the American population at the time is unknown, but Zeuner appears to be placing the use of inappropriate music in church at the top of Hummel's lists of "bad taste" items. But to make it clear that unnecessary movements while performing are still undesirable, Zeuner also brings up those things to avoid while singing:

It is of much more consequence for one to understand what he is reading [than to just sing correct notes]; this is to say, to feel what he is singing, and to enter into the spirit of the poet. This, however, does not consist in artificial and affected airs, assisted by hand and foot; in turnings of the head; in hideous grimaces—particularly with the mouth;²⁵² or in anxiety for fetching of

²⁴⁸ Zeuner (1831), ii.

²⁴⁹ Hiller, 17.

²⁵⁰ Precisely the things Hummel spoke against in performance.

²⁵¹ Zeuner (1831), ii.

²⁵² Compare to Hummel's warning against "distorting the mouth" (vol. 1, p. 4).

breath. . . [In order to sing properly,] a perfect musical knowledge²⁵³ is also requisite, [as is] a general good education, ... and moral sensibility. 254

Later in his preface, Zeuner touches on other items of importance to Hummel, including legato and clarity in performance.

Legato is touched on by Zeuner in a number of ways. First, he discusses the difference between head and chest voice and the desirability of making changes between them imperceptible to the audience. He recommends that beginners start with the practice of long notes, gradually increasing in speed to quicker notes²⁵⁵ to achieve uniformity. 256 Secondly (after dealing with crescendos and decrescendos), Zeuner discuses breathing:

But, nevertheless, there is a rule, of which all other possible rules, strictly taken, are so many adaptations; and which rule sufficiently indicates the right manner of proceeding. It is to breathe at such places as render it imperceptible to the hearer; and to this end to execute every connected musical phrase in one breath. 257

Doubtlessly, this is precisely what Hummel wanted his pianos students to achieve in their instrumental playing! Finally, in the realm of legato, Zeuner discusses *portamento*, which provides the opportunity for the voice to express itself in many varieties of "lights and shades" (much like Hummel's "gradations of touch") when "passing from one note to another, and blending them together."²⁵⁸

After contrasting portamento with staccato, Zeuner turns to cleanness and clarity in singing—again, a favorite subject of Hummel.²⁵⁹ After explaining the difference between pronunciation and articulation, Zeuner writes that articulation must change

²⁵⁸ Ibid., iv.

²⁵⁹ See Hiller, p. 13.

²⁵³ "perfect" here is probably the English translation of the German word "vervollkommnen"—a word used often by Hummel in his letters and writings in the same way that we use the word "well-rounded" today. ²⁵⁴ Zeuner (1831), iii.

²⁵⁵ Compare to the first played exercise in Hummel's treatise—a whole-note 5-finger pattern (p. 9), followed by half notes, quarters, etc.

²⁵⁶ Zeuner (1831), iii.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., iv.

according to the size of the performing space and number of accompanying instruments, and that a "clear, pleasing, and well-sounding pronunciation" is desirable in all cases.²⁶⁰

Zeuner's preface ends with explication of recitative, chant, motets, anthems, choruses, and finally, some illustrations on the use of dynamics. His initial point on good taste is brought to bear again, when he states:

And yet if the music be dull, or not expressive of the text; and if the singing be imperfected, or perhaps bad, it were better that all scriptual psalms, instead of being sung, should be read by the pastor, although the service would, in that case, become monotonous, and lose half of its character, dignity and purpose.²⁶¹

With the establishing of such high standards in his new country of residence, Zeuner ends his preface, in sort of bow to Hummel, with the hope that his contribution will make an impact:

He [Zeuner] will find an ample reward for this small offering on the altar of art, if his work should meet with a favorable reception, and contribute to improvement in church music, and especially to the praise and glory of the Lord. 262

Hummel, at the end of the preface to his piano treatise, said something quite similar:

If, by means of this treatise, I should succeed in rendering myself useful, not to the present time only, but also to posterity, I shall consider this as the best and brightest recompense of my endeavours.²⁶³

Even more telling than *Church Music*, Zeuner's *The Ancient Lyre* [Figure 16] begins with an "Introduction to the Art of Singing" that closely follows Hummel's piano treatise and copies it word for word in many places.²⁶⁴ Zeuner's first lesson, for instance, is "On The Stave and Clefs" and reads "The system of lines on which musical sounds are

²⁶⁰ P. iv.

²⁶¹ P. vii.

²⁶² P. viii.

²⁶³ Vol. 1, ii.

²⁶⁴ No publication has yet come to light indicating the relationship between these two works.

Figure 16

ARCIENT LYRE,

A COLLECTION OF
OLD, NEW, AND ORIGINAL

Chief Sectional

Under the approbation of the

Professional Musical Society in Boston.

ARRANGED AND COMPOSED

BY CH. ZEUNER,

ORGANIST AT PARK STREET CHURCH, AND TO THE HANDEL AND HATON SOCIETY.

Sixteenth Edition—Revised and Improved—containing Seventy New Tunes.

BOSTON:

PUBLISHED BY CROCKER AND BREWSTER,

NO. 47, WASHINGTON STREET.

represented by signs called notes, is termed the stave,"²⁶⁵ which is a copy, word-for-word of Hummel's treatise, which also has a section called "On The Stave and Clefs," and also reads "The system of lines on which musical sounds are represented by signs called *notes*, is termed the *Stave*."²⁶⁶ Of course, there are some necessary changes pertaining to differences between the needs of the voice versus the needs for the piano. Zeuner does not, for instance, repeat what Hummel writes about the grand staff, brace, and right and left hands, and he does include information on the tenor and alto clefs, which was not necessary in Hummel's piano treatise.²⁶⁷ The section "On the Marks of Transposition, of the Sharp, Flat, and Natural" (titled the same in both publications, although Zeuner places

²⁶⁵ The Ancient Lyre, 16th Edition (1848), i.

²⁶⁶ Vol. 1. 4.

²⁶⁷ Another feature that Zeuner adds, perhaps as an aid to the uneducated American public, is a set of quiz questions at the bottom of several of the pages. See Figure 18.

his earlier in the progression of lessons),²⁶⁸ much of which Zeuner copies word for word from Hummel, includes a segment on the difference between sharps and flats of the key signature (called "essential" by both) and accidentals [Figures 17 and 18].²⁶⁹

Figure 17: Hummel vol. 1, pgs. 18-19

SECTION SECOND.

ON THE MARKS OF TRANSPOSITION, OR THE SHARP, FLAT, AND NATURAL.

S I.

Each of the 7 primary notes. C,D,E,F,G,A,B, mentioned in Chap. IV. § 4.2 may be depressed or clevated by marks of transposition. When this takes place, instead of the white keys, we commonly employ the next black keys above or below; each of which forms the interval of a semitone with the white key immediately adjacent; for this reason, we consider the notes of the black keys as arising out of the natural or primary notes, and call them dependent or accessory notes. The difference between the major or diatonic semitone, and the minor or chromatic semitone is not perceived by the ear, but is rather addressed to the eye, as will be explained in Chap. III.

Both single and double marks of transposition are used. 1) The single sharp (#) elevates the note before which it stands, a minor or chromatic semi-tone, which on the piano forte is played on the next key above. Ex:

s 6

The marks of transposition are either essential or accidental.

- (1.) Essential, when they are written at the very beginning of a composition, after the clef, and so point out the key in which the piece is written, in this case they transpose throughout the entire piece, those notes whose place they occupy on the stave.
- 2. Accidental, when, in the course of the piece, they are placed by the side of the notes; then they preserve their influence only throughout that one bar; unless during the course of it, they should be again contradicted by a natural. However, if an accidental # or b stands before the last note of a bar, and if the next begins with the same note, the mark of transposition (a.) extends its influence to that bar also, if it be not again contradicted by a natural, (b.) or if the natural note be not altered by some other mark of transposition. Ex:

-

²⁶⁸ Zeuner, iv; Hummel (vol. 1), 18-19.

²⁶⁹ At the bottom of Zeuner's page, we find a list of twelve questions, which include inquiries such as "what is meant by an accidental transposition?" and "How many kinds of sharps and flats are in use?"

Figure 18: Zeuner (*The Ancient Lyre*), p. iv

On the Marks of Transposition, or the Sharp, Flat, and Natural.

Each of the seven primary notes, C, D, E, F, G, A, B, mentioned before, may be depressed, or elevated by marks of transposition. Thus, b-\footnotes, single, \pm double —single \pm double b or \pm b.

Both single and double marks of transposition are used.

A Flat, directs that the note before which it is placed, be sung half a note lower than its natural tone.

A Sharp, directs that the note before which it is placed, be sung half a note higher than its natural tone.

A Natural, directs that the note before which it is placed, be sung neither higher or lower than its natural tone: and it is used to contradict the flats or sharps, placed at the beginning, &c. Remark. Flats, or sharps, placed at the beginning of a Tune, affect every note upon that line or space, throughout the whole, but when placed before any note within a Tune, they affect only such notes as fall upon the line, or space on which they are marked, for one bar, though to prevent mistakes, they are usually contradicted by a natural.

The marks of transposition are either essential or accidental.

- 1. Essential, when they are written at the very beginning of a composition, after the clef, and so point out the key in which the piece is writ-ten; in this case, they transpose throughout the entire piece, those notes whose place they occupy on the stave.
- 2. Accidental, when, in the course of the piece, they are placed by the side of the notes; then they preserve their influence, only throughout that one bar; unless, during the course of it, they should be again con tradicted by a natural.

QUESTIONS. 5. Do you know their names?
6. How do you call the note C with a sharp?
7. Can you tell the name of the note A with a flat?
8. How many kinds of transpositions do you know? 9. What shows an essential transposition?
10. What is meant by an accidental transposition?
11. What is the use of a double sharp?
12. What is the meaning of a double flat? What is the use of a flat?
 What is the use of a sharp?
 What meaning has a natural?
 How many kinds of flats and sharps are in use?

Zeuner, having been a native speaker of German, may have found comfort in an English translation of his teacher's method. His use of Hummel's treatise can be seen again by comparing Figures 19 and 20, which deal with an introduction to rhythm. Again, Zeuner copies Hummel word-for-word.

Figure 19: Zeuner (*The Ancient Lyre*), p. v

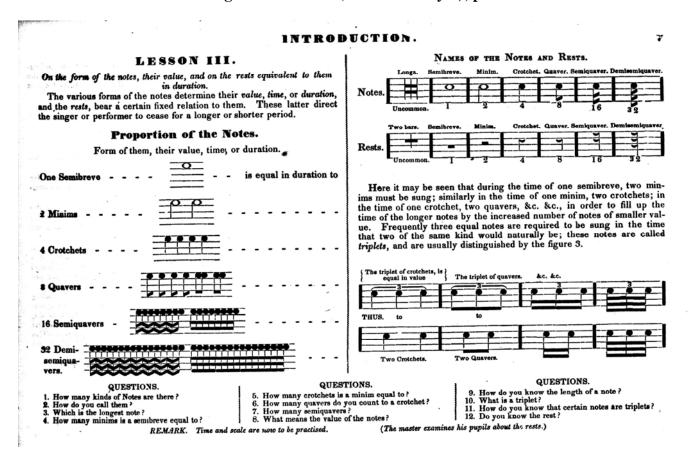


TABLE of NOTES, and RESTS. A Semilireve or To a Semibreve belong whole bar rest. Two Minims Four Crotchets A Quaver rest, Eight Quavers A Semiquaver rest Sixteen Semiquayers' A Demisemiquaver Thirty_two Demisemiquaver Semidemisemi. Here it may be seen that during the time of our semibreve, two minims must be played; similarly, in the time of one minim, two crotchets; in the time of one crotchet, two quavers, &c: &c; in order to fill up the time of the longer notes by the in creased number of notes of the smaller value. Frequently three equal notes are required to be played in the time that two of the same kind would naturally be these notes are called triplets, and are usually distinguished by the figure triplet of crotche

Figure 20: Hummel vol. 1, p. 8

Zeuner's introduction, which continues for fifteen pages before exercises commence (page xv is a lesson on scales), continues in much the same fashion, with wording taken from Hummel on time signatures (given earlier Zeuner's pedagogical progression), repeat signs and other musical markings, dotted notes, shakes (or trills),²⁷⁰ intervals, and more. Like Hummel, Zeuner then provides various short performance exercises, many of which are given tempo markings and categorized by interval (like Hummel).

²⁷⁰ Interestingly, Zeuner, like Chopin, does not follow Hummel's example of beginning the trill (or shake) on the main note rather than the upper auxiliary.

The names given by Zeuner to his various hymns are also of interest and show a link to Zeuner's German heritage as well. The hymns in *The Sacred Lyre* include such names as "Bach Sebastian," "Beethoven," and "Haydn." *Dwight's Journal of Music* addresses the confusion that arose regarding the names of Zeuner's hymns from at least one subscriber:

Freundin asks (speaking of Zeuner's Psalm tunes): where did he get all those odd, strange, unpronounceable names? Easily answered, *liebe Freundinn*; glance over any Musical Biography and you will see that most of them are names of composers of greater or less distinction.

But, is there any reason why particular names should be given to particular tunes—in other words, did Zeuner intend that they should in some degree characterize the music of those whose names he has adopted?

I cannot affirm this, but have long thought that it must be true of many. Turn to the [American] Harp. Look at "Marpurg," a unique specimen of magnificent harmony, called by the name of one of the greatest writers on the theory of harmony of the last century; "Kreutzer" for male voices, is named from Conradin Kreutzer, well known as on of the finest writers for male voices that has lived; in the tune "Beethoven," no one at all familiar with the great master, can fail of seeing how much Zeuner has here caught of the trusting, loving, devotional spirit, which is so characteristic of Beethoven's adagios. Some of the most beautiful and truly devotional tunes which used to be sung thirty years since, are arrangements from his instrumental works.

Frescobaldi was organist at St. Peters in Rome tow centuries since. He wrote much for the organ, was the first Italian to play in the fugued style—and, by the way, Baini relates that the first time he played in the Vatican Church he had 20,000 listeners! A great audience or—a great story. The tune named from him is certainly appropriate enough. The tune "Weber" again is to the point. Doubtless if we were as familiar with German music as Zeuner, we might find many most appropriately named of which we cannot now judge.

"T. H." should try his friend K. on some of the "Harp" tunes, in some of which the correspondence between the expression of words and music is truly extraordinary.²⁷¹

The hymn tune titled "Hummel" is cited by J. Bunker Clark, author of the 2001 article on Zeuner in the New Grove Dictionary of Music, as one of the many Zeuner hymns still in use today [Musical Example 16]. The legacy of Zeuner through his hymns may be seen in the use of his most popular hymn, "Missionary Chant" by Charles Ives. Ives spoke of the hymn, mentioning that he found thematic elements from Beethoven in it. Zeuner's "Missionary Chant" is one of two hymns which Ives used in the composition of

²⁷¹ Anonymous, "From my Diary. No. XX," Dwight's Journal of Music II, No. 24 (19 March 1853), 188.

"Hawthorne," "The Alcotts," and "Thoreau," thus confirming Zeuner's status as a force of influence on future generations.

Musical Example 16



Unfortunately, Zeuner found it difficult to bring pre-Civil War America to the level of musical excellence that he envisioned. He certainly had success in the publication of his hymns (he wrote between 600 and 700), and his attempts to bring improve the quality of organs in churches were also successful. After having been hired by the Handel and Haydn Society, a new organ was commissioned to be built for the society by a Mr. Appleton of Boston. A description of the first performance was given in the *Daily Evening Transcript* of Boston:

The Handel and Haydn Society gave their first oratorio for the season, last evening . . . The performances were generally excellent: The new Organ is a most powerful instrument; its tones are admirable. There is not probably its equal in the United State [sic]—certainly not its superior. In the hands of a master, such as he [Zeuner] who touched the keys last night, it utters thrilling sounds, that evoke the soul to new and undefinable sensations. ²⁷³

At least one of two of Zeuner's organ concerti was written to inaugurate the new organ. According to Loveland, Zeuner may have had a hand in other organ commissions, since an Appleton organ was installed in the Park Street Congregational Church, where Zeuner also worked, in 1838. Despite these successes, the fact that Zeuner was unhappy with the

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²⁷² Geoffery Block & J. Peter Burkholder, eds., *Charles Ives and the Classical Tradition* (Yale University Press: 1990), 43-44.

²⁷³ 5 November 1832; quoted in Loveland, 21.

Samuel Richardson, then president of the society, "complaining of Mr. Zeuner's irritable and jealous disposition, and threatening to resign unless the offender was immediately dismissed." Zeuner's abilities apparently outweighed the irritation he caused, as the board accepted Richardson's resignation later that month. Further evidence of the conflict between Zeuner's ideals and the reality of Boston life in the 1830s can be seen in the production of Zeuner's oratorio, *The Feast of the Tabernacles*. Likely the first American oratorio, the libretto is by The Reverend Henry F. Ware, Jr. (1794-1834), who later shared the pulpit of a Unitarian Church with Henry David Thoreau. Having completed the oratorio by 1837, Zeuner approached the Boston Academy of Music for the performance of it, as the Handel and Haydn Society could not afford Zeuner's asking price of \$3,000. The Boston Academy of Music agreed to engrave and print the work, have it performed eight times, and pay Zeuner half of the performance profits:

The rehearsals of it commenced with Zeuner as conductor, and George J. Webb as organist. The chorus found it impossible to get along with Zeuner's conducting, oweing to his violent temper and impatience, so after two rehearsals he gave up the baton to Mr. Webb, and played the organ instead. After sufficient rehearsals the oratorio was given the number of times agreed upon. The performances took place at the "Odeon," the music hall of the Academy, corner of Franklin and Federal Streets. After the concerts were over, Zeuner called upon the officers of the Academy for his share of the profits, and was informed that instead of making money they had lost money, and that they would not call upon him to pay his share of the loss, but would make up the deficit themselves. This so enraged Zeuner that he stole into the rooms of the Academy one night, and tore up and burned the oratorio, both orchestral parts and score and vocal parts, manuscript and printed.²⁷⁶

While this colorful episode illustrates Zeuner's temper, his difficulties with the choir may also demonstrate the high standards he had developed in Germany. The fact that the

²⁷⁴ Charles Callahan Perkins and John S. Dwight, *History of the Handel and Haydn Soceity of Boston*, 2 vols. (New York: Da Capo Press, 1977), vol. 1, 107-108; quoted in Loveland, 21. ²⁷⁵ Loveland, 22.

²⁷⁶ The Metronome III, No. 7 (October 1873), 52; quoted in Loveland, 22.

American public may not have been sophisticated enough to appreciate his standards is demonstrated by an anecdote that appeared in *Dwight's Journal of Music*.

Our notice of Zeuner's "Feast of Tabernacles," reminds us of an incident in his life, illustrative of his extreme sensitiveness. At one time organist of a prominent Episcopal church in this city [Boston], Zeuner, allowing his fancies to assume the shape of a masterly impromptu fugue upon a certain Sunday, astounded the few appreciative and knowing members of the congregation with his wonderful performance—while he simultaneously shocked the many-headed with what seemed to them totally incomprehensible and devoid of beauty. At the conclusion of the service, one of the prominent members, meeting the great organist in the vestibule, put the following query to him: "Mr. Zeuner, pray, is our organ out of order? There was such an unaccountable jolting and rumbling in the pedals this morning, and altogether it sounded very strangely indeed." This lamentable display of musical ignorance entirely overcame the testy and sensitive harmonist. With a contemptuous hiss between his teeth, he strode from his interrogator, nor ever went near the stately church again, professionally or otherwise.—Amateur's Guide²⁷⁸

Hummel, in his instruction, did not discuss how to reconcile the striving after pleasing an audience with the inability of that audience to comprehend standards of musical taste. Zeuner's music may have had the potential to establish an American style at an early date, but it appears that support and undertanding from the public just was not in place at that time in history. Zeuner's Variations on "The National Anthem Hail Columbia," for example, appears never to have been published.²⁷⁹ Zeuner may have been discouraged enough never to have attempted publication, or he may have just not received the support. It was also probable that the number of pianists in America at the time who could play such a work was just too small to warrant its publication. The piano work, in holograph at the Library of Congress, 280 demonstrates a decided influence from Hummel's "brilliant school" of pianism, and appears to be modeled after Hummel's own variations. Zeuner opens with a fantasy-like introduction [Musical Example 17], much like Hummel does in

²⁷⁷ This is probably in reference to revival of Zeuner's oratorio by Newland at the Library of Congress in November of 1860. Apparently, Zeuner did not destroy his own copy of the work.

Anonymous, "Anecdote of Zeuner," Dwight's Journal of Music XVIII, No. 15 (12 January 1861), 333. ²⁷⁹ See Appendix E for a reproduction of the entire set of variations.

²⁸⁰ Box 49. Two copies of the holograph for this piece may be found in the box in question. The examples in this dissertation are taken from the copy which appears to have fewer corrections. While on first glance, the variations appear to be the same, the introductions differ slightly.

Musical Example 17: Zeuner's "Hail Columbia" Variations, Intro.



Library of Congress, Newland/Zeuner Collection: Box 49

Musical Example 18: "Hummel's Ploughboy" Variations, Introduction





his *Thème anglais* "*The Ploughboy*" from his *Les Charmes de Londres*, Op. 119 (1831) [Musical Example 18]. The work proceeds with a theme, five variations, and a coda. While each variation contains aspects of what may be considered Hummelian, variation four contains some particularly striking tuplets [Musical Example 19] for which we may refer back again to Hummel's piano treatise. On pages 26-27 of the first volume, we find instructions by Hummel stating that in *Adagios*:

we meet with many groups of capricious numbers of notes, as 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, &c. . . . Composers group together as many notes as are to be played in the time of one or more divisions of the bar, (a) or even in the time of a whole bar (b) and write the number over them; these notes must be played in a manner, so perfectly equal, rounded off, and connected, that not the least separation or pause shall be perceptible, and the performer must not finish the group sooner or later than the time required.

The examples Hummel gave of this, likely from his own works, may be seen in Musical Example 20.

After serving as president of the Handel and Haydn Society in 1838, Zeuner, who was clearly having difficulties coping with life in Boston, was asked to resign. He moved to Philadelphia in 1839 and held posts as an organist at at least two churches. Loveland credits his work at St. Andrew's Episcopal Church with that congregation's purchase of a new organ in 1846, and his influence in the area with the installation of new organs in two other Philadelphia churches. A specific reference to the Church of the Assumption and Calvary Church actually cites Zeuner for having had a hand in building new organs. As a composer, Zeuner stayed active writing and arranging pieces for the

²⁸¹ A copy of this piece is in the Newland/Zeuner collection. Unless it was acquired by Newland in some other way, it would have been in the personal library of Zeuner, possibly at the time he wrote his Columbia Variations.

²⁸² P. 24.

²⁸³ Anonymous, "Miscellaneous Musical News: Philadelphia," *The New York Musical World* V, No. 4 (22 January 1853): 59.

Musical Example 19: Zeuner's "Hail Columbia" Variations, No. 4



Musical Example 20: Hummel vol. 1, p. 27



piano in the popular style of the time—much like what Hummel did, especially late in his career. He arranged works by Johann Heinrich Walch (1776-1855), including

Philadelphia Gray's Quickstep (1841), the Philadelphia National Guard Quickstep (1841), and The United States Infantry Parade (1841). Although it appears that Zeuner may have been too impatient to have made an effective teacher, he certainly, through his performances and arrangements, was having an effect on musical society in Philadelphia at the time. Towards the end of his life, however, Zeuner became increasingly reclusive, and was cited by some papers as having become involved in "spiritualism." On November 7, 1857, Zeuner shot himself to death in the woods of West Philadephia. Some papers cite spiritualism, ²⁸⁴ others depression from lack of recognition of his talents, and others insanity. On Colorful description reads:

His suicide resulted from the insane idea that the ancient Egyptian Necromancers had granted, through the Jews of the Middle Ages, to the modern Jesuits, a power of transmitting poisons for indefinite distances through the air, and that all their efforts were directed towards the destrcution of Christianity and liberal institutions everywhere, and especially in America; moreover, that these persecutors were intent upon making *him* the especial victim of their torturing powers. To drive them away he often fired guns loaded with powder only, out of his window, or into the river, into which he not unfrequently waded to wash away the results of their incantations. The recent discussions about the Immaculate Conception seem to have excited his insanity to the highest pitch. On all other subjects he was rational and so naturally disposed to kindness, that cats, dogs, pigeons, and chickens, especially if sick or injured, were constant sharers in his liberality. He furnished a very remarkable instance of the extent to which the faculties of the mind may be functionally disordered, without irregularity in the transaction of ordinary business, in which he was conscientious and punctual to a remarkable degree.

The following obituary, of the sort more widely distributed, details some of Zeuner's accomplishments and laments his passing:

We read with deep regret, in the papers of yesterday, an account of the death of Mr. Zeuner, by his own hands. For some time past his friends have felt great distress at his unsound condition of mind. He was a decided believer in Spiritualism, but whether a victim of insanity from this cause, we cannot say. He had sufficient income from the savings of his professional income in former years, and from the sale of his musical compositions, to be enabled to live comfortably; but he was

²⁸⁴ "Spiritualism" has to do with contacting spirits, or acting as a medium. In a strange coincidence, at least one other composer attempted suiced after involvement in "spiritualism." Robert Schumann, who became enamored with the practice of contacting spirits through "table-turning" in 1853, attempted suicide, though unsuccessfully, in 1854—just three years before Zeuner's tragic death. See Anton Neumayr, *Music and Medicine: Hummel, Weber, Mendelssohn, Schumann, Brahms, Bruckner. Notes on Their Lives, Works, and Medical Histories* (Bloomington, Ill.: Medi-Ed Press, 1995), 316.

²⁸⁶ Philadlphia Public Ledger (November 9, 1857); quoted in Loveland, 25.

made very unhappy by the wildest fancies and hallucinations that the human mind can conceive. M. Fetis speaks of him in his "Biography of Musicians," and we should infer from the notice of him that he is about sixty years of age. Mr. Chas [sic] Zeuner was a German by birth, a finely educated man, and regarded by musicians as one of the best organists in America. He resided some yeas in Boston, where he published a collection of original Voluntaries for the Organ, a Book of Psalmody, and many other miscellaneous compositions. From Boston he came to this city, where he held several important organ situations, but from his peculiarities and eccentricities of character, he did not remain long in any place. He was not a man of genial disposition or manners, and claimed for his profession a respect and attention which often gave offence to aspiring amateurs, whose pretensions, if not just, he lashed with unsparing severity. We recollect one occasion, at the exhibition trial of the organ at St. Augustine's Church in this city, to have heard him, when in the vein, extemporize for over an hour, and we have often said, and again repeat, that it was the greatest specimen of organ playing, in the German style, that we ever listened to. It was a difficult matter in late years to induce him to perform in public, and we think the occasion referred to was the last time of his doing so. We hope that some friend, possessing the proper knowledge of him, will furnish the musical world with a biography and list of his works.—Pennsylvanian, (Phila.)²⁸⁷

While it could be argued that the United States, in the 1830s-50s, was not quite ready for a musician of the caliber of Zeuner, it could also be argued that it was, in part, because of his influence and the passing on of the information and training he received from Hummel, that cities like Boston and Philadelphia saw an increase in the quality of cultural life that set the stage for later American developments. In addition to those proofs of Hummel's influence already discussed, the works of Hummel present in Newland's library may have continued to have been used after his death.

²⁸⁷ Anonymous, "Charles Zeuner," *The New York Musical World* XVIII, No. 347 (21 November 1857), 726.

Richard Hoffman

Richard Hoffman (1831-1909), an English pianist who emigrated to America, was a generation removed from Hummel. Hoffman stated that he had been taught primarily by his father (known as "Mr. R. Hoffman-Andrews"), a former Hummel student and an excellent pianist as well as organist. 288 The standards of Hoffman's father undoubtedly made it difficult for him to find a suitable teacher for his son, although he had tried to place the young Hoffman with Mendelssohn—a figure who most certainly would have met with approval from a student of Hummel:

When Mendelssohn came to Manchester not long after the Birmingham festival [1846], I had the great pleasure of meeting and talking with him. My father was desirous of sending me to Germany to continue my musical education under his care, but his many engagements made it impossible for him to assume any other responsibilities, and the plan was consequently abandoned.²⁸⁹

That Richard Hoffman's career as a pianist already began before this meeting is evident in the reviews of concerts he gave in Manchester and London dating from 1844 to 1845. He appeared in a benefit concert with other members of his family in February of 1844 a performance called "very agreeable," ²⁹⁰ and his first appearance in London, in June of 1845, was called "one of the most rising of our young pianists." Having immigrated to America in 1847, Hoffman's successful concert debut that year with the New York Philharmonic Society was reported in London.²⁹² It was at this time that Hoffman began a fifty-year association with the New York Philharmonic Society.

²⁸⁸ Richard Hoffman, *Some Musical Recollections of Fifty Years* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910 [Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1976]), 63. He also mentions Kalkbrenner as a teacher.

²⁹⁰ Anonymous, "Provincial: Manchester," *The Musical World* XIX, No. 13 (28 March 1844), 112.

Anonymous, "Miscellaneous," *The Musical World* XX, No. 27 (3 July 1845), 320.

²⁹² Anonymous, "Provincial: Manchester," *The Musical World* XXIII, No. 1 (1 January 1848), 10. Hoffman performed Mendelssohn's D minor Concerto, Op. 40.

In his autobiography, Hoffman credits early momentum in his career to his participation in an 1850 performance with singer Jenny Lind (1820-1887) and conductor (and pianist) Julius Benedict—formerly a Hummel student. Benedict wrote Hoffman in advanced, asking for his participation. Hoffman gave the following account:

... the duet which I played at the first concert with Benedict (afterward Sir Julius), as the programme will show, was hardly listened to, so eager was the audience to compare notes and exchange its impressions of the wonderful singer. Nevertheless, it certainly gave me a start in my career, which many years of ordinary concert-playing could never have done.²⁹³

He refers here to the placement of the piano duet after the performance by Lind, who, a great sensation at that time, was the star attraction of the concert.

Although he never became a U.S. citizen, Hoffman proceeded with a long and influential career in New York, both as performer and teacher. As a performer, his training is evident in that one of his favorite works was the D-Minor Septet by Hummel. Other composers whom he favored were Mendelssohn, Mozart, Chopin, and Bach. His concert career makes it evident that Hoffman held chamber music in high esteem, showing again an affinity with Hummel, whose concert tours featured primarily chamber music. An affinity with Hummel is again demonstrated by descriptions of Hoffman's playing: "His [Hoffman's] playing is characterized by precision, accuracy, and clearness in phrasing, with an excellent technic, combined with repose." Perhaps the most significant evidence of Hummel's influence, however, appear in Hoffman's article: "How to Stimulate Thought and Imagination in a Pupil." Hoffman begins the

Press, 1970]), 207.

²⁹³ Hoffman, 110.

²⁹⁴ John G. Doyle, Introduction to Richard Hoffman's *Some Musical Recollections of Fifty Years*, vii. ²⁹⁵ Ibid., viii. Quoted from William Mason, *Memories of Musical Life* (NY: Century, 1901 [NY: Da Capo

²⁹⁶ Originally printed in "The Music of the Modern World," 1895 by D. Appleton and Company. Reprinted in Hoffman's *Some Musical Recollections of Fifty Years*.

article by discussing the problem of mechanical playing, so often brought on through the over-practicing of technical exercises:

While I do not undervalue the necessity of technical studies, it has always seemed to me that undue attention is being given to them, often to the exclusion of the higher education in music. Of course, the fingers must be trained by a course of technique full of unaccustomed difficulties, which finally leaves us free to think of higher things. But evenness of tone and touch are not everything—in fact, nothing *per se*—for we can combine both in the mechanical pianos and organs so much in vogue at the present time. When an artistic player is heard, it is the variety of tone, the infinite shading, expression, and feeling, which charm and uplift us. And these are not all the result of technical study.²⁹⁷

Hoffman seems to be referring to what Hummel had said in his treatise about overpracticing, which Hummel cited as producing "a mechanical, rather than expressive and impassioned style of playing."²⁹⁸ Hoffman had the advantage in his description of having lived during a time when player pianos were common, but Hummel had previously made use of the word "mechanical." Regarding a variety of tone, Hummel had previously written "the player should be perfectly master of his fingers, that is, that they should be capable of every possible gradation of touch."²⁹⁹ And, to indicate that there is more to playing than technical study, Hummel stated:

Let the player study the character of the composition, as otherwise he cannot possibly awaken in his audience the same emotions, as the composer has endeavoured to excite by his music. Let him also keep in mind steadily, whether he is performing an adagio or an allegro, for each requires a particular style, and that which is proper for the one, is injurious to the other.³⁰⁰

Over the next few pages of his article, Hoffman reveals that the study of interpretation, which is to what Hummel had seemed to be referring, is what Hoffman meant by "not all the result of technical study." Hoffman discusses approaches to various pieces by Beethoven, Chopin, and others, and why it is important to associate meaning with certain harmonies (the "sinister nature of the diminished-seventh chord") and time signatures

²⁹⁷ Ibid., 161.

²⁹⁸ Hummel vol. 1, iv.

²⁹⁹ Hummel vol. 3, 40.

³⁰⁰ Ibid., 41.

(the triple meter of Chopin's waltzes). In his treatise, Hummel's examples on interpretation have to do with the difference between *Allegro* works and *Adagio* works, but Hummel and Hoffman both seem to be addressing problems with interpretation that took place during their respective times in history.

At the conclusion of his article, Hoffman almost quotes Hummel directly. It is fitting that Hoffman should reach the end of his arguments on "How to Stimulate Thought and Imagination in a Pupil" by stating:

I advise my pupils to hear as much good singing and as many operas as possible. The ear cannot be better trained than by this means. ³⁰¹

He goes on to include good orchestral concerts where "standard" works are played, but explains that the works must be classical in order for the student to have the benefit of hearing good orchestration, where clarity of the instrumental parts is evident. Hoffman concludes with:

Those great pianists who can charm their hearers by their interpretations can be quickly counted, while those who excel in digital dexterity alone are as innumerable as the stars of the firmament. 302

An influential New Yorker at the end of the nineteenth century and a music teacher of renown, Richard Hoffman could most certainly be credited with having a hand in the development of New York's music culture, possibly the most important in the United States. Hummel's style and influence, then, could be said to have had a part in the foundation of New York's music culture as well.

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³⁰² Ibid., 168.

³⁰¹ Hoffman, 167.

German Territories

Hummel, perhaps the most famous Kapellmeister of his time, attracted a significant number of German-speaking students. As one might expect, most of them found careers within the German-speaking regions, although some of them, like Henselt, emigrated. At least one of his students, Rudolph Willmers, was a non-German (he was from Denmark) who established a career in a German-speaking city of Vienna—the same city where Hummel began his pedagogical career.

From his own account, Hummel began teaching at Vienna in 1793 or 1794, and he states in his autobiography that he taught from nine to ten hours a day for ten years and, furthermore, that he gave up performing in public between the years of 1794 and 1814. Since he began work at Eisenstadt in 1804, his ten years of teaching were presumably the years between 1794 and 1804, which gave him the remaining time in 1793 to establish himself, through performance, as a pianist of merit in Vienna, where he had arrived from England. Although probably not his first student, Franz Xaver Mozart (1791-1844), Wolfgang's youngest son, was certainly one of his earliest. Hummel, having been taught as a child by Wolfgang Mozart for free, certainly owed a debt of gratitude to the Mozart family. It would have been justified though not known for certain, if he had offered young Franz Mozart lessons free-of-charge. The young Mozart's age when he began studying with Hummel remains uncertain, but if Franz

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³⁰³ This statement is inclusive of those who hail from German-speaking areas and are not necessarily ethnic Germans.

³⁰⁴ See Hummel's autobiograpical letter in Appendix B.

³⁰⁵ Upon Hummel's death, Contanze Mozart, W. A. Mozart's widow, considered legal action after not having been named in Hummel's will. She stated that during his time in Vienna, Hummel promised to reimburse the Mozart family for the room, board, and lessons he received as a child. See Cliff Eisen and Simon P. Keefe, ed., *The Cambridge Mozart Encyclopedia* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 219.

Xaver was seven when he began with Hummel, just as Hummel was seven when he had begun lessons with the child's father, then the year would have been 1798.³⁰⁶ This year fits the Mozart family's schedule well, inasmuch as they returned to Vienna from Prague in 1797, where Franz Xaver Mozart had already had piano lessons with František Xaver Dušek. Regardless of when he began with Hummel, Franz Xaver gained sufficient skill in piano to have been lauded as an excellent pianist in the early 1800s,³⁰⁷ though he was overshadowed, for the remainder of his life, by the great name of his father. Following a career in nearby Lemberg, Poland (now Lvov, Ukraine) as a music tutor, Franz Xaver toured as a pianist throughout Europe between 1819 and 1821, doubtless performing his own compositions, which the New Grove Dictionary (2001) states show the influence of Hummel. Franz Xaver's student, Ernst Pauer (1826-1905),³⁰⁸ would later become principal professor of piano at London's National Training School for Music.

After the Mozart family's return to Vienna in 1797, Constanze Mozart began holding Sunday soirées in her home. Numerous diplomats and musicians attended, and Hummel was one of those who performed at the Mozart home. Among the noteworthy people who attended was Carl Czerny (1791-1857), who wrote about his experience in his "Recollections from My Life." According to Czerny, Hummel's playing was a model of "cleanness and elegance in performance" with "intimate and tender expression," which "kindled in me a desire for greater cleanness and clarity." The refinements in playing experienced by Czerny as a result of his encounter with Hummel were most

³⁰⁶ Manfred Kanngießer of the Hummel Society in Weimar has informed me that F. Mozart is believed to have started lessons with Hummel during the first decade of the Nineteenth Century.

Eisen and Keefe, 297.

³⁰⁸ In his *Famous Pianists and their Technique*, Gerig lists Pauer as a student of Hummel. I have not found confirmation of that in any other source.

³⁰⁹ The Musical Quarterly XLII, No. 3 (July 1956): 308-9. Translated by Ernest Sanders.

Figure 21

By Permission of the Goethe-Museum, Düsseldorf. KM 2127

Geehrtester Herr von Hummel!

Es gereicht mir zu wahrem Vergnügen, Ihren mir durch Hrn. Haslinger ausgedrückten Wunsche, in Betreff des Unterrichts Ihres Hrn Sohnes Eduard entsprechen zu können, u ich bestrebe mich, die Stunde, welche ich ihm jede Woche einmal, gewidmet habe, dazu anzuwenden, daß er die vortrefflichen, durch Ihre Schule und Leitung erhaltenen Grundsätze bewahre, u noch ferner so weit ausbilde, als ihm die Zeit erlaubt, die er am Pianoforte verwenden kann. Auch beginnt in diesen letzten Wochen sein Fleiß zuzunehmen, u in der Tat ist fleißige Übung das jenige, was seinen Fingern am meisten Noth thut. Indem ich meines Orts mich bestreben werde, Dero ehrendem Zutrauen nach Möglichkeit zu entsprechen, verharre ich mit unwandelbarer freundschaftlicher Hochachtung.

Geehrtester Herr und Freund

Ergebenster Carl Czerny

Most honored Herr von Hummel!

It gave me true pleasure to have your wishes expressed to me in correspondence through Herrn Haslinger in reference to the instruction of your son Herrn Eduard. I want to inform you that in addition to preserving the excellent principles he has received from your school and due to your direction, I am endeavoring to use the lesson hour which I have dedicated to him once each week to instruct him further, as time permits him, in that which he can use at the pianoforte. Also, beginning in these last weeks, he has begun working harder, and he is indeed <u>diligently practicing</u> that which his fingers have the most need of. I will make an effort on my end to correspond, in honored trust, with you when possible, and I remain [yours] with unchangeable friendly respect,

Most honored sir and friend

Most obediently, Carl Czerny

probably passed on by Czerny to the many students whom he taught at Vienna over the span of his famous pedagogical career. The fact that one of those students was none other than Hummel's eldest son, Eduard Hummel (1814-1893), demonstrates that Hummel respected what Czerny was doing as a teacher. Eduard Hummel was taught by his father before being sent to Vienna to study with Czerny and, most likely, to

experience musical life in that musical capital.³¹⁰ In a letter from Czerny to Hummel dated 17 January 1833 [Figure 21], 311 Czerny encouraged Hummel with the news that Eduard has been practicing harder over the past few weeks.³¹² Czerny underlined the words for "diligently practicing," the real meaning of which is made clear in a later letter Hummel wrote to his friend and music publisher, Tobias Haslinger, on 11 November 1834.³¹³ He asked that Haslinger help facilitate the return of Eduard to Weimar, because of his having neglected his studies on account of an overactive involvement in Vienna's social life. It was not long after Eduard Hummel's return that his father would pass away, and he would be the sole remaining family representative of his father's school of piano. 314 The difficulties that Eduard Hummel would encounter, as doubtless was the case with Franz Xaver Mozart, may have been owing to an overshadowing of his career by his father; such a scenario may be implied by the review of a performance given by Eduard Hummel at Weimar on 19 March 1837, approximately seven months before his father's death. The work he performed was listed as his father's D-Major Concerto "Les Adieux."315 and, although already twenty-three years old, Eduard was encouraged by the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* to continue his studies:

Although he has not yet reached his full potential, the young man has a good grounding in the school of his master, in which is the making of a career. With an eager pursuit of further studies, he has the promise of a bright future.³¹⁶

³¹⁰ See Hummel's recommendation letter for Julius Benedict, figure 23, which demonstrates that Hummel's students were sent to Vienna to experience the music there and gain a refinement of their musical understanding.

³¹¹ Original is housed in the archive of the Goethe-Museum, Düsseldorf, KM 2127.

³¹² "Auch beginnt in diesen letzten Wochen sein Fleiß zuzunehmen, und in der Tat ist <u>fleißige Übung</u> dasjenige, was seinen Fingern am meisten Noth thut."

Original is housed in the archive of the Goethe-Museum, Düsseldorf, KM 2244 + N61.

³¹⁴ Johann Nepomuk Hummel's younger son, the painter Carl Maria Hummel (1821-1907), remained in Weimar.

³¹⁵ Opus 110 in E Major—mistakenly listed as being in D Major.

³¹⁶ Anonymous, "Vermischtes," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* VI, No. 28 (7 April 1837): 113. The same review lists Julius Benedict, a former student of Hummel's residing in London, as an accompanist to a singer by the name of Miss Birch. In contrast to Eduard Hummel, Benedict's accompaniment is described

In a review of a concert in England from the following year, after his father had died, the press was not as kind:

Mr. Edward Hummel is the eldest son of the celebrated pianist, whose loss the musical world has not yet ceased to deplore. Since the death of his father, Mr. Hummel has resided in this metropolis, where it would seem he intends to pursue his professional avocations as a teacher of that instrument, on which his father so pre-eminently excelled. The concert displayed no novelty. Mr. Hummel performed the quintet, in E flat minor, with Messrs. Eliason, W. Blagrove, Hausman, and Müller; the first movement of the concerto "Les Adieux de Paris," and the MS. Duet for two pianofortes in E flat, with Mad. Dulcken. If Mr. Hummel's industry has been great, his talent is unquestionably small; if the reverse be the case, he must hasten to remove the shade which he has cast on the escutcheon of his ancestor. He has much to do before he rises to an equality with some scores of men of his own age, his rivals in pianoforte playing and teaching in this metropolis. The quintet was played neatly; the duet was made unequal by the crisp, brilliant, and dashing execution of Mad. Dulcken, and the concerto was a grievous show up to all parties engaged in its performance.³¹⁷

If a career in England was indeed Eduard Hummel's goal, then he either did not succeed or he changed his mind, because he returned to Germany after 1840 and took a post as Kapellmeister in Augsburg. The Musical World's description of Eduard Hummel's attempt to make a career as a piano instructor provides a clue as to how he spent the remainder of his career, doubtlessly contributing to the distribution of his father's teaching method.

Johann Nepomuk Hummel had at least three other students not yet discussed who enjoyed distinguished careers as virtuoso pianists, and subsequently, as piano instructors. Wenzeslaw Hauck (1801-1834), whose promising career was cut short by his premature death, had an impact on the musical culture of Berlin. Maximilian Carl Eberwein (1814-

as "delicious." Among the works by Eduard Hummel is a *Fantasina for the Pianoforte on an air from Benedict's opera "The Gipsy's Warning"* (1840).

³¹⁷ Anonymous, "Metropolitan Concerts," *The Musical World* 119 (21 June 1838): 130.

³¹⁸ See Fétis, *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens et Bibliographie Générale de la Musique. Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* lists Eduard Hummel as having held positions in Troppau, Brünn, and Vienna as well. That his music was known in the United States can be seen by the Boston Library's manuscript copies of his opera *Die Liebesprobe* and his *Messe Solenne Breve*.

1875), also in Berlin and then Paris, later established himself as a music instructor in Dresden. And Rudolph Willmers (1821-1878), of Scandinavian descent, became a highly regarded piano teacher in Vienna.

Although apparently deemed unworthy of an article by today's music dictionaries,
Hauck enjoyed the distinction of having been the only Hummel student discussed by
Hiller in his autobiography. Hiller called him a superior pianist for whom:

a study of technique gave a tirelessness, which filled me with a sense of admiring awe. A few times, he even interrupted his sleep at night in order to devote himself for several hours to exercises in thirds, sixths, and octaves.³¹⁹

Hiller continued that Hauck excelled in this sort of technique to such a point that Hummel entrusted him with the fingering in his piano method. Hiller mentions that Hauck made a name for himself in Berlin, and this is confirmed by Chopin who, before having met Hiller, wrote a letter from Warsaw to his friend Tytus Wojchiechowski about an impending trip to Berlin. The letter, dated 9 September 1828, discusses Chopin's intention to use a connection of his to meet a man named "Lichtenstein," through whom, he understands, he will be given the opportunity to meet a number of musicians in Berlin. Chopin writes:

[Lichtenstein]...is in good relations with Zelter, who directs the music department. Good friends in Berlin tell me that, knowing Lichtenstein, I shall meet the most important musicians of Berlin... I shall be there only two weeks, with Jarocki; but it's good to hear first-class opera even once; it gives one a conception of fine technique. Anold, Mendelson [sic] and Hank [sic]³²⁰ are the pianists there; the last is a pupil of Hummel. When I get back, I'll tell you what I've seen³²¹

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³¹⁹ Hiller, 17: "Seinen technischen Studien gab er sich mit einer Unermüdlichkeit hin, die mir ein bewunderndes Entsetzen einflößte, indem er sogar seine nächtliche Ruhe sein paarmal unterbrach, um sich stundenlangen Uebungen in Terzen, Sexten und Octavengängen zu widmen."

³²⁰ While Chopin may have mispelled Hauck's name, it is also possible that those transcribing Chopin's handwriting may have made a mistake here.

³²¹ E. L. Voynich, trans., *Chopin's Letters* (New York, Dover Publications, 1988), 37-8. It is interesting to note that Chopin places Hauck last in his mention of the three pianists, so that he can bring up Hummel's name. The sentence before is a reference by Chopin to a practice (technique development through listening to singing) endorsed by Chopin. It would seem, then, that Chopin's mention of his intention to follow Hummel's advice brought to mind the fact that a student of Hummel was active in the city.

Perhaps most fascinating about this letter is the fact that 1828 is the year that Hauck arrived in Berlin. Thus, it seems that within the year he was already known in Poland as one of the premiere pianists in Berlin. His death on 30 November 1835 warranted an obituary notice in the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik which was lengthy enough to have been spread over two issues. 322 From it, one learns that Hauck, also known as Wilhelm Hauck. was from the small Prussian town of Habelschwerdt (the town was awarded to Poland after World War II and is now known as Bystrzyca Kłodzka), where he received an earlier education in piano, organ, and violin. Receiving further instruction in Breslau (now Wrocław, Poland) from the age of sixteen, Hauck left eight years later (1825) for Weimar, where he had lessons with Hummel until 1827. The obituary cites Hummel as a tireless teacher, especially with talented students, and states that Hauck also received instruction in composition.³²³ After concert tours in Breslau and Krakau in 1827, Hauck settled in Berlin, where he had a career as a pianist and teacher for six years before his death, and he was cited in the *Neue Zeitschrift* for having brought Hummel's school (also called the "Viennese" school by Kahlert, author of the Neue Zeitschrift obituary) to Berlin. His compositions, also referred to as having been in Hummel's style, included a sonata, several sets of variations, rondos, and works with orchestra, several of which were published by Hummel's friend Haslinger.

Maximilian Carl Eberwein, from Weimar, had a ready connection with Hummel. His father, Carl Adalbert Eberwein (1786-1868), was a Weimar native who had been on the shortlist for the Kapellmeister post that was secured by Hummel. First the director of music at the cathedral in Weimar during Hummel's tenure, and later the director of ducal

³²² August Kahlert, "Nekrolog: Wenzeslaw Hauck," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* II, No. 5 (16 January 1835), 17-18 & II, No. 6 (20 January 1835), 21-22.

³²³ Hiller is mentioned in the context of the strong friendships Hauck developed in Weimar.

collection and of the opera, he collaborated with Hummel on a several projects and performances. Maximilian's grandfather had been a musician as well, and his uncle, Ludwig Eberwein (1782-1832), had been an oboist in the Weimar court orchestra, so it is no wonder that Maximilian ended up a child prodigy. It is evident from a letter Hummel sent to Hiller in 1835. 324 Hiller then having been well-established in Paris, that the young Eberwein (then twenty-one) would be attempting to establish himself in Paris. Hummel says that Eberwein had become a great pianist and a talented composer, but Hummel did not go into further details, inasmuch as Hiller already knew Eberwein from his Weimar days. Hiller responded in April of 1836, 325 confirming that he had done everything in his power to help Eberwein, but that in Paris, an "enormous talent" is not enough. One must also arrive with an "unbridled reputation," with which "patience and persistence is also important." Needless to say, Eberwein, who had arrived in Paris "full of hope," was disappointed.³²⁶ Eberwein eventually established himself as a music teacher in Dresden. passing along the Hummel tradition to his students there, the most important of whom was Hans von Bülow (1830-1894).

Rudolph Willmers, once esteemed by some as highly as Liszt and Thalberg (as discussed in the following pages), is another of Hummel's students whom contemporary musicologists have not deemed worthy of an entry in modern music dictionaries. He was born in Berlin (to a Danish father) and raised in Denmark and Norway before taking lessons with Hummel at the age of thirteen (1834). According to the *Allgemeine Wiener*

 $^{^{324}}$ Benyovszky, 221. The original letter, dated 24 November 1835, is in the collection of the city archive in Köln.

³²⁵ Benyovszky, 222. The original letter, dated 2 April 1836, is in the collection of the Goeth-Museum, Düsseldorf, KM 2200.

³²⁶ The *New Grove Dictionary of Music's* (2001) entry on Maximillian's father, Carl Eberwein, in contrast to the tone of Hiller's letter, that Maximillian had success as a pianist and composer in Paris and Berlin.

Musik-Zeitung,³²⁷ Willmers studied with Hummel for one-and-a-half years, meaning that he probably took lessons with Hummel up until the latter's death. After instruction in composition in Dessau from Friedrich Schneider, Willmers returned to Norway (according to the Allgemeine Wiener Musik-Zeitung, his "adopted homeland"), where it is evident, from a Neue Zeitschrift für Musik review,³²⁸ that he performed in 1839 in Christiania (Oslo), after giving performances in Kiel, Copenhagen, and Gothenburg (Sweden). Reviews show him performing to critical acclaim in Vienna in 1845 and in London in 1847. An appearance in May of 1847 at which Willmers performed, among other compositions of his, a "Fantasie Romantique" on themes from Norway, garnered the following review:

All we premised in our last of the extraordinary mechanical excellence of Herr Willmers was justified by his performance. No living pianist has a more vigorous grasp of the instrument, more powerful and sonorous tone, a more wonderful command of the most perplexing difficulties. We have not space to specialize his achievements on the present occasion, but we must single out as the most amazing effort of the morning, the "Serenata Erotica," in which the pianist accomplished, with his left hand alone, as much as could be reasonably expected of two ordinary players, with the full use of their double pair of hands! When will these marvels of digital force and suppleness reach their apex, and tumble down into common-place sensibility? Notwithstanding the continual astonishment to which we were subjected by the unheard-of-difficulties compassed by the fingers of this trinity-of-pianists-in-one-person, we must own that we were more pleased with his execution of Beethoven's lovely sonata than with any thing else he offered. Allowing for the slight excess to which he carried the *tempo rubato* in the *presto*, Herr Willmers interpreted this sonata in a style that may truly be styled classical. The execution was faultless, and the expression quite in the Beethoven feeling.³²⁹

It is striking that a pianist, unknown today, could be cited during the era of Liszt,
Thalberg, and Henselt, as having a "more vigourous grasp" of the piano than any living
pianist! The use by Willmers of Norwegian themes in performance is also significant, as
it points to him as a pre-Grieg Norwegian nationalist (Grieg was then four years old).
Willmers used his Scandinavian heritage to advantage in other ways, as evident in an

³²⁷ Dr. M---o, "Samstag den 22. d. M. Viertes Konzert des R. Willmers," V, No. 24 (25 February 1845): 94. ³²⁸ "Christiania, Anfang November," XI, No. 45 (3 December 1839): 180.

³²⁹ Anonymous, "Concerts: Herr Willmers," *The Musical World* XXII, No. 21 (22 May 1847): 336.

association with the singer Jenny Lind. An advertisement in a July edition of *The Musical World* is for a work entitled "Recollections of Jenny Lind" transcribed for the Piano-forte by Rudolph Willmers." Transcriptions and arrangements had been Hummel's specialty, and Willmers was one of many Hummel students who built a career on national songs.

In 1853, according to *The New York Musical World*, ³³¹ Willmers was appointed Court Pianist in Vienna. Later, from 1864 to 1866, he worked as an instructor at "Stern's School" in Berlin, ³³² and, after returning to work again in Vienna, died "insane" on 24 August 1878. The long career as pianist and teacher Willmers enjoyed in Vienna doubtless contributed to a continuation in that city of Hummel's method. Berlin, which had boasted the presence of Hauck thirty years before the residency of Willmers there, must have been receptive as well to his grounding in Hummel. Willmers specialized in the aspect of Hummel's technique, so prevalent in Hummel's piano concertos, of parallel thirds and sixths. *The New York Musical World* makes note of this in its description of him:

Willmer's execution is closely up to Thalberg's, but he surpasses him at times in *bravura*, and is distinguished above every other pianist of the world for his inimitable chain-trills and runs of thirds.³³³

The fact that he is compared with Thalberg demonstrates a shared grounding in legato touch, while his "bravura" doubtlessly has to do with the thirds and sixths. An example of Willmer's style may be found in the first page of his *Étude en doubles notes*, Op. 28

333 Schuberth, 259.

³³⁰ XXII, No. 30 (24 July 1847): 482. The ad details that "Mr. Willmers, who is well known to be one of the most accomplished pianists of the day . . . has shown himself thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the Scandinavian muse."

Julius Schuberth, "Merit-roll of the most eminent pianists and piano-composers of the day, with a statement of their characteristics and excellences, together with critical and biographical notices" XIX, No. 17 (24 April 1858): 259.

³³² Entry on Willmers in the 1900 edition of Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians

Musical Example 21



[Musical Example 21].³³⁴ Among Willmer's many students was Kornelije Stanković (1831-1865), who demonstrated, again, the connection of Willmers to nationalism. Stanković, who studied with Willmers in Vienna, was known for collecting Serbian folksongs, and writing piano variations on them, as well as founding a school of music in Belgrade.

In addition to the many pianists, working in German cities, who continued Hummel's musical influence were professional organists, conductors, composers, and even music publishers instructed by him. Two important organists were Ferdinand Gottfried Baake (1800-1881) and Louis Anger (1813-1870). Baake, also a pianist and composer, became the Cathedral Organist (Domorganist) in Halberstadt. The legacy he left as a result of his work with that organ may be observed in Baake's 160-page book, Beschreibung der grossen Orgel der Marienkirche zu Wismar, sowie der grossen Orgel des Domes und der St. Martinikirche zu Halberstadt (Halberstadt: Robert Franz, n.d.). 335 As evidenced by the reviews of his works in journals at the time, Baake was also a composer for the piano and voice, probably in the style of Hummel. The fact that Hummel provided recommendation letters for his students seeking an audience with music publishers is demonstrated in Figure 22 by the letter he sent in 1823 to Heinrich Probst, a music publisher in Leipzig. Hummel's referral to Baake as "my student, the Cathedral Organist Baake in Halberstadt," demonstrates Hummel's involvement with his students even after they had established careers.

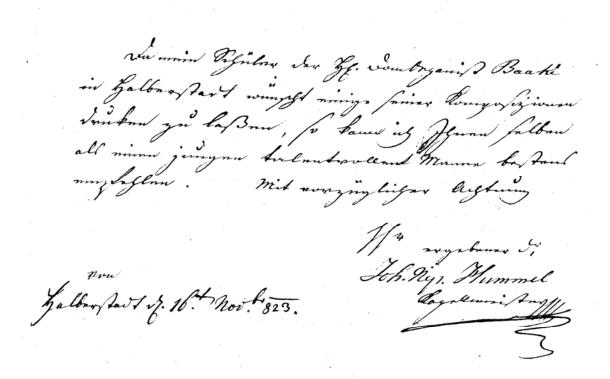
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Example taken from *Douze etudes de virtuosité* (Paris: Costallat & Cie., n.d.), 72.

³³⁵ A Description of the Large Organ of Mary's Church in Wismar, as well as the Large Organ of the Cathedral and the Church of St. Mary in Halberstadt.

Louis Anger, who was born in Hannover, the son of a miner, studied piano with Hummel in Weimar in 1833³³⁶ and began his career teaching music lessons at Leipzig in 1836. Anger was appointed to his primary position in 1842—Organist at St. John's Church in Lüneburg. He is cited in Mendel's *Musikalisches Conversations-Lexikon* for having composed a Concert Overture in C Minor, a Christmas Cantata, and several organ

Au homm Frobst in Ligzig.



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³³⁶ As stated in Mende's *Musikalisches Conversations-Lexikon*. Anger's name can be seen crossed off on the forty-fourth page of Hummel's address book (indicating that a lesson had been completed) held at the Goethe-Museum, *Düsseldforf*, KM 2219.

fugues. The fact that he composed numerous piano works as well is demonstrated in the reviews of the time.

Composer/conductors Friedrich Karl Kühmstedt (1809-1858) and Gustav Schmidt (1816-1882) may also be counted among the ranks of Hummel's students. In his autobiographical statement, Kühmstedt stated that he studied with Hummel for one year when he was around twenty-one years of age, but could not continue in piano studies owing to an injury to his hand. 337 He approached Hummel with compositions, about which Hummel said some most flattering things.³³⁸ Hummel's support of his student is again evidenced in his support for Kühmstedt regarding a position at the Gymnasium in Eisenach, where Kühmstedt made a significant contribution as a teacher. The pedagogical works that he published included Vorschule zu Sebastian Bachs Clavier and Theoretisch-Praktisch Harmonieen und Ausweichungs Lehre, and he composed an oratorio, three symphonies, a Missa solemnis, choral songs, and *Lieder*. After his study with Hummel, Gustav Schmidt continued with Mendelssohn at Leipzig. His career as a conductor took him to Brünn (now Brno in the Czech Republic), Würzburg, Frankfurt, Wiesbaden, Leipzig, and Mainz, and in 1876, he became Kapellmeister in Darmstadt. The success Schmidt enjoyed while in Leipzig is demonstrated in *Dwight's Journal of* Music:

Herr Gustav Schmidt, the excellent Capellmeister of our [Leipzig] theatre, has just had his benefit, upon which occasion his opera *Prinz Eugen* was revived. The music is pleasing . . . [but] it is unfortunate that there is only one female part, that of the brave Vivandière Engelliese. There is thus too little relief to the male voices. Frl Karg played and sang her part with capital spirit. The valiant, love-sick, poetical Wachtmeister, who cannot win his bride till he has written his song of praise of Prinz Eugen, der edle Ritter (the well known Volkslied which runs through the whole opera), and Conrad, the clock-maker of the Black Forest, were given by the Herren Hertzock and Schild; the former both sang and acted well; the latter is very stiff as an actor, but his pure,

³³⁷ Friedrich Kühmstedt, "Biographisches," *Niederrheinische Musik-Zeitung* VI, No. 7 (13 February 1858), 51-53. "viel Schmeichelhaftes."

expressive singing was highly appreciated. His song in the first act "Als ich vom Schwarzwald zog fürbass," which if it be not founded upon a *Volkslied*, has the true popular stamp (the German word *Volksthümlich* is a better expression, and the song in the last act, "Jetzt kommt, ihr Uhren, müsst mit fort," were charmingly sung. The long-continued applause with which Herr Schmidt was greeted upon his entering the orchestra, and the enthusiastic call at the end of the opera, testified to the respect with which the public regard the man and the musician.³³⁹

The citing of folk-themes in Schmidt's work and his later support of Wagner's works demonstrate again the nationalistic trends among students of Hummel.

The conductor Hermann Schornstein (1811-1882), the composer and theorist Friedrich Silcher (1789-1860), and the Mannheim publisher Karl Ferdinand Heckel (1800-1870) may all be listed among the students of Hummel. Schornstein, whose father Johannes Schornstein (1788?-1853) had worked as a conductor in Elberfeld (a subdivision of Wuppertal), took over as conductor upon his father's death, 340 and remained a conductor in that city until 1878. Confirmation of his studies with Hummel appears in a review by Robert Schumann of a concert given in Elberfeld.³⁴¹ Silcher. again demonstrating a link with nationalism, studied with Hummel during Hummel's time as Kapellmeister in Stuttgart. Silcher became the Director of the University of Tübingen in 1817 and is best known for his research on folk song, which he felt was the best means by which to encourage the general public's involvement in the performance of music. His efforts stimulated the growth of choral societies and other singing groups, and he added hundreds of original songs to the repertoire of folk song he collected. Among his pedagogical works is the Harmonie und Compositionslehre, Kurz und Populär (Tübingen: Verlag der H. Laupp'schen Buchhandlung, 1859). 342 With his work, Silcher promoted the cause for which Hummel was to be criticized: that of music for

³³⁹ Anonymous, "Music in Leipzig," XXV, No. 3 (29 April 1865): 21-22.

³⁴⁰ Anonymous, "Tages- und Unterhaltungsblatt," *Niederrheinische Musik-Zeitung* II, No. 1 (7 January 1853): 8.

³⁴¹ Neue Zeitschrift für Musik IV, No. 17 (26 February 1836): 71-2.

³⁴² Hamony and Composition Tutor, Short and Popular

public consumption. Heckel, as a publisher in Mannheim, had a different means of supporting the understanding of music he gained from Hummel. He published many of Mozart's works in arrangement and is known in particular for his publication of Mozart's operas in piano/vocal score.

England and Other Countries

In addition to the influence he exerted through his students in the United States and in the German territories, Hummel had students with successful careers throughout Europe. Aside from the German venues, the leading city chosen by Hummel's students was London, where Hummel had lived as a boy and where he had many supporters and admirers. His style was also represented through his students in Hungary (then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire), France (where Hummel performed numerous times), Italy, and, of course, Russia, where Hummel also gave concerts and where Henselt took up residence. Through Willmers, Hummel also had some association with Scandinavia. Although Willmers spent most of his professional career in Vienna, he probably taught lessons during the years he spent in Scandinavia, mostly Copenhagen and Oslo in the late 1830s and early 1840s, after receiving instruction from Hummel.

England

Of Hummel's students who settled in England, Julius Benedict (1804-1885) was the most famous. Wilhelm Kuhe, who had personal encounters with Benedict, mentioned in *My Musical Recollections* that in 1845, "the three most prominent musicians in

London were Madame Dulcken, Moscheles, and Julius Benedict."³⁴³ Although not so well-known today, Benedict was a vital participant in musical life in London from the time he settled there in 1834 until the time of his death. The importance of his contribution to England was significant enough for him to have been knighted in 1871.

Born in Stuttgart, Benedict was the son of a "well-known"³⁴⁴ banker who took an active role in attaining a musical education for his son. After receiving childhood training from a local instructor by the name of Ludwig Abeille (1761-1838), Benedict went to Weimar in 1820 to receive instruction from Hummel. As Benedict³⁴⁵ was interested in a career as an opera composer, Hummel recommended him to Carl Maria von Weber (1786-1826), who had never before taken a student. According one account, Weber took Benedict, his first and only student, somewhat against his principles owing to Hummel's requests.³⁴⁶ The lessons were supposed to have taken place at Dresden in early 1821,³⁴⁷ but there appears to be something of a discrepancy in this account. The following letter [Figure 23] from Hummel to the composer and teacher Johann Wenzel Tomaschek (Václav Jan Křtitel Tomášek; 1774-1850) appears to demonstrate that Benedict was still under Hummel's guidance in March of 1821:

Herzens-Freundchen!

Ich wünsche Euch ganzlich³⁴⁸ gute Gesundheit und viel Vergnügen.
Ich empfehle Euch einen jungen sehr talentvollen Mann an Herrn Benedict dem Sohn eines Stuttgardter Banquiers, den ich seit 6 Monaten im Klavierspielen in der kur hatte. — Er besucht auch Ihre Stadt auf seiner Reise nach Wien, um seine musikalischen kenntnisse bereichern,

³⁴³ London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1896: p. 76.

Anonymous, "Foreign Musical Report: Stutgard," *The Harmonicon XIX*, No. 5 (May 1831): 126.

³⁴⁵ The New Grove Dictionary of Music (2001) states that Benedict's father was anxious for his son to study with Weber.

Anton Neumayr, trans. by Bruce Cooper Clarke, *Music and Medicine: Hummel, Weber, Mendelssohn, Schumann, Brahms, Bruckner; Notes on Their Lives, Works, and Medical Histories* (Bloomington, Ill.: Medi-Ed Press, 1995), 100. Neumayr mistakenly calls Benedict's father a banker from Berlin.

³⁴⁷ Ibid.; also see the New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (2001)

³⁴⁸ Benyovszky, in his transcription of this letter (p. 215), leaves this word out.

und so sich immer mehr und mehr zu vervollkommnen und auszubilden, und überhaupt Gelegenheit zu haben, viel und gute Musik und Künstler zu hören. —

Ich bitte Euch recht sehr, ihm in Allem mit besten Rath und Tat an die Hand zu gehen, und ihm die Gelegenheit zur Erreichung seines vorhabenden Zweckes so veil möglich zu erleichtern. —

Ich reise dieses Frühjahr nach Leipzig, Berlin; und will im July nach Karlsbad ins Bad gehen, und so auch meinen Leib ein bischen aussegen.

Behüte Euch Gott! Und denkt zuweilen an uns. Meine Frau grüßt Euch herzlich.

Weimar den 1t März [18]21

Euer aufrichtiger Freund Hummel

Figure 23

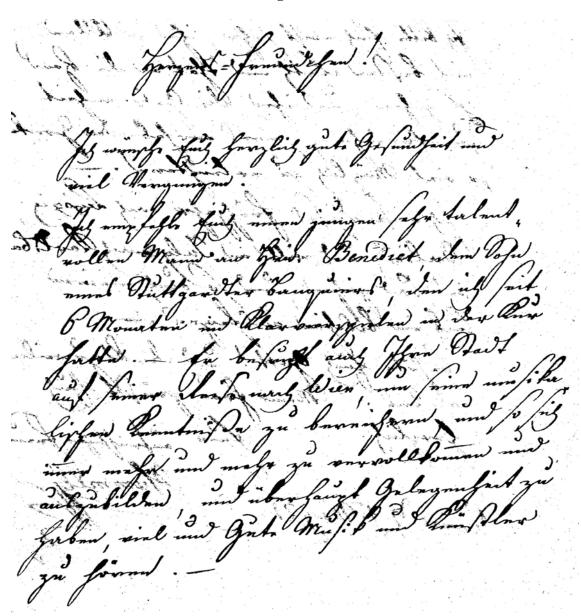
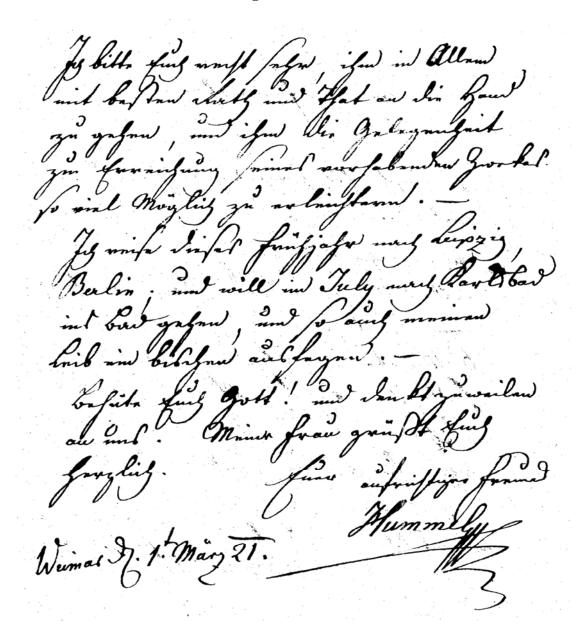


Figure 23 (cont.)



By permission of the Goethe-Museum, Düsseldorf. KM 2266

My dear friend,

I wish you entirely good health and much happiness.

I recommend to you a young and very talented man in Mr. Benedict, the son of a banker from Stuttgart, whom I've given piano lessons to for the past 6 months. — He will be visiting your town during his trip to Vienna, in order to increase his knowledge of music, and to become continually more complete and educated, and especially to have opportunities to hear good music and good artists.

I heartily request that in everything you give him the best advice and assistance, and that, as much as possible, facilitate for him the opportunity to reach his intended goal. —

I will be traveling early this year to Leipzig, Berlin; and in July, I want to go to Karlsbad to take to the waters, in order to help heal up my body a little.

May God shepherd you! And think about us now and then. My wife gives you her hearty greetings.

Weimar, the 1st of March 1821

Your genuine friend Hummel

Besides the confirmation that Hummel "practiced what he preached" in having his students attend performances, two other things may be adduced from this letter. First, if Hummel was accurate in citing six months of piano instruction, Benedict's arrival in Weimar would have occurred in September of 1820. Second, the tone of the letter suggests that Benedict was still a student of Hummel. Thus, if the meeting with Weber really took place in early 1821, Weber's agreement to teach Benedict would not yet have been realized. Whatever the case, Benedict moved into the Weber household, where

³⁴⁹ Alternative explanations include Benedict having met with Weber in Dresden in the spring, after his trip to Vienna (I did not find confirmation that Benedict actually went to Vienna—he could have started instruction with Weber in March instead of taking the trip to Vienna), or Benedict, having had plans for a trip to Vienna, asking his prior teacher (Hummel) to write a letter for him, and Hummel, in order to give the letter more weight (Weber was not known as a teacher), making it sound as though Benedict were still his student. Fétis confuses the record even further with his statement that Benedict took lessons with Hummel from 1819-1820. It is apparent that some further research is needed to clear this up, though this discrepency does not change the fact that Benedict took lessons with Weber after his time with Hummel.

he was treated "like a son"³⁵⁰ and continued in lessons until 1824. This scenario brings up another discrepancy in the account of Benedict's life. Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians (1900) states: "After studying under Hummel, at Weimar—during which he saw Beethoven (March 8, 1827)—he was, in his 17th year, presented by the illustrious pianist to Weber."³⁵¹ Even the most recent edition of the New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (2001) states that Hummel introduced Benedict to Beethoven: ". . . he went to Weimar as a pupil of Hummel, who introduced him to Beethoven." But here is Benedict in his own words:

I endeavor, as I promised you, to recall the impressions I received of Beethoven when I first met him in Vienna in October, 1823. He then lived at Baden; but regularly, once a week, he came to the city and he never failed to call on his old friends Steiner and Haslinger, whose music-store was then in the Paternostergässchen, a little street, no longer in existence, between the Graben and the Kohlmarkt.

If I am not mistaken, on the morning that I saw Beethoven for the first time, Blahetka, the father of the pianist, directed my attention to a stout, short man with a very red face, small, piercing eyes, and bushy eyebrows, dressed in a very long overcoat which reached nearly to his ankles, who entered the shop about 12 o'clock . . . I was not introduced to him on that occasion; but the second time, about a week after, Mr. Steiner presented me to the great man as a pupil of Weber. The other persons present were the old Abbé Stadler and Seyfried. Beethoven said to Steiner: "I rejoice to hear that you publish once more a German work. I have heard much in praise of Weber's opera and hope it will bring both you and him a great deal of glory." Upon this Steiner seized the opportunity to say: "Here is a pupil of Weber's; when Beethoven most kindly offered me his hand, saying: "Pray tell M. de Weber how happy I shall be to see him at Baden, as I shall not come to Vienna before next month." I was so confused at having the great man speak to me that I hadn't the courage to ask any questions or continue the conversation with him. . . . A few days afterwards I had the pleasure of accompanying Weber and Haslinger with another friend to Baden, when they allowed me the great privilege of going with them to Beethoven's residence.

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Interestingly enough, the date cited by H. Sutherland Edwards, author of the early Grove's Dictionary article (1900), of Benedict's first meeting with Beethoven (8 March 1827) is the date of *Hiller's* first meeting with Beethoven.³⁵³

. .

³⁵⁰ H. Sutherland Edwards, Esq., "Benedict, Sir Julius," in Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians (1900).

³⁵¹ Ibid. This mistake is particularly curious, since Benedict was listed as a contributor to the first edition of Grove's Dictionary (1879). It could be, of course, that he never had a chance to read his own biography before his death.

³⁵² Elliot Forbes, ed., *Thayer's Life of Beethoven, vol. II* (Princeton University Press: 1967), 873.

³⁵³ Benyovszky, 151.

Benedict's career from that point forward seems less controversial. He was in Vienna in 1823, having accompanied Weber for the first performance of *Euryanthe* on the 25th of October. After some time in Vienna, where he was also conductor at the Kärntnertortheater, Benedict moved on to Naples, then Paris, and finally London. His international travels prompted the writer of Benedict's entry in the 2001 New Grove Dictionary of Music to compare him to Handel. In England, Benedict was associated with virtually all local and guest artists. He performed frequently at the piano as both soloist and accompanist, conducted many opera performances (including his own works), conducted the Norwich Festival every year from 1845 to 1878, except in 1851, when he was in the United States as a conductor and pianist with Jenny Lind's tour, and he was, in addition, active as teacher, writer, 354 composer, 355 and editor. 356 Of Benedict, Kuhe wrote "I have known few more industrious and versatile musicians." An reflection of his stamina is Benedict's concerts, which "used to last from half-past one till seven." 358

Although Benedict was occupied with manifold duties, he was widely recognized as an accomplished pianist and, according to the 2001 New Grove Dictionary, placed a priority on "the composing, editing, and teaching of piano music." The New Grove cites his piano style as being "pre-Lisztian" with aspects of the "virtuosity of Field, Hummel, and Weber" and with "most of his published piano pieces [being] hack-work." The article's author, Nicholas Temperley, seems to disparage Benedict's works largely

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³⁵⁴ A review of Benedict's biography of Weber may be found in *The Musical Times* 22, No. 458 (1 April 1881), 199.

³⁵⁵ See the New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (2001) for a list of his works. He composed at least eight works for the stage, as well as choral, orchestral, chamber, and piano works.

³⁵⁶ The Musical Times 15, No. 360 (1 April 1881), 766. Benedict is listed as the editor of "The Musical Monthly," a magazine of newly copyrighted music.

³⁵⁸ Ibid., 374. Benedict typically served as an organizer, bringing in other musicinas, and would not have performed himself for that length of time.

because their titles indicate that they are modeled on examples set by Hummel's school: fantasies on operas (by Bellini, Donizetti, and others—this type of work made Thalberg famous), fantasies on Irish, Scottish, and Welsh melodies (the nationalistic element), variations, dances, marches, *et al.* Further investigation of Benedict's teaching style through works of his, such as *Select Practice for the Pianoforte* (London, c. 1850), also suggests that as a pianist and teacher in London, Benedict may well have perpetuated the piano method of Hummel.

For Hummel personally, two of his most important students (apart from his own son) were his nephews, August Röckel (1814-1876) and Eduard Röckel³⁵⁹ (1816-1899). Hummel's brother-in-law, Joseph Augustus Röckel (1783-1870), August and Eduard's father, was a well-known singer who played the part of Florestan in the 1806 revival of Beethoven's *Fidelio* (in Vienna). After successfully producing all-German opera in Paris, Röckel, accompanied by his family, took his opera company to London in 1832-33, having asked Hummel to join the venture as conductor. Apart from this gesture of trust, an indication that Röckel and Hummel were close is attested to by Hummel's having taught both Eduard and August, and by the many letters (presently housed in the Goetheund-Schiller-Archivs Weimar; GSA 96/4868) Hummel wrote to Röckel and his sons.

Eduard and August Röckel decided, in 1835, to try their fortunes in England, and their uncle, the devoted teacher he was, did his best to help them by writing recommendations to his various contacts in London. At least two of those letters are

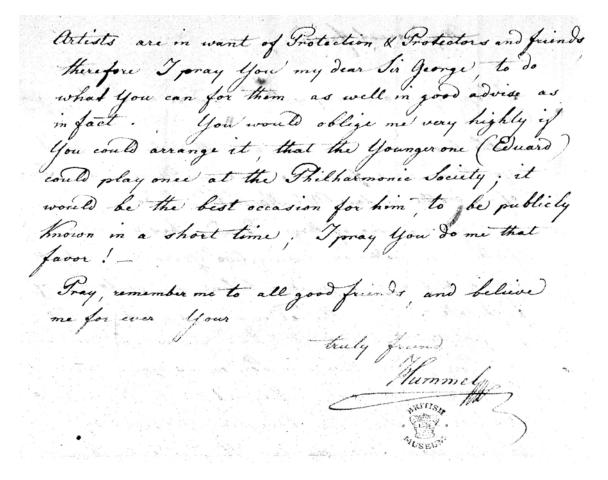
. .

³⁵⁹ Also known as Edward Roeckel, particularly after having been established in England.

Figure 24

Mismar 25 march 835 . My dearest friend, and so am Talso The two young men who have the pleasure to bring of my brother in Law M. Rochel in london . the younger one of them Buard, has studied the prans fonte & composition during two years by me at Weiman and is become a superiour tatent and performer of the the eller one August is also a good first rate . player and has a good tatent for composition Their father living in London as you know and not having any fortugue, they return to England to make now use of what they have learn't a broad by me ; and to gain their Subsistance they intent to give lessons on the pianoforte. They are both very good natured doubt you will by pleased with them . -However you know very well, that every beginning in this world is very difficult and that young

Figure 24 (cont.)



By permission of the British Library. Manuscript Collection, ADD. 47843 29-30b extant, one in English [Figure 24], a letter addressed to Sir George Smart (1776-1867)³⁶⁰—a conductor, organist, and founding member of the London Philharmonic Society—and the other in German, addressed to Ignaz Moscheles [Figure 25].³⁶¹ The letters, which may demonstrate an extra effort on the part of Hummel owing to family relationship are nevertheless representative of other recommendation letters he wrote.

³⁶⁰ For more information on the extent to which Smart supported Hummel's concert tours in England, see Joel Sachs's *Kapellmeister Hummel in England and France*.

³⁶¹ Original is housed in the archive of the Goethe-Museum, Düsseldorf, KM 2251.

Common to several letters is the asking of the recipient to assist the student in his careerrelated goals, often presented in the form of "fatherly" advice. The fact that both letters

Figure 25

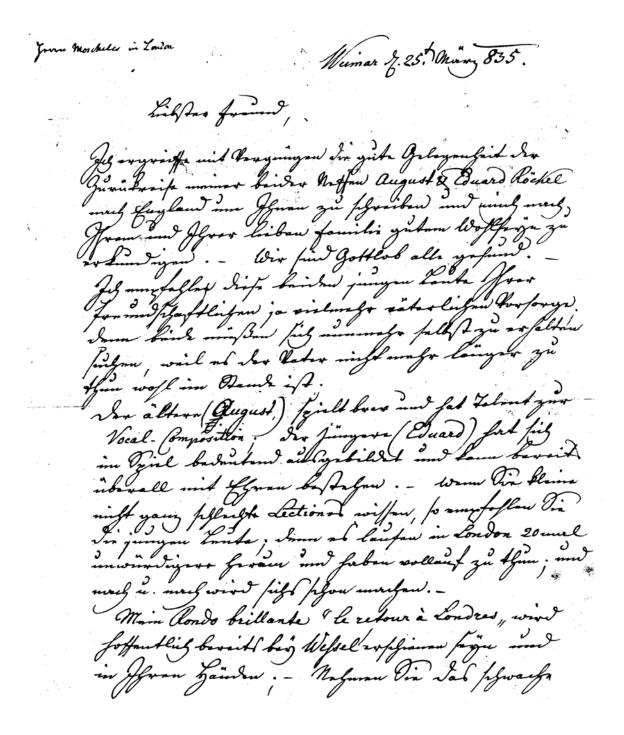
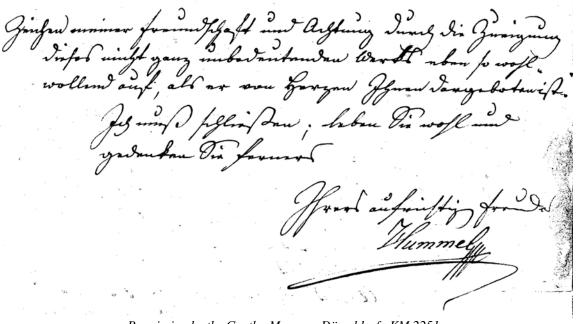


Figure 25 (cont.)



Permission by the Goethe-Museum, Düsseldorf. KM 2251.

Iganz Moscheles in London

Weimar, den 25. März 1835

Liebster Freund,

Ich ergreife mit Vergnügen die gute Gelegenheit der Zurückreise meiner beiden Neffen August und Eduard Röckel nach England um Ihnen zu schreiben und mich nach Ihrem und Ihrer lieben Familie gutem Wohlseyn zu erkundigen. – Wir sind Gottlob alle gesund. – Ich empfehle diese beiden jungen Leute Ihrer freundschaftlichen ja vielmehr väterlichen Vorsorge. Denn beide müssen sich nunmehr selbst zu erhalten suchen, weil es der Vater micht mehr länger zu thun wohl im Stande ist.

Der ältere (August) spielt brav und hat Talent zur Vocal – Composition; der jüngere (Eduard) hat sich im Spiel bedeutend ausgebildet und kann bereits überall mit Ehren bestehen. – Wenn Sie kleine nicht ganz schlechte Lectiones wissen, so empfehlen Sie die jungen Leuten; denn es laufen in London 20mal unwürdigere herum und haben vollauf zu thun; und nach und nach wird sichs schon machen. –

Mein Rondo brillante 'Le retour à Londres' wird hoffentlich bereits bey Wessel erschienen seyn und in Ihren Händen; – Nehmen Sie das schwache Zeichen meiner Freundschaft und Achtung durch die Zueignung dieses nicht ganz unbedeutenden Werks ebenso wohlwollend aus, als er von Herzen Ihnen dargeboten ist. Ich muß schließen; leben Sie wohl und gedenken Sie ferner

Ihres aufrichtigen Freundes

Hummel

Dearest Friend,

I'm taking, with pleasure, this good opportunity on the event of the return trip of my two nephews to England, in order to write you and and find out if you and your dear family are doing well. — We are all well, thank God. —I'd [also] like to entrust these two young men to your friendship, and even more, your fatherly guidance, as both of them have to try to make it on their own, since their father is no longer in a well-to-do position. The elder (August) plays well and has talent in vocal-composition; the younger (Eduard) has developed considerably as a pianist and will be recognized wherever he goes. —If you know of a small school that's acceptable, then, please recommend these young men; because there are twenty times as many people running around in London who are less worthy than them and yet have plenty of work to do; and, little by little, they will be able to succeed.—

My Rondo brillante "Le retour à Londres" has hopefully reached Wessel already, and is now in your hands; —Take this small sign of my respect and friendship through the dedication of this not entirely insignificant work out of goodwill, as it is presented to you from the heart. I have to close; live well, and furthermore, continue to think about

Your sincere friend,

Hummel

ask for help in the establishing of a teaching career may reveal that Hummel advised his students to seek as much and may explain the emphasis on pedagogy in the careers of Henselt, Benedict, and others. About the Röckel brothers, the letters reveal that Eduard, the younger of the two, is the better pianist, having studied with Hummel in Weimar for two years. Hummel appears to have placed preference on Eduard, having asked Smart to arrange a performance for him with the Philharmonic Society. The work Hummel dedicated to Moscheles seems almost to be a sort of payment for his assistance with the nephews, and indeed, a favorable review of a concert given by Eduard Röckel during the summer of 1836 shows that Moscheles was a participating performer.³⁶² The successful

³⁶² Anonymous, "Concerts: Mr. E. Roeckel's Concert," *The Musical World* I, No. 12 (3 June 1836): 188. His performance was described has having a "masterly effect."

career that ensued for Eduard Röckel is demonstrated in the press. In 1848, for example, his performance at a concert in March was described as "very fine," and in September. the news of his new position at a school in Bath was published:

The heads of the chief ladies' establishments here had joined and formed a kind of select committee, to choose a first-rate musician, and a man in every respect worthy of the confidence his situation as a teacher requires; as we already stated, their choice could not have been bestowed more worthily.

Mr. Edward Roeckel held, both as a "pianiste de premiere force," and composer, a distinguished rank in the London musical cirlces, and enjoyed the highest esteem as an accomplished gentleman in the fullest sense of the term.

At a soirée and matinée, given in honor of his "entrée" in Bath, where all the "beau monde" was present, he gained complete success by his pianoforte playing (which unites all the modern difficulties of execution to the expression of the classical school), no less than by his agreeable address, the facility with which he speaks several languages, and his unassuming

His young wife being a Countess of Merzsejewska, gives M. Roeckel an advantage in society here, as you know we "Bathenians" are aristocratic, and plead guilty to the large development of the organ of "veneration." 364

The reference in this article to his "classical school" is no doubt a reference to his training with Hummel. Eduard Röckel's promotion of the Hummel school is also evident in the concerts that he continued to offer. In 1854, for example, he is given favorable press for a performance in Bath that included the works of Hummel, Chopin, and Thalberg, as well as his own works.³⁶⁵

Hummel's letters call the elder brother, August Röckel, a talented vocal composer, but seem to rate Eduard's pianistic skills higher. And indeed, this is confirmed later by a letter August Röckel sent to his friend Ferdinand Praeger (1815-1891) in 1843:

It was but natural that I doubted my gift as a pianist, when Edward (his brother) was the favourite of uncle "Hummel," but when at Vienna, I remembered your prophecy, and worked at the piano harder than ever, and now it stands me in good stead.³⁶⁶

According his own account, August Röckel's piano skills were acceptable (he studied in Vienna prior to 1830), and Hummel also attested in his letters to the fact that he played

Anonymous, "The Musical Unon," *The Musical World* XXIII, No. 14 (1 April 1848): 221.

³⁶⁴ Anonymous, "Music in Bath," *The Musical World* XXIII, No. 36 (2 September 1848): 571. 365 Anonymous, "Provincial," *The Musical World* 32, No. 45 (11 November 1854): 749.

³⁶⁶ Ferdinand Praeger, Wagner as I Knew Him (New York: Longmans, Gren, and Co., 1892), 120-1.

well; nonetheless, he apparently did not enjoy the same success in England as had his younger brother, and August left for Germany in 1838, where he took a post in Dresden (1843) as the assistant Kapellmeister to Wagner. It was during his time with Wagner that his piano skills appear to have been of greatest use to him:

I have great advantage over him [Wagner] in piano-playing. It seems strange, but his playing is ludicrously defective; so much so, that when anything is to be tried I take the piano and my sight-reading seems to please him vastly. ³⁶⁷

While August Röckel's promotion of Hummel's cause was likely limited—due in part to his role as an opera composer (most famous for *Farinelli*), later his devotion to Wagner, and finally his thirteen years in prison due to his involvement in politics—his friend and colleague, Ferdinand Praeger, is linked to Hummel as well, and may have had a helping hand in keeping the Hummel school of thought alive.

Although it remains unclear whether he had lessons with Hummel, Praeger was influenced by Hummel early on, since Hummel advised him to switch his career from violin to piano, possibly during a visit by Hummel to either Leipzig, where Praeger had early training, or Holland, where Praeger had an early career as a music teacher. From 1832, Praeger was in England, where he became known as a composer, author, and theorist, having also given some successful piano concerts. His support for Hummel is revealed in his book on Wagner, where he wrote of August Röckel, "He was the nephew of Nepomuck [sic] Hummel and possessed much of the talent of that celebrated

³⁶⁷ Ibid., 121. Sight-reading is emphasized in vol. 1 of Hummel's treatise, iv-v.

³⁶⁸ Sister M. Clare Lucille Hutchinson, "The Musical and Literary Manuscripts of Ferdinand Praeger (1815-1891) in the Moldenhauer Archives" (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1969), 9.

³⁶⁹ Ibid., 20. Praeger wrote *Wagner as I Knew Him*, 1885; *A Practical Guide to Composition* (unpublished); was chosen by Schumann to represent London in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*; and translated Emil Naumann's *Illustrated History of Music* into English. It now seems that many attacks on Praeger's book on Wagner were unjustified, having been made by Wagnerites trying to prevent the printing of an unbiased view of Wagner's character from a supporter of his music. See Hutchinson, 228.

³⁷⁰ See Praeger's Obituary: Anonymous, *The Musical Times* 32, No. 584 (1 October 1891): 603-4.

pianist."³⁷¹ Praeger preceded his comparison of Röckel's musical nature to Hummel's with the statement "Roeckel was my most intimate friend. We were of the same age and had but one judgement upon music." ³⁷² If this is true, then Praeger's influence in England, where teaching was also figured into his career, would have had a Hummelian element. Indeed, he is described as a nationalist³⁷³ and, in his guide to composing, wrote a chapter on composing variations (a favorite form of Hummel's), including as an example a set of variations on a theme from one of Hummel's favorite works—Mozart's Magic Flute. 374

Karl Georg Mangold (1812-1887) was born in Darmstadt but, like Edward Röckel, established a career in England. Mangold's earliest appearances in England probably took place in the 1830s, and he appears to have had a career as a performer/teacher like other Hummel students. Mangold's presence in England is marked by the London publishing firm of Wessel and Company, which in 1837 printed an edition of Hummel's Opus 74 Septet edited by Mangold, who was advertised as a Hummel pupil. 375 The review of an 1838 concert also specifically refers to Mangold as a Hummel student. 376 A favorable review of a Mangold Rondo (Op. 8) appeared in 1838, 377 and performance reviews, mostly favorable, continued from 1842 to 1853. In perhaps the most telling of them, the reviewer of an 1842 performance praises Mangold's ability but then criticizes his shortening of the program's large-scale works:

³⁷¹ Praeger, 119.

³⁷² Ibid., 119.

³⁷³ Ibid., 232.

³⁷⁴ Ibid., 303.

³⁷⁵ British Library, Music Division. Shelf Number h.352.o.(3.).

Anonymous, "Metropolitan Concerts," *The Musical World* X, No. 130 (6 September 1838): 113.

377 Anonymous, "Reviews," *The Musical World* No. 106 (22 March 1838): 196-7. "We do not remember, for some years, to have met with a composition of the kind, that has afforded us greater pleasure . . ."

The Hanover Square Rooms were crowded on Monday evening, with a fashionable and critical company. Mr. Mangold is said to have been one of the favourite pupils of Hummel; we are sure that eminent musicians would not have considered himself disgraced by the affiliation. Mr. M. is precisely such a pianist as we can fancy Hummel would have taken pleasure in teaching, and pride in acknowledging; he sits down to his instrument unaffectedly, plays without presumption, has a clear bold touch, proves himself entire master of the keyboard; and, if somewhat deficient of passion, is utterly guiltless of modern hyperbole and rhodomontade. He executed his part in Ries's Sestet [sic], with very considerable power and finish; his delivery of Thalberg's Don Giovanni Fantasia was not so happy, for it lacked the sprightliness and the light and shade which other pianists have given it, and taught us to prefer; indeed, Mr. Mangold's style is not of the florid school; it is more sober and solid, and what is termed classical. The famous concerto of Beethoven in E flat, was announced in the programme; but Mr. M. gave us but the middle and last movements, and those with a puling quintet accompaniment—a fragment of the Apollo Belvidere[sic], minus the deified head and the several limbs dislocated. We hope the shade of Hummel was in its deepest slumber beneath the linden trees of its inheritant churchyard. So far as it was possible to express the author's meaning by omitting the consonants of his words, Mr. Mangold succeeded; but we confess that the mutilation threw a disrelish over us which sent us home sa(t)iated at eleven o'clock, leaving then nearly half the concert to be gone through. It was a surprise and regret to us, that a musician of so superior an education should have suffered himself to be misled by fashionable custom from the great and glorious of his art, and thereby to neutralize his own efforts and ability to please. About half the programme, and all the pieces announced given entire, according to their author's intention, would have made a far pleasanter concert, and, we are persuaded, would have proved more congenial with Mr. M's better taste. Messrs. Clinton, Wright, Haussmann, Case, and Blagrove, were the other instrumental soloists; Madame Caradori. Misses Bassano, Flower, and S. Flower, Messrs. Handel Gear, Kroff, Otto, Feder, and John Parry, sustained the vocal portions of the entertainment with their usual characteristics; and Mr. Benedict presided.³⁷⁸

After 1853, Mangold appears to have spent a bit more time composing, writing, and probably teaching. Among the publications by him in the British Library are the musical works *Les Etoiles, morceaux caractéristiques pour le piano*, Op. 20 (1855); Trio for Piano, Violin, and Cello, Op. 15 (1850); and *Wild Flowers, Three Impromptus for the Pianoforte*, Op. 28. He also wrote pedagogical works, including *History of Harmony and Counterpoint: A Sketch for the Use of Students* (1886).

Of those students of Hummel making a career in England in something other than piano, Carl Engel (1818-1882) ranks among the most important. Another of Hummel's German students Engel, born in Hanover, settled in Manchester in 1844 or 1845 and later moved to London. That he attempted, at first, a career according to the model of other Hummel students, seems evident from the fact that compositions by Engel like "4 Lieder

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³⁷⁸ Anonymous, "Musical Intelligence," *The Musical World* XVII, No. 17 (28 April 1842): 134.

ohne Worter" (4 Songs without Words) and "Farewell to Berlin," both for piano, were published at London in 1845. He also wrote a *Pianoforte School for Young Beginners* (1853), which, had it been available for this study, would certainly have been most enlightening in providing possible connections with Hummel. Engel's interests, however, did not remain with piano, and he became a researcher, publishing several books that exerted a degree of influence on English music, including The Music of the Most Ancient Nations, particularly of the Assyrians, Egyptians and Hebrews (1864), An Introduction to the Study of National Music (1866), and Musical Myths and Facts (1876). He also wrote a series of articles, among which are "The Literature of National Music," "Gypsy Music," and "Aeolian Music." Of particular interest is his role in nationalism through his painstaking studies on national music. A review in *The Musical Standard* cites the usefulness of his work and mentions the implications in English national music. In the book, Engel cites examples in compositions by the masters (including Haydn and Gluck) in which national melodies or popular songs used by the composers. Engel mentions the bagpipe tunes of the Highlands and brings up Haydn's use of a Wallachian melody (southeast Europe) in Haydn's Symphony in E-flat Major, the eighth of the "London" symphonies.³⁷⁹ The implications of this work on nationalism may be traced to Hummel, who favored using national melodies in variations for the piano (such as "The Lass of Richmond Hill," Op. 2 and "The Pretty Polly," Op. 75). Called both a "musicologist" and an "organologist" by the New Grove Dictionary (2001), Engel also made a contribution in his writings on church music and the instrument collection at the Kensington Museum (later the Victoria and Albert Museum). A Descriptive Catalogue of the Musical Instruments in the South Kensington Museum (1870 and 1874), according the

Anonymous, "Reviews," The Musical Standard VI, No. 130 (26 January 1867): 52-3.

the New Grove Dictionary (2001), provides definitive standards for the classification of instruments not superseded until 1968. The personal library and instrument collection that he acquired was vast, and he sold most of it to the museum after the death of his wife.

*

The mystery of the name "Manwell" in Hummel's address book (see Figure 31 in chapter 7) may have its solution in a statement by Mendelssohn's student Charles Edward Horsley. In describing how Mendelssohn came to begin a series of organ concerts while in England, Horsely mentions a friend who worked as an organist at the church where Mendelssohn began:

My friend Mr. George Maxwell, a pupil of Hummel, and a most talented pianist and organist, was appointed to this church [St. John's Church in West London], and it was at my father's house that he first met Mendelssohn. 380

While George Maxwell may not be the "Manwell" written by Hummel in his book, the possibility is intriguing. It also suggests the existence of numbers of other Hummel students working in a professional capacity who have yet to be identified.

Hungary

Ferenc Bräuer (1799-1871) began lessons in 1812 with Hummel at Vienna and found work in Pest (now part of Budapest) as a teacher. His most famous student was Stephen Heller (1813-1888)), a choirmaster, assistant director of the Pestbuda Society of Musicians' Singing School, and a conductor of the Musical Society's orchestral concerts, which furnished grounds for the founding of the Pest Philharmonic Society in 1853. An influential figure in Hungarian nationalism, Bräuer mixed into his works, according the

³⁸⁰ R. Larry Todd, ed., *Mendelssohn and His World* (Princeton University Press: 1991), 238.

the New Grove Dictonary (2001), aspects of the *verbunkos* style. His activities in Hungary were recognized in Vienna, where his piano quintet, referred to in the New Grove Dictionary as "Variations brillantes, on a Hungarian theme" was published in 1829. His *Lieder und Gesänge* warranted a review in 1837 by the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, the author of which, perhaps not recognizing the significance and beginnings of Hungarian nationalism, called the work well-intentioned but lacking in harmonic and rhythmic interest.³⁸¹

Another demonstration of the reach of Hummel's pedagogical model surfaces in with Mihály Mosonyi (1815-1870), who, in addition to Bräuer, was also influential in the development of a Hungarian national style. Not a direct student of Hummel, Mosonyi, however, first taught himself music (according to the New Grove Dictionary, 2001) by copying Hummel's treatise. Further Hummel influence may have been passed on in the formal lessons he took while in Hummel's city of birth, Pozsony (now Bratislava). The musical community there took an interest in the works of their native son, even during the years of his declining reputation. Mosonyi, later moved to Pest where he became one of the city's first independent musicians, making a living primarily as a piano teacher and composer. The influence of Hummel may also be reflected in Mosonyi's *Hungarian Children's World*, published in 1859. In his discussion of the work in his article "Folk Song as Musical Wet Nurse: The Prehistory of Bartók's 'For Children,'" James Parakilas cites the influence of Schumann and the later influence of Mosonyi on Bartók but does not mention Hummel. Unfortunately, this is a widespread form of neglect, as

³⁸¹ Anonymous, "Liederschau: F. W. Brauer, Lieder und Gesänge," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* VI, No. 5 (17 January 1837): 19. The author of this article is actually listed as "K---g," which, while providing a clue into his identity, also succeeds in keeping the article anonymous.

Lujza Kresánková, *Das Johann Nepomuk Hummel Museum* (Bratislava: Veb Obzor, 1972), 44-46.
 The Musical Quarterly 79, No. 3 (Autumn, 1995): 476-99.

there is a tendency in mainstream musicology to focus on certain subjects, for example on a well-known luminary like Chopin, but to overlook contextual aspects, such as

Musical Example 22



Hummel's model and its impact on Chopin. Thus, Parakilas, unaware of the Hummellike language, cites this example (titled "The Little Gypsy") as an instance of a piece where "the spirit of Schumann simply gets lost," where "he has not managed to simplify the gestures of the *style hongrois* to match the titles," and then explains that Mosonyi "never came up with a convincing version of the *style hongrois* for beginning players.

An excerpt from Parakilas's example may be seen in Musical Example 22.³⁸⁴

France

While Hummel's concerts in Paris would seem to indicate a broader French following, the only French student of Hummel's who has thus far come to light is Louise Farrenc (1804-1875), providing us with an instance in twentieth-century musicological research where Hummel's influence has been recognized. Despite the fact that the New Grove Dictionary of Music (2001) does not cite Hummel as a teacher of Farrenc, Bea Friedland in "Louise Farrenc (1804-1875): Composer, Performer, Scholar" writes:

Still in her formative years, she [Farrenc] had instruction from both Moscheles and Hummel; the latter in particular remained an important influence on her own teaching and composing in the decades to come.³⁸⁶

Friedland, recognizing that modern readers of her article may not take the name of Hummel seriously, explains in a footnote:

Hummel, until quite some time after his death in 1837, was valued among serious French musicians as equal to, and the legitimate continuator of, Mozart and Beethoven.³⁸⁷

Having been a student of Hummel, Farrenc knew his style of teaching first-hand and her husband, Aristide Farrenc, published the French edition of Hummel's treatise. Because Louise Farrenc was appointed Professor of Piano at the Paris Conservatory in 1842 (the French translator of the treatise, Jelensperger, was also a professor at the Conservatory), Hummel's influence undoubtedly found its way into the pianism of the

³⁸⁴ Ibid., 480.

³⁸⁵ *The Musical Quarterly* 60, No. 2 (April 1974), 257-74. Refer to this article for a thorough discussion of Farrenc's musical compositions.

³⁸⁶ Ibid., 261.

³⁸⁷ Ibid., 261n.

³⁸⁸ Among Hummel's other contributions, Aristide Farrenc also published, in 1825, a four-hand piano version of the overture to Beethoven's *Fidelio* arranged by Hummel.

following generation of French pianists. With a thirty-year tenure at the Conservatory, Farrenc was the only woman of the nineteenth century to have held such an important and permanent post. Friedland describes her role as a teacher:

... the Farrenc pupils were an exceptional lot. Female only, in accordance with the Conservatoire tradition of separating students by sex, they absorbed their mentor's sober, no-nonsense approach, and most went on to become concert artists. 389

Italy and Russia

Italy, as in the case of France, has but one Hummel student who has thus far come to light. Giuseppe Unia (1818-1878),³⁹⁰ whose status as a Hummel student is confirmed in Hummel's address book [Figure 31],³⁹¹ probably began studies with Hummel in 1834. A recommendation dated 12 August 1834³⁹² to Hummel from Unia's teacher in Turin, Giovanni Battista Polledro (1781-1853), requested that Unia be accepted as a student. That Unia left Weimar in 1836 is evident from a recommendation Hummel sent to Streicher in Vienna dated 6 May 1836,³⁹³ in which he asked Streicher to assist Unia with an instrument, if need be, during his short stay in Vienna before his return visit to Italy. As with Benedict and Hummel's son Eduard, Unia's purpose for visiting Vienna, according to Hummel, was to further his education through exposure to that city. An as

Musical Example 23

³⁸⁹ P 269

³⁹⁰ The Hummel Society in Weimar provided me with the death year of 1878, hoever, according to the RIPM catalogue, the *Boccherini*, an Italian journal, published an Unia obituary in an 1871 issue: vol. 9, No. 11 (27 December): 44.

³⁹¹ Unia's name, listed at the top of the address book, has been crossed out by Hummel.

³⁹² Original is housed in the archive of the Goethe-Museum, Düsseldorf, KM 2401.

³⁹³ Printed in Benyovzsky, 284. Original is housed in the Musical Letters collection of the Austrian National Library, Vienna, 126/66- 2.



yet unpublished holograph piano piece held in the Northwestern University Music Library's General Manuscript Collection (MSS 244) titled "Capriccio ex abrupto: in meines Schülers Giuseppe Unia aus Turin Stammbuch May [1]836,"³⁹⁴ is a short work, part of a thirty-one page *Stammbuch*³⁹⁵ of a collection of pieces, that appears to be a short piece written for Unia and may demonstrate the type of pedagogical piano writing a student of Hummel's may have received while in Weimar [Musical Example 23].³⁹⁶ That Unia was successful upon his return to Italy is reflected by the number of entries on him in the Italian press. In 1847, for instance, the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* reported that "[The Rondo by] the student [Unia] of Hummel from Turin, a piece of the learned school of the eminent teacher of Weimar, deserves to be applauded."³⁹⁷ Further reviews published until the decade before his death show that Unia remained an active part of musical life in Italy.

While not an Italian, Hummel's student Franz Schoberlechner (1797-1843) had some ties to Italy, inasmuch as he purchased an estate near Florence in 1831 and saw his opera *Rossane* performed at Milan in 1839. A child prodigy, Schoberlechner studied with Hummel in Vienna and made his début with Hummel's C Major Piano Concerto, Op. 34 (written for Schoberlechner) in 1809. After touring Italy in 1814 and remaining there until at least 1819, Schoberlechner returned to Vienna. In 1823, he obtained a recommendation letter from Hummel, addressed to Carl Friedrich Zelter (1758-1832) in Berlin and dated 20 August 1823 [Figure 26]. Berlin must have been a stop on the way

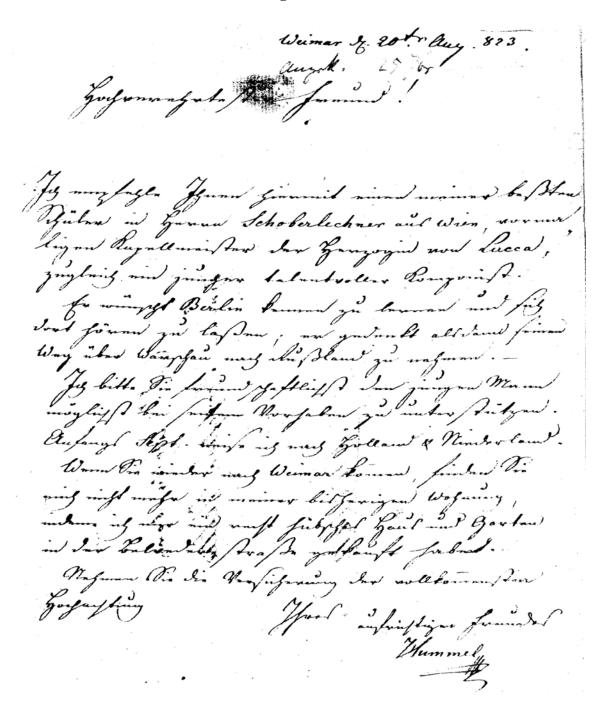
³⁹⁴ Capriccio ex abrupto: in the Stammbuch of my student Giuseppe Unia from Turin Stammbuch, May 1836.

³⁹⁵ A "Stammbuch," which is also the German for "family tree," is a collection of (usually) short pieces from various sources.

³⁹⁶ The work appears to be a true Hummel holograph, which has not been cited in Sach's "Checklist" of Hummel's works.

³⁹⁷ Isidoro Cambiasi, "Rivista bibliografica: Unia, 'Souvenir de Weimar,' rondò concertante per due pianoforti, presso Canti,' *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* VI, No. 11 (14 March 1847): 84.

Figure 26



By Permission of the Goethe-Museum, Düsseldorf. KM 2269.

Hochverehrter Freund!

Ich empfehle Ihnen hiermit einen meiner besten Schüler in Herrn Schoberlechner aus Wien, vorher liegender Kapellmeister der Herzogin aus Lucca, zugleich ein jungen talentvoller Komponist, er wünscht Berlin kennen zu lernen und sich dort gönnen lassen und gedenkt als dann seinen Weg über Warschau nach Russland zu machen. Ich bitte Sie freundschaftlich den jungen Mann bei seinem Vorhaben zu unterstützen. Anfangs September reise ich nach Holland und Niederland. Wenn Sie wiedwer nach Weimar kommen fänden Sie mich nicht mehr in meiner bisherigen Wohnung, indem ich mir ein hübsches Haus mit Garten in der Bellevuestrasse gekauft habe. Nehmen Sie die Versicherung der vollkommenen Hochachtung.

Ihr aufrichtiger Freund Hummel

Weimar the 20th of August [1]823

Highly Esteemed Friend!

With this letter, I'd like to recommend to you one of my best students, Mr. Schoberlechner from Vienna, formerly the Kapellmeister to the Duchess of Lucca, and at the same time a young talented composer. He wishes stop in Berlin for a bit and get to know that city before he makes his way to Russia via Warsaw. I'd like to ask that you give friendly support to this young man's plan. At the beginning of September I'm going to be travelling to Holland and the Netherlands. If you come again to Weimar, you will no longer find me in my previous apartment, since I've purchased a pretty house with a garden on Bellevue Street. Please accept the assurance of my deepest respect.

Your sincere friend, Hummel

to Russia, where Schoberlechner arrived in 1823. A second letter of recommendation from Hummel that he was carrying was addressed to John Field. The meeting between Schoberlechner and Field was described briefly in a reply Field sent to Hummel [Figure 27]:

Mon che Mummel Cettarer un Sensible plaisir que jai recu votre lettre du 23 décembre 1823 etre plaisir a été augmenté par la personne qui ne l'a remide, M'Schoberleckner. Ha veritablemen Intalent eterme it jeune illeperfection nero encore. de perteud de cette lettre est un M' Merike you, partant pour votre ville, detire avoir untitre pour de prétentes devant un homme aufi alebre que vent. Vivent pouver lui tetre ulile je vont en derai reconnaissant. Agrees les Loutineuts de la plus hante ettimique vent portaretre leveni Maken 3 Mars 1825

By permission of the Goethe-Museum, Düsseldorf, KM 2165

Mon cher Hummel,

Cétt avec un sensible plaisir que j'ai reçu votre letter du 23 décembre 1823 et ce plaisir a été augumenté par la personne qui me l'a remite, Mr. Schoberlechner. Il a véritablement du talent; et comme il jeune, il le perfection nerv encore.

Le portend de ce lettre est un M. Merike qui, partans pour votre ville, dèsire avoir un titre pour le présenter de vous un homme aussi célèbre que vous. Si vous pouvez lui étre utile, je vous en serais reconnaissant.

Après les sentiments de la plus haute estime que vous porte votre dévoué.

Maleen, 3 Mars 1825 J. Field

My dear Hummel,

It was with tender pleasure that I received your letter of December 23, 1823 and this pleasure was increased by the person which brought it to me, Mr. Schoberlechner. He truly has talent; and as he is a young person, he still has perfect nerves. [or, he still puts great spirit into his playing]

The carrier of this letter is Mr. Merike, who, when departing for your city, expressed a desire to have a reference letter to present to such a famous man as you. If you can be of service to him, I would be most grateful to you.

With the feelings of the highest regard that my devotion carries for you.

Maleen [mailed on?],

J. Field

3 March 1825

Schoberlechner's decision to tour in Russia may have had its origin in Hummel's success there in 1822/23, when he met John Field for the first time. An anecdote of the meeting between Hummel and Field was later published:

In the year 1823, Hummel visited St. Petersburg, whither his reputation had already preceded him, and gave several concerts there, which were very numerously attended. In the course of these entertainments, he composed extemporary variations upon themes suggested to him by his audience in which he displayed such talent and readiness of invention, as to waken up a perfect enthusiasm among his hearers. From St. Petersburg he proceded to Moscow, where Field was at that time residing. These two great artists had never seen each other, and were only known to one another by their works and reputation.

One morning after his arrival, Hummel, whose appearance was somewhat heavy and somewhat slovenly, paid Field a visit, at the hotel *garni* which that artist then inhabited. He found him in his dressing-gown, smoking and giving instruction to a pupil.

"I wish to speak with Mr. Field," said Hummel.

"I am he," said Field, "What is your pleasure?"

"I was anxious to make your acquaintance; I am a great lover of music; but I see you are engaged, so don't let me disturb you. I can wait."

Field begged him to sit down, without any ceremony, merely asking him whether the smell of tobacco was offensive to him. "Not at all," said Hummel, "I smoke too!"

The presence of a stranger so disconcerted Field's pupil, that he very speedily took his departure. During this time, Field had been scrutinizing his visitor, whose general bearing struck him as being somewhat remarkable; at length he asked him, "What is your business in Moscow?"

Hummel said he had visited Moscow in a mercantile capacity, and that being a devoted lover of music, and having long heard of Field's extraordinary talents, he could not think of leaving the city without having heard him.

Field was civil enough to gratify the wish of his visitor. And although he perhaps considered him little better than a Midas, he sat down to the piano, and played one of his Capricci in his own surprising manner. Hummel thanked him repeatedly for his kindness, and assured him that he had never heard the piano played with so much lightness and precision.

Field answered in a sportive tone, "Since you are so very fond of music, you certainly must play something yourself?"

Hummel made some excuses, saying that when at home it was true he played the organ occasionally, but that it was impossible to touch the piano after Field.

"That is all very well," said Field, "but such an amateur as you are, always knows something to play," and he smiled in anticipation of the performance he was doomed to listen to.

Without further parley, Hummel sat down to the piano, and taking the very theme which Field had just played, he began to vary it extemporaneously, in a manner worthy of his genius, and as if inspired by the occasion, and, indeed, altogether in a style so powerful and overwhelming, that Field stood transfixed with astonishment. Dropping his pipe from his mouth, and drying his tears, he seized Hummel, exclaiming, "You are Hummel, you are Hummel! There is nobody but Hummel in the whole world who is capable of such inspiration!" and it was with no little difficulty that Hummel released himself from the powerful grasp of his admirer. 398

The relationship that formed between Hummel and Field after their first meeting can be glimpsed at in two notes Field left for Hummel at various times during his stay in Moscow [Figure 28]. 399

No. 1 (no date—sometime in 1823)

Mon cher Monsieur Hummel!

Je suis passè chez mais n'ayant pas le bonheur de vous trouvez de vous laisse cette petit billet—pour vous prier quand vos affaires permettrons que vous fassions CHECK THIS WORD un bon diner ensemble à nous deux avec peu de vin de beaucoup (comme vous voulez) moi de bon—Je passerai demain chez vous.

Votre admirateur Et ami

J. Field

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³⁹⁸ Anonymous, "Hummel and Field," *Dwight's Journal of Music* VII, No. 19 (11 August 1855), 148. A note from the editor states that this was extracted from a work called *Gallery of Living Composers*. A note included in Düsseldorf's Goethe-Museum's archive, KM 2165, states that Hummel played the opening of his D Minor Septet at this first meeting. A note in the folder for KM 2164 states that Field composed a piece for two pianos for the occasion of a performance Hummel gave a few days later, which they played together with great success.

³⁹⁹Original is housed in the archive of the Goethe-Museum, Düsseldorf, KM 2164, which contains both letters.

Figure 28 (No. 1)

Pron cher Prosseur Fammell

Le suis passe chez mais mayant

poi le binheur de vous tourer de

vous laifre cette petit Prillet
pour vous phier gever de vois

affaires pehmetthors que rous

l'essemble à rous deve

once peu du vin one beeneury

(comme vous vouelez) mois du

les vous vouelez admitables

et ami sous)

By permission of the Goethe-Museum, Düsseldorf. KM 2164.

No.1 My dear Hummel,

I stopped by, but not having the pleasure of finding you, I've left for you this little note—to request, when your schedule allows it, that you join me for a nice dinner with a bit of good wine, as much (as you want) of it from me—I will stop by your place tomorrow.

Your admirer and friend J. Field

No. 2 (no date, probably 1823)

Cher Hummel,

Je vous recommande Monsieur Staudt le porteur de ce billet; il est artist et desire CHECK entendre votre charmant Talens. ainsi permettez qu'il entend votre repetition et donnez lui un billet pour demain. Comme Je deux à donner à la maison Je vous attendroi chez moi ensuite nous pourrons aller à la salle tranquilement repété si vous voulez.

Tout à vous

J. Field

Figure 28 (No. 2)

her Hummel

It vous ke commande

Invosion Stand le porteur

De ce billet; il est attit

et desire estende votre

charmant Talens. aivis pamette

qu'el entend votre repetition

et donnez lui un billet pour

dimain. bonne le deux

rous attendroi chez moi ensuite

nous pour tons aller à la salle

tranquilement repeté si vous voule

Tranquilement repeté si vous

By permission of the Goethe-Museum, Düsseldorf. KM 2164.

No. 2 Dear Hummel,

I recommend to you Mr. Staudt, the carrier of this note; he is an artist and desires to hear your charming talents. So do allow him to hear your rehearsal and provide him with a ticket for tomorrow. As I have two who would like to attend, I will wait for you at my place, then, if you like, we will go leisurely to the hall to rehearse.

May all be well with you, J. Field

Within a year of his arrival in Russia and his meeting with Field, Schoberlechner could count among his successes his marriage to singer Sophie Dall'Occa (1807-1864) in 1824. Remaining in Russia until 1830, with travels to Germany and Italy in 1827, Schoberlechner provided another link between Hummel and the Russian national school

by becoming a teacher of Aleksandr Sergeyevich Dargomïzhsky (1813-1869).

Schoberlechner's style and technique were described in a review of a concert he gave at Vienna in 1827:

... we had the pleasure of hearing our townsman, M. Schoberlechner, for the first time in public. He is a favorite scholar of the famed Hummel, and has caught no small portion of his master's science, taste, and brilliancy of execution. He gave first, a grand concerto in c minor, composed by himself, which called down loud and deserved applause; it breathes all the freshness and spirit of Hummel, without being deficient in original character. It was followed, in the couse of the evening, by variations upon a theme from the *Cenerentola*, which afforded the young artist scope to display all that union of taste, delicacy, and yet decision of touch, which mark the true master ⁴⁰⁰

Hiller, who was also in Vienna (with Hummel) in 1827, heard Schoberlechner perform and complimented his playing but thought it rather dry. 401

Since Schoberlechner worked as a teacher in Russia, it is not clear how much of a pedagogical impact he had in Italy. A seemingly restless figure, he went on tour again in Italy following the purchase of his home near Florence. It was while on tour that he died in 1843. His wife subsequently returned to Russia and taught voice.

Karl Eduard Hartknock (1775-1834) was another student of Hummel's who taught in Russia. Originally from Riga, now in Latvia but at that time a Russian city (though German was the official language), Hartknock began instruction with Hummel in Stuttgart and later followed him to Weimar. Hartknock, not having had success in Weimar after an attempt to establish himself there, received from Hummel the recommendation that he try Russia. He settled at St. Petersburg in 1824 and moved in 1828 to Moscow, finding work as a composer and teacher in both places. Hartknoch's loyalty to Hummel and his school is found in a letter to Hummel from Moscow dated 27

⁴⁰¹ Hiller, 43

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⁴⁰⁰ Anonymous, "Foreign Musical Report," *The Harmonicon* V, No. 5 (May 1827): 93.

⁴⁰² Kurt Thomas, *Johann Nepomuk Hummel in Weimar* (Weimar: Tradition und Gegenwart Weimarer Schriften, 1987), 57.

February 1831. After discussing a long illness from which he had apparently just recovered, Hartknock wrote:

... you cannot imagine the eagerness with which these (Hummel's) pieces are played here. It's true, Czerny and Herz are in fashion, but everyone will turn their back on them as soon as the all-beloved Hummel offers something new. 403

Sadly, Hartknock died three years later.

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⁴⁰³ Original is housed in the archive of the Goethe-Museum, Düsseldorf, KM 2184. "Sie können sich nicht vorstellen, mit welcher Gier diese (Hummels) Sachen hier gespielt werden; zwar sind Czerni und Herz die Modehelden, allein alles kehrt ihnen den Rücken zu, wenn der allgeliebte Hummel etwas Neues bietet."

Chapter VII: The Practical Teacher: Models, Schedules, and Amateurs

That Bratislava was Hummel's city of birth seems most fitting. A city rich cultural history, Bratislava as a center for music education dates back to the middle ages. Although Hummel spent only the first seven years of his life there, perhaps the city's traditions passed to him through his father, his first piano teacher. Whatever role Bratislava played in Hummel's development, it is clear that teaching enjoyed a primary role in much of what he did as an adult.

Hummel's mature styles of playing and composing, however, were often equated with those of Ignaz Moscheles (1794-1870) and Frédéric Kalkbrenner (1785-1849), 405 both of the Viennese school (with some of the same teachers). Lujza Kresáková adds the pianist Johann Baptist Cramer (1771-1858) 406 to the three, whose pianistic skills, derived from Clementi, were frequently compared with Hummel in English journals of the time. 407 Despite having been placed on the same tier as Hummel, Cramer is purported to have said of him, "Next to Mozart, Hummel is the greatest composer for the piano. No one has surpassed him." And if Hummel surpassed Cramer as a composer, he doubtless did even more so as a teacher. While Cramer complained of being a "poor teacher of rudiments in a suburb of Paris," Hummel's teaching skills were

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⁴⁰⁴ As observed by Lujza Kresáková, *Das Johann Nepomuk Hummel Museum*. (Bratislava: Städtischen Museum, 1972), 5.

⁴⁰⁵ Wilhelm Kuhe, *My Musical Recollections* (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1896), 20. Kuhe states in his book (pp. 19-20) that he was a student of Wenzel Tomaschek, an acquaintance of Hummel's (see Figure 23, Hummel's letter to Tomaschek) from 1840 to 1843. He also performed Hummel's Piano Concerto in B Minor in Munich in 1843/4 (p. 32).

⁴⁰⁶ Das Johann Nepomuk Hummel Museum, 36.

⁴⁰⁷ Anonymous, "Concerning Certain Great Pianists—Quoted from an English Magazine," *Dwight's Journal of Music* XXXI, No. 10 (12 August 1871): 74.

⁴⁰⁸ See Wilhelm von Lenz, *The Great Piano Virtuosos of our Time* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), 44. ⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., 44.

in Prague the year before Hummel's death in 1837, wrote "Both as composer and teacher [Hummel] excelled . . . and probably as a Professor he had never been surpassed." Bratislava's Hummel Museum regards Hummel's work as a teacher as having greater importance than his contributions as a composer and thus reflects long-held sentiments. Al2

While it may be that Hummel's career as a teacher began in England during his early teenage years, he himself mentioned his first years of teaching as those spent in Vienna directly following his arrival from England:

As I had already acquired the first place as a player at Vienna, I was much occupied in teaching. My pupils were so numerous that for ten years I taught daily from nine to ten hours; and in order to improve in composition, I accustomed myself to be at my writing desk, both in winter and summer, by four o'clock in the morning, as I had no other time left. 413

Generally, most teachers favor as a model, at least in some way, their own teachers. While Hummel most certainly found a model in his father, whom he credits in the same letter with "the first development of my talent," he gives full credit for his abilities at the pianoforte to Mozart: "I was left with Mozart's instruction entirely to myself; and have been upon that instrument my own preceptor." It is clear, at least from the teenage Hummel's first meeting with Haydn while in London, that he also was exposed to other musicians there. Despite Czerny's citing Clementi as one of Hummel's teachers, Hummel does not mention having studied with Clementi. No evidence has come to light showing that Hummel had formal lessons with anyone while in London other than,

⁴¹⁰ My Musical Recollections, 20.

⁴¹¹ Kresáková, 34. "Ein wichtiger Teil vom Lebenswerk Hummels war seine pädagogische Tätigkeit."

⁴¹² "Hummel," *The Musical World* 95 (5 Jan. 1838): 13. "[Without] his legacy [as a teacher] . . . he would never have risen to the eminence he enjoyed."

⁴¹³ Johann Nepomuk Hummel, "Autobiography of Hummel," *The Musical World* 11, No. 161 (April 11, 1839): 228. See Appendix B for a copy of the entire autobiographical letter.

perhaps, his own father, but it is also clear that contacts with members of London's musical scene, including, perhaps, Clementi, would have influenced his understanding of music, and in turn, his pedagogical viewpoints.

Upon his return to Vienna, Hummel could count Johann Georg Albrechtsberger and Antonio Salieri among his pedagogical models. In his own words,

In my fifteenth year I returned to Vienna, studied counterpoint under Albrechtsberger, and enjoyed Salieri's instruction in vocal composition, more particularly in an aesthetical and philosophical view of it. 414

Even though his studies with these two famous pedagogues were not in piano, Hummel also taught composition and most likely passed Albrechtsberger's pedagogical insights in composition along to his own composition students. Salieri's viewpoints may be echoed in the pronounced emphasis Hummel placed in his treatise on listening avidly to "good singers." Unless he took formal lessons from someone yet unknown, Hummel's final pedagogical model would have been Joseph Haydn, who, after returning to Vienna from his London Concerts, gave Hummel organ lessons. While the organ is a keyboard instrument, and Hummel certainly could have applied some of what he learned to his teaching of the pianoforte, the piano requires a different technique. It can be assumed that Haydn, who was not known for his abilities at the piano, would have supplied Hummel with only a limited amount, if any, of pedagogical knowledge of the piano. Hummel, however, did not teach only piano. Among his successful students are at least four organists. That Hummel retained his abilities on the organ is clear from his organ performances during his concert tours in Russia and Germany. Like Haydn, Hummel

⁴¹⁴ See Appendix B.

⁴¹⁵ David Gareth Brock, "The Instrumental Music of Johann Nepomuk Hummel," Ph.D. diss., University of Sheffield (July 1976), 106-7.

was known as a patient and kind teacher, and Haydn must have passed at least some of his views to Hummel. Haydn's approach to his students may very well also have influenced Hummel, regardless of the subject being taught.

Perhaps the most important pedagogical trait that Haydn provided was that of career advocate. In the same autobiographical letter, Hummel writes:

In 1803 Joseph Haydn got me appointed to the service of the Duke of Wurtemberg; as, however, the duke afterwards altered his mind, and (for a reason with which few persons are acquainted), would not engage any new kapellmeister from Vienna, Haydn, then becoming very old, recommended me to his own Prince Nicholas Esterhazy, as concertmeister, to supply his place in his declining years. 416

Hummel's thought process in his own extensive use of his "name" to secure positions for his students throughout Europe. Such letter writing, however, was not limited to his students. An example of Hummel lending a hand to an acquaintance may be found in the case of Wojciech (Albert) Sowiński⁴¹⁷ (1803-1880), a young Polish musician he met while on a trip to Vienna in 1827. The letter by Hummel to Luigi Cherubini (1760-1842) in Paris is an example of what Hummel might have done for Chopin, had Chopin asked for such a letter, and demonstrates in particular Hummel's beneficence.

The letter [Figure 29] may be translated as follows:

Vienna the 8th of April, 1827

My Most Dear and Admired Friend,

I find myself at the moment in Vienna, where the bearer of this letter requested that I write some lines to you to accompany him [on his journey]. He is the young Pole

⁴¹⁶ See Appendix B.

⁴¹⁷ Sowiński was a pianist, composer, teacher, and writer. Czerny, who was his teacher in Vienna, may have introduced him to Hummel. Although the letter is dated 1827, Sowiński did not settle in Paris until 1830, where he was known as the "other" polish musician (next to Chopin). His compositions having been forgotten, he is best known today for his history of Polish musicians: *Les musiciens polonais et slaves anciens et modernes: dictionnaire biographique* (Paris, 1857).

Mr. Sowinsky, who has put everything into "Art" and the study of music. I pray that you advise him on this point [the continuing study of music], having never been in France.

I pray that you would give my humble salutations to your wife, daughter, and other friends, and to think most of me always.

Your most humble and obligated Servant Hummel

Figure 29

Vienna all'8 S'Aprile 1877.

Paris ad adonatifs " amics

Trovandomi in questa momento à Vinna mi priza il portatore d'questa lettera d'accompagnar lo con qualche righe a Lei. L'il signe Sowinshy, un giovane Polaceo, che si mette all'arte d'allo Studio di Musica.

La prego di consigliar lo su questo prento, essendo mai stato ancora in Francia.

Trejo di fare i mici amilis mi Saluti a Madamed la lua Signe lonsonte Figlia, ed altri amici, e di crederimi sampne il di lei umilis. I obligitatione fereva de la serva della serva della serva de la serva de la serva della serva dell

By permission of the Goethe-Museum, Düsseldorf, KM N56

In addition to Hummel's dealings with his serious students (those seeking a career in music) and serious non-students (like Sowiński), Hummel had a successful career as a teacher of amateurs. While names of his professionally oriented students are readily found in reviews of concerts and in letters of recommendation, among other places, names of his amateur students must be looked for in other places. There were concerts by amateurs, but they typically did not garner reviews. And letters of recommendation regarding amateurs have not surfaced. As no complete list of Hummel's students has come to light, determining the identity of his amateur students is no easy task.

Fortunately, a glimpse into Hummel's student load may be found in the archive of the Goethe-Museum in Düsseldorf, which houses a schedule of Hummel's activities from

Figure 30

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By permission of the Goethe-Museum, Düsseldorf. KM 2265.

an undisclosed time during Hummel's tenure at Weimar [Figure 30],⁴¹⁸ and an address/schedule book which contains names and addresses in addition to notes on lessons given [Figure 31].

The single-page schedule of Hummel's activities translates as follows:

Schedule

Morning

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
8:00-9:00	Ms. Starke			Ms. Starke		
9:00- 10:00	" Krakow	" A Beylich	" Starke	" Krakow	" A. Beylich	" Starke
10:00- 11:00	" Gernhardt	Practice Piano	Mr. Lobe	" Coudray	Mr. Lobe	Mr. Lobe
11:00- 12:00	" Coudray	Compose			Practice Piano	Ms. Krakow
12:00- 1:00			Th. Leidenfrost			" von Hopfgarten

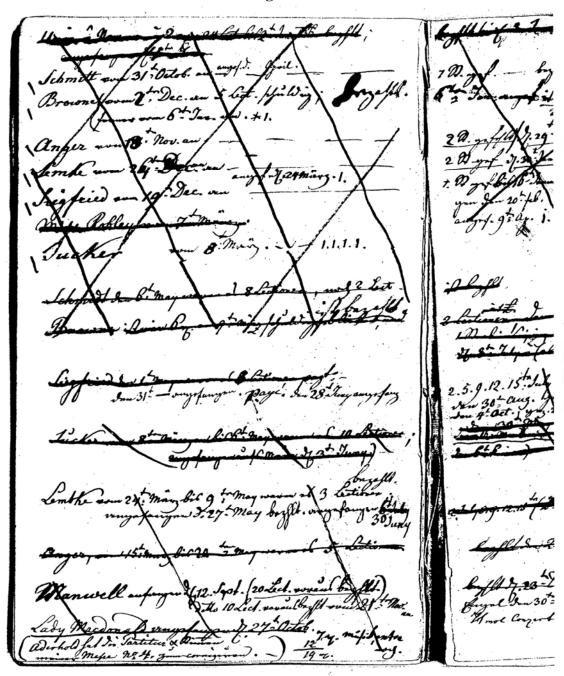
Afternoon

1:00- 2:00	1:30-2:30 von Hopfgarten				Ms. Courvoitier	
2:00- 3:00	2:30-3:30 Chalant	Ms. Courvoitier	2:30-3:00 Chalant	Ms. Gernhardt	Chalant	Ms. Röschen Agthe
3:00-	Practice	Röschen	Practice	" Röschen		Practice
4:00	Piano	Agthe	Piano	Agthe		Piano
4:00- 5:00	Compose	Ms. Voigt	Compose	Compose	Ms. Voigt	Compose
5:00-						
6:00						

⁴¹⁸ This schedule is also referred to in Kurt Thomas, *Johann Nepomuk Hummel in Weimar* (Weimar: Tradition und Gegenwart; Weimarer Schriften, Heft 26, 1987), 57.

The names given reveal that much of Hummel's teaching time was taken up by non-professionals, as many of those listed are the daughters of prominent Weimar residents. In fact, Hummel's very position in Weimar was due, in large part, to the desires of an amateur to have access to quality piano instruction. The Russian princess and Grand

Figure 31



By permission of the Goethe-Museum, Düsseldorf. KM 2219.

Duchess of Saxe-Weimar, Maria Pawlowna⁴¹⁹ (1786-1859)—the only student mentioned by Hummel in his autobiographical letter (although not listed in the schedule above) expressly requested that a pianist be instilled as Weimar's new Kapellmeister after the death of Kapellmeister August Eberhard Müller (1767-1817) in 1817. This, no doubt, gave Hummel the advantage against the other contenders for the Weimar position: Carl Maria von Weber (1786-1826) and Peter von Lindpaintner (1791-1856). ⁴²⁰ The pages from Hummel's address book reveal similar information. Dating from around 1833 (information contained within may have been added to until Hummel's death in 1837), the first pages of the book contain names and addresses of musicians, instrument builders, hotels, and others from the cities of his concert tours (primarily London and Paris). With the middle section of the book having been left blank, the last few pages are devoted to notes on student lesson times and payment records of musicians hired for concerts in the cities where he performed. Figure 31 is a copy of page 44, near the end of the forty-eight page book. While pianist and composer [Giuseppe] Unia is listed at the top, the name "Lady Macdonald," which suggests a member of the Scottish noble class, occupies the bottom line. Of the other names listed—Schmitt, Browne, Anger, Lembke, Siegfried, Robley, Tucker, Schmidt, and Manwell⁴²¹—only [Gustav] Schmidt and [Louis] Anger can be identified as a professional musician. It is probable that the other names were those of wealthy amateurs. 422

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⁴¹⁹ The fifth child of Tsar Paul and Tsarina Maria Feodorowna of Russia, she was married to the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar, Carl Friedrich.

⁴²⁰ Thomas, 20-21. It is interesting to note that in the same year (1819), Lindpaintner took the Kapellmeister position in Stuttgart vacated by Hummel.

⁴²¹ The author of this dissertation postulates in chapter 6 that this name may actually be "Maxwell," an English organist.

⁴²² The Düsseldorf Goethe-Museum's Katolog der Musikalien also lists (Malvine) Bouterweck (1813-1868), (Carl) Engel (1818-1882), Griepe, Ramsay, Sucker, and (Rudolf) Willmers (1821-1878) as students mentioned in the address book.

While it most certainly would have been useful had an earlier lesson schedule been found, it may still be possible to positively identify Hummel's remaining students through general letters and written accounts. The name of Malvine Bouterwek (1813-1868), for instance, appears in more than one letter to or from Hummel (including the letter from Henselt to Hummel shown in Figure 12). Although the extent of any career she may have had is unknown, she does appear to have become close to Hummel, having willingly served as a contact person between Hummel and others. In addition, the letter from Hummel to Bouterwek is extant which describes a possible beginning date for lessons. In the letter, dated 28 December 1831, Hummel explains that he is too busy to take on new students, but that she could possibly begin lessons in August or September. The receipt Hummel wrote up for the lessons that took place, presumably during one of the months indicated, is also extant. On the receipt, dated 5 November 1832, Hummel indicated that Bouterwek had had twenty-six lessons, although her starting date is not specified.

Of those students mentioned by Karl Benyovszky in his monograph, a Mr. Hodges⁴²⁵ and a Ms. Zimmermann⁴²⁶ are two who may have been amateurs. But

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⁴²³ Held in the archives of the Goethe-Museum, Düsseldorf: KM 2219.

 ^{424 1831} is the year that Schumann contacted Hummel for lessons. Hummel's schedule may explain why Schumann was not accepted as a student.
 425 P. 87. Benyovszky gives the name Edward Hodges (1796-1867), an English organist with a

⁴²⁵ P. 87. Benyovszky gives the name Edward Hodges (1796-1867), an English organist with a distinguished career in the United States. The search for further information on Edward Hodges, however, has led me to believe that he was not, in fact, a student of Hummel. A fascinating figure who gave his children names like "George Frederick Handel," "Faustina Hasse," and "John Sebastian Bach," Edward Hodges took work in New York and much of his personal library has ended up in the the George Hodges collection at the Library of Congress. His daughter, Faustina Hasse Hodges, wrote a biography titled *Edward Hodges* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1896) in which no mention is made of Hummel. While there is a "Mr. Hodges of Bristol" mentioned in Hummel's address book, he is listed as residing on "Clare Street," whereas Edward Hodges lived in the cloisters of the Bristol Cathedral on Park Street. And finally, if Edward Hodges were the same "Mr. Hodges of Bristol" who had brief instruction with Hummel, one might expect to find works by Hummel in his personal library. Unlike the many Hummel works in the Zeuner collection, however, not one work by Hummel is to be found in the George Hodges collection.

regardless of who they were, Hummel's students, "almost without exception, regarded him with great affection." This certainly extends to the Duchess of Weimar, Maria Pawlowna, Hummel's most important amateur. For some twenty years after Hummel's death, Pawlowna still helped keep his name alive with her sponsorship of performances. Hiller cited one such soirée in 1855, at which Hiller himself performed at least one work by Hummel. 427

If Hummel's description of having taught nine to ten hours a day while in Vienna is accurate, then he certainly taught many more students than are currently known. In the present dissertation, most are those he taught during his tenure at Weimar. Unfortunately, there is little personal observation that has been reported on Hummel's teaching style while he was active in Vienna. Although a detailed account is given by Hiller of his Weimar experiences, one cannot assume that his account provides a complete picture as to the way Hummel treated all of his students. An anecdote, however, from an 1837 issue of *The Musical World*, written by an anonymous source (possibly describing an amateur), supports the general image Hiller gives of Hummel's gentle demeanor:

Hummel was in the habit of wearing a small velvet cap when in his study composing, also when he attended rehearsals in large concert rooms. An amateur called on him, to enquire his terms for teaching composition, &c. &c.; after being satisfied on that point, he asked Hummel why he wore his cap so constantly; the latter, (being a bit of a wag) said he could not compose a bar without it, for he never felt inspired but when he donned his cap. The genteman left Hummel, with a promise that he would attend the next morning to take his first lesson; he did so; but ere he commenced, he pulled out of his pocket a handsome velvet cap with a gold tassel to it, which he popped on his head, saying—"now for it!" Hummel smiled, but allowed his pupil to enjoy his imaginary inspiration.

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⁴²⁷ Hiller 210

^{428 &}quot;The Velvet Cap," The Musical World IV, No. 48 (10 Feb. 1837): 127-8.

Part Three: Decline and Resurgence

Chapter VIII: The Nineteenth Century: A Decline

Introduction

Hummel's fall from favor began in the 1830s with the rise of the very generation of musicians that he influenced. The effect of the "new style" on his career can be seen as early as 1831 during a concert tour he undertook in England. Hummel had to compete for audience members with the famous violinist Nicolò Paganini (1782-1840), a representative figure of the new style. And, although on good terms with Paganini, having performed together with him in Weimar on 30 October 1829 and together with him again in London on 29 June 1831, Hummel could not compete with the allure of Paganini's unusual style—Hummel's ticket sales suffered dramatically as a result. 430 The problems with the 1831 tour can, of course, be dismissed as a matter of English fickleness, or as a matter of Hummel having chosen the wrong dates for a tour. 431 The fact that Hummel's name still carried clout may be seen by the fact that he was recruited to return to England in 1833, this time as an opera director. 432 Respect for him continues to show forth, as well, in reviews. The same George Hogarth (1783-1870) who compared Hummel's treatise to the Arabian Desert wrote one year later:

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⁴²⁹ "New style" refers to the romantic style of the 1830s and later that tended to emphasize showmanship in playing and extended the use of harmonies, and in piano music, the range of the keyboard and the use of the pedals.

⁴³⁰ See Joel Sachs, *Kapellmeister Hummel in England and France* (Detroit: Detroit Monographs in Musicology, 1977), 66-78.

⁴³¹ Some sources also cite Hummel's lack of practice later in life. Hiller, for example, stated that he almost never saw Hummel practice.

The opera company in question was that of Hummel's brother-in-law, Joseph August Röckel.

In the piano-forte music of Hummel, Kalkbrenner, Moscheles, and Mendelssohn, we find a combination of the features which distinguish the works of their predecessors—learned counterpoint, graceful and expressive melody, and broad and massive harmony—along with a brilliant and diffucult feats of execution, previously unattempted. . . . Unfortunatley, however, a school of piano-forte playing has arisen, which consists almost entirely of feats of slight-of-hand [sic], and the sole object of which seems to be, to play the greatest possible number of notes in a given time. In the the hands of Czerny, Herz, and that class of performers, piano-forte playing has fallen to the level of opera dancing; the one as well as the other being meant only to make people stare. 433

Hummel's categorization here with Mendelssohn is noteworthy, as is the support exhibited for his pianistic style against that of the new school.⁴³⁴ At this point in history, Hummel still had supporters in England who upheld his "conservative" approach against the style of the younger generation.

Probably more damaging to Hummel's reputation was the review of his Opus 125 etudes written by Robert Schumann in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*.⁴³⁵ In it, Schumann excoriates Hummel for the emphasis placed on out-of-date techniques and dismissed Hummel as being out of touch with new trends in music. In the article, Schumann took the position that, for the most part, Hummel's critics took for the remainder of the nineteenth century. Schumann began by upholding the greatness of Mozart and his school. The title reveals that the review is about Hummel, and since he had been associated with the school of Mozart for his entire career, it seems, at first, that the review could be positive. Having thoroughly upheld Mozart, however, Schumann soon went on the offensive against Hummel, accusing him of being out-of-date and behind the times. As discussed by Laurenz Lütteken and Anselm Gerhard in the forward to

^{433 &}quot;Musical Instruments—The Piano-Forte," *The Musical World* II, No. 18 (15 July 15 1836): 69.

⁴³⁴ In an effort to demonstrate that the generation of English who failed to support Hummel's concerts were different from those who expressed support for him after his death, Sachs cites Hogarth's description of the treatise as an "Arabian Desert" in 1835 in opposition to an 1837 review that is purely positive (pp. 96-7). Hogarth's complaint about the treatise, however, had to do with the length and was not, as this later statement by Hogarth shows, a reflection on Hummel's pianistic style.

⁴³⁵ Robert Schumann, "Hummel's Pianofortestudien," Neue Zeitschrift für Musik 19 (5 June 1834): 73-75.

Zwischen Klassik und Klassizismus, 436 this puts the article in the curious position of naming the earlier Mozart as relevant, but citing the still-living Hummel as out-of-date. The fact that Schumann was influenced by Hummel and tried unsuccessfully to become a student of Hummel's (Hummel was trying to reduce his teaching load at the time) is well documented by Eric Jensen, who points out that "Schumann's criticism of Hummel in general seems somewhat harsh, and may have been a result of his rejection by him."437 In his 2001 New Grove Dictionary article, Sachs suggests that Schumann later changed his mind, as a favorable review of Hummel's *Missa Solemnis* appears in the *Neue* Zeitschrift für Musik in 1835, 438 but the author of the 1835 review is anonymous, listed simply as "---z---" and may have been by a Weimar correspondent to the magazine. Schumann's hostility toward Hummel is confirmed in a later review of Hummel's student Schornstein, in which Schumann mentioned the connection between student and teacher and then asked, "But why mention such a thing, when it only leads to a comparison between teacher and student?",439 The situation was further complicated by Friedrich Wieck, Schumann's teacher, who may have further influenced Schumann with his dislike for Hummel.440

Hummel had some vigorous defenders in the 1830s, who included, among others, Fétis in Paris, who defended the refinement of the Hummel school (as represented by Thalberg) against the excesses of Liszt's and Henri Herz's (1803-1888) showmanship.

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⁴³⁶ Zwischen Klassik und Klassizismus: Johann Nepomuk Hummel in Wien und Weimar (Bärenreiter-Verlag Karl Vötterle GmbH & Co., 2003), vii.

⁴³⁷ "The Clarity of a Well-Planned Composition," 69.

^{438 &}quot;Aus Weimar," II, No. 52 (30 June 1835): 211-12.

⁴³⁹ "Pianoforte, Concerte: E. H. Schornstein, erstes Concert mit Begl. Des Orchesters," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* IV, No. 17 (26 February 1836), 71.

⁴⁴⁰ See Bonnei Powelson Gritton's "The Pedagogy of Friedrich Wieck," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1998), 54-5.

Defenders in the press become fewer in subsequent decades, however, and attacks against Hummel's school of playing grew more intense at precisely the time when the influence of Richard Wagner increased. While not confirmed, it is possible that there could have been a tinge of anti-Semitism. Hummel was not Jewish, but the primary representatives of Hummel's school of style after him, Moscheles and Kalkbrenner, were both Jewish. Anton Schindler (1795-1864) for example, who at first was fond of Moscheles, "developed a dislike of Moscheles which emerged in distortions, at about the same time as Wagner's antisemitic journalism."

In his dissertation on Hummel's instrumental music, David Brock attempts to explain Hummel's loss of popularity:

The answer is straightforward. When classicism came to be regarded as archaic, Hummel began a rapid descent from public esteem, as rapid as his meteoric rise to fame. 442

The answer does not, in fact, seem so straightforward. The music of Mozart, clearly "classic," was not attacked. Hummel, on the other hand, suffered attacks from both the Schumann camp and the Wagnerites, and apparently for different reasons, but with the same method of attack—a separation from Mozart followed by a characterization as "classic" and outmoded. The word "classic" became so charged as a result of these

⁴⁴¹ Malcolm Miller, "Beethoven and his Jewish Contemporaries," *SHOFAR* 18, No. 4 (Summer 2000): 52. There is much ground for further research in this area. In addition to his colleagues, some of Hummel's most famous students were Jewish, including Hiller and Benedict (Thalberg is also listed by Miller as Jewish). Hummel's sympathy towards Jews is demonstrated by a Jewish song he composed, "In der Stadt, da könnt ihr's gucken," the autograph of which may be found at the Goethe-Museum, Düsseldorf, KM 568. The work is not listed in Sachs's "A Checklist of the Works of Johann Nepomuk Hummel," *Notes: The Quarterly Journal of the Music Library Association* 30, No. 4 (June 1974).

⁴⁴² "The Instumental Music of Johann Nepomuk Hummel" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Sheffield, 1976), 308.

⁴⁴³ Schumann did, however, attack the music of Haydn. He said "Haydn's music has always been played here often and one can no longer experience anything new with him. He is like an intimate friend of the family [*Hausfreund*] whom one meets always with respect and gladly. But a deeper relevance for today's world he does not posess." From Robert Schumann, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Martin Kreisig (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1914), I, p. 54. Quoted in Sutcliffe, W. Dean, ed. *Haydn Studies*. Cambridge University Press, 1998, p. 11.

attacks that in his description of Henselt's foundation in technique by Hummel, von Lenz wrote:

We should call it *classic*, had not the term been so stupidly misused, were it not odious to us, and did we not rather confine its application to the Greek and Roman authors according as one or the other treats his mother-tongue well or ill. 444

The fevered pitch of attacks on Hummel appeared to have reached its climax with the publication of Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, where in his article on Hummel, first issued in 1877, 445 Edward Dannreuther wrote:

Hummel, Johann Nepomuk, a classic of the pianoforte—but a dull classic . . . Hummel in his prime, circa 1818, was treated by the mass of professed musicians as the equal of Beethoven! Endowed with curiously little inventive power, rarely warm, and quite incapable of humour or of passion, but fully equipped with every musical virtue that can be acquired by steady plodding, he appears curiously cut out for the hero of respectable mediocrity. The formidable size, conventional shape, and uniformly careful workmanship of his pieces, and particularly the "brilliant" treatment of the pianoforte part, misled his contemporaries to accept him as a master of the first order.

The use of the appearance of Grove's Dictionary for editorializing is a topic in and of itself. And it is notable that in his attack, he attacks as well those who supported Hummel, which included Mendelssohn, von Bülow, and even Chopin and Liszt to some extent. This position of Dannreuther becomes very clear when his [auto]biography is read in the same dictionary. The entry is unsigned, perhaps indicating an autobiography, and states that while Dannreuther studied at the Leipzig Conservatory under Moscheles,

... he is [now] one of the most prominent musicians of the metropolis [London], well known as a pianoforte-player and teacher, littérateur and lecturer, and a strong supporter of progress in music. He is especially known as the friend and champion of Wagner.

That his support of Wagner places him in conflict with music of the past is made clear by an attempt in the biography to add credibility to Dannreauther through upholding his support of the "classics:"

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¹⁴⁴ P. 124.

⁴⁴⁵ Quotations in this dissertation have been extracted from the reprinted and corrected version of 1900.

But while Mr. Dannreuther is an earnest apostle of the new school, he no less zealous for the old, as the range of the programmes of his well-known chamber concerts, his own able interpretations of Bach and Beethoven, his lectures on Mozart, Beethoven, and Chopin . . . and other acts and words abundantly prove. 446

Dannreuther's influence can be found in his having been quoted in a number of journals. Ferris demonstrates Dannreuther's influence in describing Thalberg's education with Hummel in *The Great Violinists and Pianists*, where he mentioned:

. . . the distinguished Hummel, who was not only one of the greatest virtuosos of the age, but ranked by his admirers as only a little less than Beethoven himself in his genius for pianoforte compositions, though succeeding generations have discredited his former fame by estimating him merely a "dull Classic." 447

Ferris thus stated the situation as it was. Hummel had been discredited. And despite what some may say, it was not because of the popularity of his music, as an examination of the performance history of his Septet will demonstrate.

⁴⁴⁷ P. 252

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⁴⁴⁶ It is curious to note that Mendelssohn is not mentioned—perhaps proof of an anti-Semitic stance.

The Septet in D Minor, Op. 74: A Case Study

Hans von Bülow called it the "happiest combination of two musical styles, symphonic and chamber music, that music literature has to offer." An early review in the Viennese *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* stressed that the admiration it gained at its first performance increased with each new hearing. In fact, it was not long after its first performance that Hummel's Septet in D Minor, Opus 74, became a standard concert piece and continued as such throughout much of the 19th century. Renowned figures like Mendelssohn and Liszt publicly performed the Septet, while Chopin taught it to his students. Subsequently, though, interest in the Septet seems to have wained considerably from the musical world by the beginning of the twentieth century. There is less noticeable mention of the Septet at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century until its fairly recent resurgence as a recorded piece (although it does not seem to have the status of standard repertoire that his trumpet and bassoon concerto have, which are taught throughout American Universities and Conservatories).

Hummel's Piano Septet, Opus 74, his first, was regarded by many in the nineteenth century as his greatest work, and it had much to do with establishing his prominence. The *Harmonicon's* 1824 biographical sketch of Hummel named his Septet, in conjunction with his A-minor concerto and Op. 92 piano sonata for four hands (in A-

448 Anton Neumayr, *Music and Medicine* (Bloomington, Illinois; Medi-Press, 1995), 29.

⁴⁵⁰ Eigeldinger, 61.

⁴⁴⁹ "Recension: Grand Septuor pour le piano, flûte, hautbois, cor, alto, violoncelle, et contrabasse," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den österreichischen Kaiserstaat* 12 (20 March 1817): 91. The original German reads: ". . . dessen Vorzüge sich bey jedem erneuerten Anhören immer mehr und mehr offenbarten, und das vielleicht die gelungenste, vollendestste Arbeit eines Künstlers ist, der in unsern Mauern geboren, dessen Genius unter unsern Augen gereift ist, und der auch in der Ferne, unter ehrenvollen, seiner würdigen Verhältnissen, jezuweilen freundlich unser gedenken wird."

flat Major), as the chief contributors to his great celebrity. François Joseph Fétis agreed. He wrote in his *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens*:

Hummel's [compositions], especially . . . instrumental . . . have placed him in the first rank of distinguished composers of the 19^{th} century . . . The general opinion has hardly estimated his best works highly enough . . . [including] his great septet in D minor, his concerto in A minor, . . . and the grand sonata for piano with four hands. . . . 452

Hummel premiered his Septet in Vienna on 28 January 1816 at a home concert presented by the Munich-based chamber musician Rauch. The Septet was published by Artaria in Vienna and dedicated to the Archduchess Marie Louise around the same time as the first performance. It was not much later that Hummel also wrote a quintet version of the work, for piano, violin, viola, cello, and double bass, upon which it is said that Schubert's "Trout" quintet of 1819 is modeled. The Septet was published for both solo piano and two pianos—four hands in circa 1816, as well. Included among the Septet arrangements is a virtuosic edition for piano quintet arranged by Liszt in 1849 and revised in 1869. A total of thirty nineteenth-century editions and arrangements are listed in Dieter Zimmerschied's thematic catalogue, in contrast with just thirteen editions of Hummel's grand sonata for four hands. The number of Septet editions is impressive and indicative of its popularity in the nineteenth century. It is rather telling, however, that the

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⁴⁵¹ "Memoir of Johann Nepomuk Hummel," *The Harmonicon* II, no. 18 (June 1824): 104.

⁴⁵² Paris, 1875.

⁴⁵³ See Karl Benyovszky, *J. N. Hummel: Der Mensch und Künstler*. (Bratislava: Eos-Verlag, 1934), 66. ⁴⁵⁴ Neumayr, 30. Neumayr qotes Albert Stadler, a friend of Schubert's, as having said "I'm sure you know Schubert's quintet for piano, violin, viola, cello and double bass, with the variations on his lied, 'Die Forelle.' He composed it at the special request of my friend Sylvester Paumgartner who was captivated by the delightful little song. It was his which that the quintet should follow the structure and instrumentation of the Hummel quintet, or rather septet, that was new at the time." There is, however a controversy about this matter. See Piero Weiss, "Dating the 'Trout' Quintet," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32, No. 3 (Autumn 1979): 539-548.

first twentieth-century edition did not appear until 1954, which left the Septet out of print for at least half a century.

The popularity of Hummel's Septet in the nineteenth century is well founded in the unique and inspired qualities of the work, the first of which is the instrumentation, which is highly original and yet exemplary in its tonal capabilities and special effects.

The piano has a dominant role, with its exceedingly demanding requirements, but it is not as dominant as one might expect. The viola, cello, and double bass make up the strings, while the flute, oboe, and horn make up the winds. Perhaps most notable about this instrumentation is the lack of a violin, which leaves upper register melodies either to the piano and winds or to the romantic sound of the viola's and cello's higher registers. Hummel's genius in using this instrumentation is demonstrated in part by his lack of a prior model. Earlier septets include an 1812 effort by Ferdinand Ries and an 1814 Septet by Friedrich Kalkbrenner, which, unlike Hummel's, include violin and two horns. Hummel later attempted to capitalize on his own success by writing a second septet in 1829 (the "Military Septet," Opus 114) with a different instrumentation, but his second cannot compete with the inspiration of his first.

Outstanding qualities in the compositional structure of the Septet are numerous, with Hummel's instrumentation, form, key, and melodic material all coming off skillfully.

An example from each movement may provide a sense of the work's characteristics.

⁴⁵⁵ Beethoven's Septet, Op. 20, of 1799 is not mentioned here because it is not a "piano" septet (its instrumentation is violin, viola, cello, double bass, clarinet, bassoon, and French horn) and, therefore, does not belong to the piano repertory.

⁴⁵⁶ For piano, flute, violin, clarinet, violoncello, trumpet, and double bass.

The first movement, *Allegro con spirito*, introduces each of the instruments in its powerful D minor opening statement. Not unexpected is a second theme in F major, but the transition to the second theme and the opening of the development demonstrate Hummel's capabilities with modulation. The transition (measures 46-56) is first in F-sharp minor and then in C-sharp major in anticipation of an enharmonic modulation that introduces the Development [Musical Example 24]. Here Hummel expertly moves from F major to F-sharp major by converting the tonic "F" into a leading tone "E-sharp."



Musical Example 24 (mvt. 1, mm. 46-60)

His use of modulation here is praised by the Viennese press as "original" and is pointed out as a distinguishing feature of this movement:

... the certain, effective treatment of the combination of instruments, through which the knowledge of [Hummel's] individuality is demonstrated, the original harmonic twists, the surprising, and indeed, new transitions, like, for example, the second half of the modulation from F major to F-sharp major . . . 457

The opening of the second movement, a Minuet or Scherzo, demonstrates Hummel's abilities as an orchestrator. The opening chord and dominant piano arpeggio is followed immediately by two pizzicato B-flats in the double bass. The dissonant movement from the dominant A chord to the pizzicato B-flat helps reinforce the double bass's percussive qualities, causing it almost to be perceived as a percussion instrument [Musical Example 25].

Menuetto o Scherzo. Allegro (d. =69) in D. pizz. Allegro (d. =69) Allegro (d. =69)

Musical Example 25 (mvt. 2, opening)

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⁴⁵⁷ Anonymous, "Recension: Grand Septuor pour le piano, flûte, hautbois, cor, alto, violoncelle, et contrabasse; composé, et dédié à Sa Majesté, Madame la Princesse, l'Archiduchesse imperiale d'Autriche, Marie Luise, Duchesse de Parme, Plaisance, et Guastalle, par J. N. Hummel, Oeuv. 74. Vienne, chez Artaria et comp. Prix 13 fl. W. W.," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den österreichischen Kaiserstaat* I, No. 12 (20 March 1817): 91-93. "... die sichere, effectvolle Behandlung sämmtlicher Instrumente, wodurch die gründliche Kenntniss ihrer Indifidualität bewährt wird, die originellen, harmonischen Wendungen, die überraschenden, in der That, neuen Übergänge, so wie z. B. in der zweyten Hälfte die Modulationen von *F-dur* nach *Fis-dur*..."

Hummel's instrumentation abilities are further demonstrated in the fourth variation of his third movement (Andante con Variazioni). This minor presentation of a previously major theme is highlighted with the introductory pedal point in the horn and viola. The soft pizzicato motive that occurs below the pedal point, combined with the tone color of the combined horn and viola, provides an ethereal quality further enhanced by the entrance of quiet sixteenth notes in the upper register of the piano [Musical Example 26].

Musical Example 26 (mvt. 3, mm. 100-105)



Hummel's fourth movement (Finale) begins with the piano predominating in lush octave passages reminiscent of a romantic octave etude. The energetic and virtuosic opening sets the work up perfectly for contrast. Hummel's proficiency with form brings him to realize that contrast with a small fugal passage used in transition from the first theme to the second. The fugue subject appears first by the viola, followed by the oboe and then the piano and double bass in unison [Musical Example 27]. Hummel's special

use of form here is again commented on by the Viennese press, which refers to his theoretical grounding when mentioning this passage.

There is a luxurious fullness of art here, and a rare inventiveness; all the passages are done here with the correctness of a grounded composer who has the powers of a learned theorist at his command to squander. 458

Musical Example 27 (mvt. 4, mm. 36-51)

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⁴⁵⁸ Ibid., 99. "Hier herrscht üppige Kunstfülle, und ein seltener Ideenreichthum; mit Recht sind hier alle Schätze, die dem gründlichen Componisten, dem gelehrten Theoretiker zu Gebothe stehen, gleichsam verschwendet."

In examining reviews of performances of the Septet subsequent to its premier, it is difficult to find anything other than praise for it. In 1820, just a few years after its publication, for example, the Viennese *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* already refers to the work as the "well-known Septet" in a concert review that inspired the paper to remark:

As Mr. Hummel's reputation is great, he induces tremendous expectations; but Mr. Hummel's art is still greater. He is a man who not only meets widespread expectations, but surpasses them. 459

It is true that Hummel, having hailed from Vienna, may have received some favorable bias in the Viennese press, but that could not have been said for St. Petersburg. In the spring of 1822 Hummel played his Septet and other works at a concert in the Russian capital, and some fault was found with his playing. The *Harmonicon's* correspondent reported that despite overall success, critics found his B-minor concerto "too long, and too meagre in some of its parts" while his aria, *Matilde de Genise* "was thought stiff and in an obsolete taste." His Septet, however, was not criticized. It was remarked only that "his beautiful Septetto . . . called forth a spontaneous burst of applause."

Hummel performed his Septet in Paris for the first time on 29 April 1825. Despite the number of other works performed, the reviews, as they did in Russia, centered their attention on Hummel's Septet. A translated article appears in the *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*:

Of the many exquisite regular compositions performed[,] we shall only mention his beautiful septet, which excited a universal desire to hear it again. 461

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⁴⁵⁹ Freyherr von Poissl, "Musikalische Berichte aus München," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den österreichischen Kaiserstaat* 4, no. 60 (July 1820): 476. The original German reads: "Herrn Hummels Ruf ist sehr gross, und erregt ungeheure Erwartungen; aber Herrn Hummels Kunst ist doch noch grösser, und er ist der Mann, der hochgespannte Erwartungen nicht nur befriedigen, sondern noch übertreffen kann."

⁴⁶⁰ "Foreign musical report: Pertersburg," *The Harmonicon* I, no. 12 (December 1823): 201.

⁴⁶¹ Joel Sachs, "Hummel in England and France: A Study in the International Musical Life of the Early Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss, Columbia University, 1968), 16.

The Parisians did get the opportunity to hear it again on 5 April 1828, when the sixteenyear-old Franz Liszt presented it in the Salle Chantereine.

London was an international city where the première of Hummel's Septet was not performed by Hummel himself. Charles Neate, who was studying piano in Vienna when Hummel premiered the work, performed the Septet at the opening concert of the Philharmonic Society on 22 February 1818 and again for the Philharmonic Society on 14 May 1821. By the time Mendelssohn performed the Septet in London on 21 May 1832, the *Harmonicon* did nothing more than remark ". . . with what effect [the Septet came off] it is unnecessary to say."

In addition to its successes in Europe, Hummel's Septet saw many performances in the United States, where, at one point it was referred to as "a luxurious feast of tones." The *Dwight's Journal of Music* review of a Septet performance in Boston on 16 December 1868 is particularly striking:

Hummel's septet is not only the finest show-piece of its very industrious composer, but one of the finest show-pieces ever written in which the pianoforte has a leading part. 464

Despite the high repute that his accomplishments brought him, the popularity of Hummel's Septet may have been affected by a peculiar image of Hummel that evolved in the press. Image is, of course, related to physical appearance, which is where these peculiarities began. One of the earlier descriptions of Hummel's unusual demeanor comes from Carl Czerny, 465 while a later description may be found in *Dwight's Journal*

⁴⁶² "Mr. Sedlatzek's, Concert Room, King's Theatre, Monday Morning, May 21st," *The Harmonicon* 10, no. 6 (1832): 154.

⁴⁶³ "Otto Dresel's fifth and last soirée," *Dwight's Journal of Music* II, no. 22 (March 5, 1853): 175.

^{464 &}quot;Monday Popular Concerts," Dwight's Journal of Music XXVIII, no. 20 (December 19, 1868): 365.

⁴⁶⁵ See chapter 4.

of Music anecdote describing Hummel's visit to John Field. While Hummel is described as slovenly and uncomely in both cases, he overcame the negative impression he gave with the power of his playing.

While negative remarks on the appearance of musicians appeared frequently in the nineteenth century, Hummel is unique in his dichotomy between physical appearance and performing/composing style. It could be argued in the cases of Paganini and Liszt, for instance, that physique reflected on their performing styles and images, and even contributed to their success. In stark contrast, Hummel's physical appearance worked the other way. Warning signals become clear in reviews that begin addressing his physique over and above his talent. This trend begins to increase in a description found in *The Musical World*, which commented in an 1837 memoir that because of "indolence of body and want of exercise (for he rarely walked even a short distance) [Hummel] had become corpulent." Unlike the descriptions of Hummel by Czerny and Field, this article ends on a negative note. Hummel's supposed greed is brought up as the author lashes out in what appears to be personal animosity:

In his social character, Hummel was a shrewd economist, so much so, as not always to keep on the "windy side" of an implicit respect. He objected, on the score of expense, to correspond with a friend, and whom he had reason to know was a sincere one to him. The consequence has been, that he is supposed to have left behind him a very ample fortune.⁴⁶⁷

Recently, musicologists such as Joel Sachs and Brock (in his dissertation) have begun to piece together the puzzle regarding the decline of Hummel's image. In his dissertation on Hummel's tours of England and France, Joel Sachs, for example, blames

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⁴⁶⁶ See chapter 6.

^{467 &}quot;Death of Hummel," The Musical World (October 27, 1837): 103.

Hummel's passé style (that of an old-fashioned classicist) for his general weakening in popularity. He writes:

The association of Hummel with archaism, the style of Mozart, and excessive "learnedness," would prove in the end to be a strong factor in the decline of his reputation as a composer and pianist. 468

While this observation has some truth to it, and indeed appears to have affected Hummel's late performing career and provides a reason why he spent most of his later years arranging works rather than composing his own, it does not bear directly on the decline of the Septet, which was admired by reviewers. Intrigueingly Liszt, who later held the post of Weimar Kapellmeister, blamed Hummel's decreased output on the stifling nature of Weimar and used the negative atmosphere as a reason for resigning his post there; As Liszt indicates, Hummel's creative output suffered somewhat during the Weimar years, which might have caused a growing disinterest in his music, and by association, a waning interest in the Septet, despite its originally successful reception. In regard to the decline of the Septet, it appears that this tarnishing of Hummel's reputation seems to have had an affect on the standing of some of Hummel's outstanding musical pieces. Thus, his decreased output in Weimar and his having been labeled classicist probably reinforced the disparaging image of him that was slowly increasing.

While negative criticism of the Septet is hard to come by, the beginnings of negativity against Hummel can be traced to examples of poorly reviewed compositions, from the 1830s in particular (including Schumann's review of Hummel's etudes). Works that the press found fault with, in many cases compositions for profit only (hence, the "greed" factor), helped as well in fostering the evolving negative image of Hummel. A *Harmonicon* reviewer, for example, writes of Hummel's Society Rondo, Op. 117, that "it

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⁴⁶⁸ Sachs, 17.

is replete with levity, and abounds in . . . no-meaning. . . "469 The *Harmonicon* reviewer of Hummel's *Rondeau Brilliant*, Op. 98, complains for a different reason:

... every leaf is nearly as black as a printer's ink-cushion ... not a score of persons will be found in England, Scotland, or Ireland, to master such unrewarding difficulties . . . [which only] show how much useless manual dexterity may be acquired [and] how much . . . valuable time may be wasted 470

Obviously, this reviewer does not appreciate the virtues that Hummel saw in virtuoso playing. From Hummel's point of view, manual dexterity was something made desirable by the possibilities on the instruments of the day, and as a result, was an aspect highlighted in his pedagogy. While this review may just contain the opinions of a critic complaining about Hummel's attempt to cater to current predispositions, it was more likely reflective of changing tastes of the time. Many began to turn away from compositions that emphasized virtuosity for the sake of technical perfection and showmanship, which was a preoccupation of Hummel in some of his pieces. That those pieces by Hummel may have contributed to his bad reputation is discussed by Harold Truscott, author of the preface to Musica Rara's Hummel Sonatas, who puts his qualification this way:

... variability [in the quality of Hummel's compositions], is one of Hummel's weaknesses, which make him one of the lesser composers of his time . . . he chose to [write poor quality works] sometimes. But the first-class composer never *chooses* to write less than his best. We could say, with some truth, that, like the boy in the poem, when Hummel was good he was very, very good, and when he was bad he was horrid. 471

Despite Truscott's statement, Hummel's defenders of the past did not hold his technically oriented works against him. An anonymous reviewer, for instance, after stating that "Hummel has greatly distinguished himself" as a composer, wrote "Hummel has written

^{469 &}quot;Society-Rondo, for the piano-forte, flute, two violins, tenor, violoncello, and double-bass, obligati; clarinets, bassoons, and horns, ad li., composed by J. N. Hummel," The Harmonicon VIII, no. 12 (1830):

^{518. &}lt;sup>470</sup> "Rondeau brillant, mêlé d'un thème russe, composé par J. N. Hummel, &c. &c. Op. 98," *Harmonicon* 19, no. 8 (1831): 194.

⁴⁷¹ Harold Truscott, preface to *Complete Piano Sonatas* by J. N. Hummel (London: Musica Rara, c1975), ii.

altogether about one hundred and fifty pieces, many, of course, only of temporary interest." The reviewer's "of course" demonstrates that transitory compositions designed to fulfill a temporary needs (in Hummel's case, pedagogical, technical needs) were to be expected and that nothing was wrong with the practice of producing and playing pieces that were aimed at perfecting performance considered to be virtuoso.

The clearest indication of the decline in Hummel's status occurs as later nineteenth-century biographical sketches began attacking his place in history, rather than just criticizing his persona or a handful of his works. The author of an 1860 biographical sketch for the *Musical World* dismisses Hummel and his historical position as a "great" composer: "Hummel—be not startled reader—was not an original genius." The fact that this reviewer prefaced his statement with "be not startled" demonstrates the extent of Hummel's staying-power with the public, and suggests that attacks on him were made by a class of critics intent on redefining him. The author of an 1857 sketch in the *Musical Times*, added to this redefinition by referring to Hummel's technically (and, perhaps, pedagogically) oriented works to paint a rather negative picture of his business practices:

The principal cause of inferiority in [Hummel's] many other pieces, I attribute simply to his love of—Mammon; . . . [which caused many works] to be weak and unmeaning . . 474

This author, then, links a prior charge of "greed" with a revisiting of Hummel's temporal compositions, and in so doing, contributes to the revaluation of Hummel as an undesirable. Subsequently, critics of the late nineteenth century assigned to Hummel the composite image of one who was slovenly, obese, greedy, lazy, and archaic. Of course, other "unsightly" musicians were successful. Paganini, for instance, was not described as

⁴⁷³ "Title," *Dwight's Journal of Music* (September 8, 1860): 148.

⁴⁷² Anonymous, "Memoir of Hummel," *The Musical World* IV, No. 45 (20 January 1837): 73-4.

⁴⁷⁴ "Truth about music and musicians. Letter VII. Hummel," *The Musical Times* 8, no. 176 (October 1, 1857): 121.

a handsome fellow. But in Paganini's case, external looks and stage presence contributed to a charisma as performer—certainly not the case with Hummel, whose style of playing was rather contrary to the way he looked. While Paganini embodied Romanticism, many of Hummel's compositions, and indeed, his overall persona, conflicted with Romantic idealism and paved the way to a discrediting of Hummel's name. Dannreuther exhibits the extent of this discounting in Grove's Dictionary (1900). And, it could well be that negativity against Hummel's name began to discourage Septet performances in favor of works by "better" composers, despite the Septet's proven popularity and effectiveness.

The final effects of Hummel's negatively shaped image can be seen as nineteenth century performances of his Septet grew rarer. Performances in Europe and the United States appear to have declined precipitously beyond the 1870s. By 1892, a performance of the Septet at Steinway Hall in London brought this response from the *Musical Times*:

Hummel's Septet [was] . . . at one time enormously popular, but now rarely heard. It is, however, quite worthy of occasional revival. 476

Rarity of Hummel's music was not just limited to the Septet. An 1895 *Musical Times* article remarks on "how completely [Hummel's] works have vanished from active life." In light of the Septet's performance history and extraordinary popularity, it does seem odd that it could disappear from public musical life within a matter of years. The linking of a composer's image with his compositions appears to have had—and perhaps still

⁴⁷⁵ A number of successful musicians have been described in unflattering terms. Mozart was not considered to have been good-looking, and Beethoven was, like Hummel, described as sloppy. The author of this dissertation is not arguing that Hummel's compositions exhibited the same genius as those of Mozart or Beethoven, but it is interesting to note that Mozart, who died young, and Beethoven, who went deaf, exhibited traits that fit well with the romantic sentiments. Hummel, a practical businessman who led a comfortable life and died wealthy, was antithetical to romantic sentiments. His image made him an easy

target and could be used against him in a way not possible with others. ⁴⁷⁶ "Mr. G. A. Clinton's concerts," *The Musical Times* 33, no. 590 (April 1, 1892): 216.

has—a great deal of power, whether for the good or ill of that composer. In Hummel's case, no matter the quality of the Septet, for a long time, it could not withstand being linked with its author.

Other common sense reasons for the Septet's decline are the work's unusual instrumentation and its extreme demands on the pianist. Chopin forbade, at least once, a student from working on the Septet because an octave passage hurt his hand. The Septet's instrumentation may be the prime factor in its comparative rarity of performance today. The evidence pointing away from instrumentation as a reason for the Septet's absence is found in the disappearance, until recently, of Hummel's music as a whole, including his trios and concertos, and in the fact that many performances of the Septet, perhaps even a majority, had earlier occurred in its quintet version.

In summation, Hummel's Opus 74 Septet is a fascinating work with a perplexing history. Reasons for its unusual past are certainly complex and not easily deciphered. It does appear, however, that at least some problems that Hummel's works have encountered are related to society's insistence that composers be judged on their entire output, which, in many eyes, until the late decades of the twentieth century, disqualified Hummel and his Septet from the ranks of the great.

⁴⁷⁷ Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger, *Chopin: Pianist and Teacher as Seen by his Pupils*, trans. Naomi Shohet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 29.

The Disassociation of the Students

The attacks on Hummel became stronger in the late nineteenth century and affected the recorded biographies of his students. Indeed, reading through various biographies in the Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians (1900) gives the impression that the effort to discredit Hummel was carried over in the writing about his students. The author of the entry on Hummel, Dannreuther, was also the author of the entry on Henselt, whose status as Hummel's student was slighted significantly. In order to affirm Hummel's place as an undesirable and yet give Henselt credit for his accomplishments, Dannreuther wrote the following:

[Henselt] had lessons from Hummel, but can hardly be called Hummel's disciple, since his method of treating the pianoforte differs as much from Hummel's as our concert-grands differ from the light Viennese instruments of 1820. Henselt's ways at the keyboard may be taken as the link between Hummel's and Liszt's; that is to say, with Hummel's strictly *legato* touch, quiet hands and strong fingers, Henselt produces effects of rich sonority something like those which Liszt gets with the aid of the wrists and pedals. . . . Henselt's way of holding the keys down as much as possible with the fingers, over and above keeping the dampers raised by means of the pedals, does not seem the most practical; for it necessitates a continuous straining of the muscles such as only hands of abnormal construction or fingers stretched to the utmost by incessant and tortuous practice can stand. . . . Nevertheless, be his method of touch needlessly cumbrous or not, if applied to effects à la Chopin and Liszt, the result under his own hands is grand; so grand indeed, that though his appearances in public have been fewer than those of any other celebrated pianist, he has been hailed by judges like Robert Schumann and Herr von Lenz as one of the greatest players. ⁴⁷⁸

Dannreuther's distancing Henselt from Hummel by stating that he could "hardly be called Hummel's disciple" is quite disingenious. As was shown earlier, Henselt was a student who took to his teacher's method and incorporated it very significantly in his playing style. And so Dannreuther had to concede that Henselt's technique resulted in part from Hummel's training, in particular his legato teaching. It's unconvincing that Dannreuther limits Hummel's impact on his student by claiming the abnormal size of Henselt's hands

⁴⁷⁸ Grove's Dicionary of Music and Musicians (1900).

forced him to develop his own playing technique. This speculation was uncritically echoed by Schonberg when he wrote "Hummel thought him [Henselt] a young anarchist, and Henselt thought Hummel was an old fogy."479 Based on the record of Henselt put forward in this dissertation, Schonberg's characterization is not based on any substantive source.

In the case of Hiller, the article in the Dictionary by Alfred Maczewski, attacks Hummel as a teacher:

His master's [Hummel's] criticisms on his early compositions were severe and disheartening, but Hiller proved the reality of his artistic impulse by never allowing himself to be discouraged.

Such a statement hardly fits with what Hiller said of Hummel, having brought up his kindness on more than one occasion.

Benedict's biographer, H. Sutherland Edwards, made an extraordinary error in his entry—blatantly obvious and yet repeated today. Edwards attempted to defend Benedict, one of England's leading musicians at the time, against his education with Hummel:

Sir Julius, born at Stuttgart, Nov. 27, 1804 . . . is one of the most eminent of the numerous foreign musicians who have settled in England since Handel's time. . . . After studying under Hummel, at Weimar—during which he saw Beethoven (March 8, 1827)—he was, in his 17th year, presented by the illustrious pianist to Weber . . .

Edwards justified Benedict's lessons with Hummel by hastily linking the tuition with Beethoven and writing nothing more of studies with the former. In stating this, the article reports that Benedict, born in 1804, began studies with Weber when he was seventeen (1821), after seeing Beethoven in 1827. Of course, it was Hiller who went with Hummel to visit Beethoven on that date.

⁴⁷⁹ P. 201.

The entry on Schoberlechner, by a Mrs. Julian Marshall, reveals an instance in which an attack on the subject of the article meant that further discrediting of Hummel was unwarranted. In this instance, the name of Beethoven was used to justify the attack:

Hummel composed for him [Schoberlechner] his 2^{nd} concerto in C, which he performed in public with success when only ten years old. . . . Beethoven [later denied Schoberlechner's request for a letter of recommendation because] he did not know Schoberlechner, and had no very high opinion of him, as he played chiefly bravura pieces, and pompously paraded all his titles and decorations, which gave occasion for many a sarcastic remark from Beethoven.

And in the case of Willmers, the article for whom was written by Grove himself, brevity implies that attacks are no longer necessary. In addition, the facts seem to speak for themselves, supporting the view that Hummel's legacy was no longer of value:

A pianist; pupil of Hummel and Fr. Schneider . . . He was at one time widely known both as a brilliant player and composer for the PF., and was teacher at Stern's school in Berlin from 1864-66. He then resided in Vienna, where he died insane, Aug. 24, 1878.

It is fascinating that much of the misinformation at the time is still repeated in the New Grove's Dictionary (2001) of today. For instance, in his article on Spohr, Clive Brown explains the loss of interest in Spohr's music with insightful commentary on Wagner's influence. Brown, however, also unwittingly echoes the remarks meant to discredit Hummel's name:

The Wagner cult, the rise of musical nationalism, and other developments at the beginning of the 20th century caused Spohr eventually to be relegated to the status of such composers as Hummel, with whom it would formerly have been unthinkable to compare him.

And finally, in his article on Hummel in the New Grove (2001), Sachs finds it necessary to echo the anti-Hummel editorial sentiments of the past when he states that Hummel, who was enormously successful for the most part, proved to be an example what one can achieve, despite being without "original genius."

Chapter IX: The Recent View: A Resurgence

Despite the efforts of those who have criticized Hummel, his music has never disappeared quite completely. As the clamor against Hummel reached its highest pitch in England near the end of the nineteenth century, Hummel's supporters still took a stand. An example may be found in the youngest of the three Röckel brothers, Joseph Leopold Röckel (1838-1923), who was born in London the year after Hummel died. Despite never having met Hummel, Röckel served as an advocate for Hummel during the last decade of the century and then presumably into the new century until the time of his death. An article in *The Musical Times* (1891) reveals the following:

In the course of a Lecture on Hummel, recently given at Bristol, Mr. J. L. Roeckel made some observations which are well worth noting in these days of monotonous pianoforte recitals. He said "he trusted the time was come, or very soon would come, when they might look forward to a reaction in favour of Hummel's music, and that they might find his music more often represented in their programmes in the place of those unfortunate—compositions he could hardly call them which they had to listen to now-a-days. He alluded to those Bach-Browns and Schubert-Jones and Weber-Robinsons, and all of that ilk (laughter). He thought he might venture to say that the monotony of our present pianoforte recital programmes—and all of them were alike, if they looked at them—might be very much broken if, instead of the compositions of the old harpsichord and organ writers—beautiful as these works were in their original form, but which, unfortunately, were arranged and tinkered up to date to suit the pianoforte, an instrument for which they were not written and upon which they were never intended to be played—they were given the compositions of more legitimate pianoforte writers, like Hummel, Moscheles, and Thalberg, and our own charming English writer, Sterndale Bennett."480

In Hummel's birth-city of Bratislava, loyalty toward Hummel remained as well. Hans von Bülow (a student of a Hummel student) and Anton Rubinstein (a colleague of Henselt's) were both in Bratislava in the 1880s for festivities leading up to the dedication of a new Hummel monument in 1887. One of the most important performances was an all-Hummel concert on 16 October 1887, which featured works like the Septet, selections from Hummel's opera Mathilde von Guise, and selections from his Ballet Paris und

⁴⁸⁰ Anonymous, "Facts, Rumours, and Remarks," *The Musical Times* 32, No. 582 (1 April 1891): 466.

Helena. That city also fostered support for the publication in 1934 of Karl Benyovzsky's favorable monograph on Hummel, quoted frequently by this author.

In the age of recordings, a new type of support for Hummel's music started to emerge. In his monograph *Giants of the Keyboard*, ⁴⁸² Victor Chapin wrote:

Recently, a radio station that features classical music made a survey to determine what were its listeners' favorite compositions. When the results were in, the name Hummel appeared on the list. This caused people to ask "Who is Hummel?" It was a reasonable question since Hummel's name was the only obscure one on the list, though, obviously, it had become a good deal less obscure since a recording of one of his piano concertos had been played by that radio station. 483

Chapin does not reveal the year of which he is speaking, though it must have been before his book was copyrighted in 1967. And this statement demonstrates what has always been true of Hummel—despite what the critics write of him, his music is still well-liked by many people who hear it. The renewed exposure that Hummel received through recordings can be documented through references to early recordings (before 1950) and to the number of recordings of Hummel's music year to year as recorded in the Schwann's *Long Playing Record Catalogs* from 1950 to 1990. One need only do an internet search to discover the status of Hummel recordings in the new Millennium.

Before 1950, nine recordings of Hummel's music are listed in Francis F. Clough and G. J. Cuming's *The World's Encycopaedia of Recorded Music*. The earliest known recordings are of Hummel's Rondo in E-flat, Op. 11, for piano, with that work having been recorded six different times by different pianists, some as early as the 1920s. Jascha Heifetz found enough value in the work to arrange it for violin and piano, a version that was recorded on two occasions before 1950. Hummel's String Quartet in G

⁴⁸¹ Kresánková, 46-50.

⁴⁸² New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1967. P. 55.

⁴⁸³ Ibid., 55

⁴⁸⁴ London: Sidgwick & Jackson Limited in association with The Decca Record Company Limited, 1952.

Major, Op. 30, No. 2, was also recorded before the 1950s, having been issued during the 1930s by the Coolidge Quartet.

It was in the year 1950 that the Septet was recorded for the first time, with information on the recording appearing in the 1950 Schwann catalog. At that time, it was the only Hummel recording listed, with the next work by Hummel not appearing until 1955: the Quartet in F, Op. 30, No. 2 (Hollywood Quartet). By 1956, a recording of Hummel's Piano Concerto in A Minor, Op. 85, with pianist Arthur Balsam had been released, and Hummel's Piano Concerto in B Minor, Op. 89, with pianist Stanislov Gallin was issued in 1962. In the 1960s, the number of recordings began to increase, and by January 1967, the year of Chapin's Giants of the Keyboard, a total of nine entries could be found in the Schwann Catalog, including such works, other than the Septet, as the B Minor Piano Concerto; a second recording of the A Minor Piano Concerto(with pianist Gattin); the Clarinet Quartet, S. 78; the Concerto in E-flat for Trumpet, S. 49; the Concerto in G for Mandolin, S. 28; the Piano and Violin Concerto in F Major, Op. 17; the Fantasy in G Minor for Viola, 2 Clarinets, and Strings; and the Quintet in E-flat Major, Op. 87. After the Bassoon Concerto in F, S. 63, appeared in 1969, two additional players recorded the Trumpet Concerto in 1970, and the Sonata in C for Mandolin and Piano, Op. 37, made a showing. The popularity of the concertos and the trend of a general upsurge in Hummel's music continued into 1971, when four different recordings of the Trumpet Concerto appeared, as did two recordings of the Bassoon Concerto, a new piano concerto (Op. 73), and a Rondo (Op. 98) for piano and orchestra. The 1971 list is made up of a total of thirteen entries. With the momentum of Hummel recordings already begun, within five years (1976) a total of nineteen recordings came out, with a trio, a sonata for

flute and piano, and a new piano concerto (Op. 110). Despite having been lambasted by Schumann almost 150 years earlier, Hummel's 24 Etudes, Op. 125, were released on recording in 1975.

With the trend already established, it may be necessary to comment on the general revival of obscure composers in recorded form. While Hummel's student Hiller and contemporary Moscheles also saw their work issued on recordings, it is important to note that many fewer works were recorded, and individual works were not recorded multiple times, as was the case with Hummel (especially his Trumpet Concerto). The efforts to record many of Hummel's works seemed rather deliberate, since by 1985, no fewer than twenty-six different works by Hummel were available (this does not include those recordings that had been discontinued), with multiple recordings of his Mandolin Concerto, Piano Concertos in A Minor and in G Major, both septets, his Sonata in Fsharp Minor, Op. 81, and ten different recordings of his Trumpet Concerto, including one played by Wynton Marsalis. The final Schwann catalog available for this study, that of summer, 1993, shows a total of thirty-six different works by Hummel, with, in addition to those already listed, multiple recordings of the Bassoon Concerto; Piano Concerto in in B Minor; Nocturne in F Minor for Piano, Four Hands, Op. 99; Quintet in E-flat, Op. 87; Rondo Brillant for Violin and Piano, Op. 126; the Cello Sonata, Piano Sonatas 1-6 and 9, and Variations in F for Oboe and Orchestra, Op. 102. As of July, 2006, a search for "classical" recordings by Hummel on amazon.com yielded a result of 375 recordings. While far fewer than the 9,811 recordings that come up when the name "Beethoven" is entered, Hummel's recordings beat out "Field," for which 293 recordings are listed, and Henselt, with a mere twenty-six recordings, pales in comparison. In the world of

recordings, Hummel's name can be approximated with that of Charles Ives. The "Ives" name brings up a total of 404 recordings.

In addition to recordings, the resurgence of interest in Hummel is demonstrated by the formation of the Hummel-Gesellschaft (Hummel Society) of Weimar. Officially sanctioned by the Thüringen State Government, the Society exists for the express purpose of preserving and promoting the music of Hummel. 485 The Yahoo Hummel group may be an outgrowth of the Hummel society, since its owner, Marianne Fleurimont, is a member. Those who participate in the group express an interest in new recordings of Hummel and discuss Hummel-related issues. In the most recent posting (11 July 2006), an excited member discussed the use of the music to Hummel's Trumpet Concerto in a Dutch television series. 486 The group's homepage 487 contains the following enthusiastic description of Hummel:⁴⁸⁸

Johann Nepomuk Hummel (1778-1837)

Mozart's Pupil, Chopin's Mentor.

Welcome to the Johann Nepomuk Hummel forum! Here, we invite you to explore the fascinating music and life of an extraordinary composer, whose longneglected works are finally enjoying a much deserved renaissance. Housemate and student of Mozart's during the last two years of Mozart's life, Hummel went on to enjoy fame and fortune as one of the best composer-pianists of his time. Haydn, Albrechtsberger, Clementi, and Salieri were his teachers. Beethoven was his fellow student, friend, and rival. Chopin, Mendelssohn, Liszt, Schubert, and Schumann all numbered in the train of his admirers and spiritual heirs. And during his lifetime, Hummel was proclaimed immortal.

⁴⁸⁵ The society's website is www.hummel-gesellschaft-weimar.de. At the time of this dissertation, the society had fifty-six members from seven countries.

⁴⁸⁶ *Lewis*, a detective series.

http://launch.groups.yahoo.com/group/johann_nepomuk_hummel/ accessed on 12 July 2006.

Although the site states that Hummel studied with Clementi, no evidence, other than Czerny's statement, has come to light regarding Hummel having tutelage under Clementi; and it would be difficult to argue that Schumann was an admirer, though in a separate posting (to

forum.classicalarchives.com/messages/2/212.html posted on 12 August 2004), Marianne Fleurimont argues that Schumann's love of Hummel's F-sharp Minor Sonata caused him to repent of his earlier "anti-Hummel period."

How could such a giant fall into oblivion for so long? That's a question we would also like to ask about Bach and Haydn.

Today, Hummel's music is coming back. Along with this renaissance, joy, vigor, and sanity return to music as well. The Johann Nepomuk Hummel Forum invites all music-lovers and Hummel-admirers to share their experiences, knowledge, opinions, and resources here with us. Let's spread happiness and joy, as Hummel once wished:

"Enjoy the world by giving joy to the world."

To the love of good music!

Hummel Hummel!

Marianne Fleurimont

(Heidelberg, Germany)

Member of the Hummel Gesellschaft Weimar Owner of the Johann Nepomuk Hummel Yahoo!Group

Fleurimont argues quite reasonably, if not passionately, that Hummel's music is enjoying a resurgence. In a final answer to an online debate over Hummel's merits, she observed "... being an amateur, and no professional, I can only say that Hummel's music makes me happy." Schumann actually prophesied this in his attack on Hummel's twenty-four etudes. In the article, Schumann (through the character of Eusebius) tears down Hummel quite thoroughly and ends with a statement comparing Hummel to the sun:

The situation is like this: if the sun is directly overhead, high and shining brightly, we dare not turn our face to look at it. However, we can dare to look at this sun [Hummel], since it is close to setting and its brightness does not dazzle us any more. And also, I have looked, but not without shading my eyes with my hand: and so I saw a hundred suns all around which reminded me of the ending of the day and to the coming of the night.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁹ Posted on forum.classicalarchives.com/messages/2/212.html on 13 August 2004.

^{490 &}quot;Die Davidsbündler: Hummel's Pianofortestudien," *Neue Zeitschrift fü Musik* 1, No. 19 (5 June 1834):
74. "Es ist so. Wenn die Sonne über unserm Haupt steht, hoch und leuchtend, so wagen wir nicht, ihr in's Gesicht zu sehen. Wir erkühnen uns aber dessen, wenn sie dem Untergange nahe ist, da der Glanz uns nicht mehr blendet. Auch ich habe das gethan, aber nicht ohne das Auge mit der Hand zu überdecken:

Before answering with further criticisms of Hummel, Schumann (through the character of Florestan) answers sarcastically:

Beautifully sentimental, Eusebius! You really make me laugh. And, if you turn all of your clocks back, then the sun will go up, just as before. 491

It seems that Schumann was wrong about setting the clocks back. They continue to move forward. But he was certainly right about the sun—Hummel—rising again.

denn ich sah hundert Sonnen ringsum, die mich an den erlöschenden Tag erinnerten und an die kommende Nacht "

⁴⁹¹ Ibid., 74. "Schönes Eusebiusgemüth, Du machst mich wahrhaftig zum Lachen. Und wenn Ihr alle Eure Uhrenzeiger zurückstellt, die Sonne wird nach wie aufgehen."

Postlude

Chapter X: Overview and Legacy

Hummel's pedagogical legacy is profound and diverse as this dissertation shows. The efficiency of this celebrated pianist as a teacher is evident from his monumental treatise. Although this work was received with qualifications by contemporary reviewers, whose objections were mainly to size, excessive detail, and price of the seminal work, that hardly put into question the status this work has had as a superb manual on teaching piano playing. However, rather than explore this instructional primer in all its aspects here, Hummel's effectiveness as a pedagogue of stature was traced in the influence he exerted on his students, like Adolf Henselt, Ferdinand Hiller, and Sigismond Thalberg, and even more telling, on those with whom he only had brief contact, like Chopin and Mendelssohn. In addition, a host of lesser-known students and adaptors of his approach were focused on for their role in spreading Hummel's teachings far beyond the German lands.

With Hummel's pedagogical legacy the main focus here, a precursory look at recording data of recent supports the conclusion that Hummel's music is staging a comeback. While this resurgence recognizes that his compositional output forms an important part of his legacy, Hummel's pedagogical activities from early on, as outlined in this dissertation, were an equal if not greater part of his livelihood and recognition. In his treatise, he made it clear that he saw himself and his views as a culmination of

historical pedagogical traditions, ⁴⁹² and that his purpose in conveying those views was to be of service to society. ⁴⁹³ Critical attacks on Hummel, particularly posthumous ones, often did not consider his context, and for the most part, focused on his role of composer, neglecting or completely overlooking his pedagogical contributions. However, affecting so many students and contemporaries alike, Hummel not only achieved his goal of serving society in a useful manner. He also succeeded in dispersing his precepts (mostly through his German and Austrian students who emigrated) throughout the world, with teachers still making use of his ideas even today, although not often is there an awareness of indebtedness to Hummel's teachings. Critical attacks on Hummel as composer and musician towards the end of his life and thereafter no doubt contributed to misconceptions of his effectiveness as a teacher. As a result, Hummel's legacy, as influential as it must be seen nowadays, suffered for a long time from neglect and misjudgments, and has remained almost invisible until now.

Hummel considered his treatise to be his greatest accomplishment, as did scores of musicians and critics contemporary to him. While the generation that followed may have succeeded in casting a shadow over his accomplishment, the pedagogical principles that he espoused continued to grow in the shadow of the Romantic movement that began during his lifetime. While Wagner's influence grew, and the debate between the "new German school" and the conservatives raged, Hummel's principles continued to be effective, often serving as an unnoticed or unacknowledged foundation upon which the careers of countless music students were built. No picture could be more telling of this than that of Wagner in Dresden working with Hummel's nephew, August Röckel, who he

 $^{^{492}}$ Hummel vol. 1, i-ii. Also see above, Chapter II: The Treatise. Genesis. 493 Ibid $\,$ ii

used for much needed playing expertise. Röckel, however, was trained by his uncle in foundational piano technique. The following scene is telling, as it juxtaposes the great composer and one of his deficiencies with the abilities of a Hummel trained pianist:

Wagner stands next to his piano, full of the idealism of his muse, with a freshly penned score in hand. He looks triumphantly at his assistant Röckel, and then down at his score with great intensity, before passing it on to Röckel to play, since Wagner cannot play it himself. 494

Hummel was not only effective as a piano teacher, his influence extended as well into each of the Romantic national schools, which were linked to his notion, expressed through his students, that pleasing an audience with works built on communicative (and often pre-existing folk) melodies was a noble cause. Hummel's general approach to pianism preserved a Golden Trio of concerns: vocal line, controlled legato, and gradation of touch. These central performance aesthetics were cherished by contemporaries like John Field, and pianists of the next generation, including Chopin, Henselt, and Thalberg. It was Hummel who had emphasized these ideas and whose system of teaching passed on this philosophical approach from the generation of classicism to the next. Despite the changes made to the piano over time, it is still a percussive instrument, and the principles of Hummel's approach on how to deal with these essential problems of the piano as an instrument remain the same throughout history—mastering the piano means to overcome its percussiveness by molding the instrument's hammers into appendages of the voice.

It is evident from the extensive discussions above that the "Russian" school, "French" school, "Italian" school, "English" school, and even "American" school (if there is just one), in addition to the "German" school of piano playing, all had their foundation in Hummel's pianistic principles, although various aspects may be

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⁴⁹⁴ This description is based on the account found in Praeger, 121.

emphasized differently in one place or another. As a result, Hummel's legacy lives on in a good number of twentieth-century pedagogues.

One of the more enduring examples of this inheritance and "hidden presence" of Hummel's legacy can be found in the teaching method of Isabelle Vengerova, who taught at the Curtis Institute in Philadelphia and the Mannes College of Music in New York. Although she was a student of Joseph Dachs at the Vienna Conservatory, of Theodor Leschetizky privately, and of Anna Yesipova in St. Petersburg (where she later taught at the Imperial Conservatory), her pedagogical system undoubtedly descended from that of Hummel.

Perhaps Vengerova's system came to her through the vestiges of Hummel left in Vienna. Or, perhaps it came through the example of Henselt in St. Petersburg, who taught at the Conservatory around the same time Yesipova was a student there. Whatever the case may be, her method, which is detailed in Robert D. Schick's *The Vengerova System of Piano Playing*, ⁴⁹⁵ contains the following technical principles: 1. Nonpercussive touch (fingers are to be close to the keys and in contact with them before playing—similar to Hummel principle of the "quiet" hand); 2. Flexible wrist (called "elasticity" in Hummel's circle); 3. Accents (see p. 73 for details on Henselts system of accents); 4. Quiet upper arm (unlike descriptions of Liszt); 5. Relaxation; 6. Weight; 7; Good legato. ⁴⁹⁶

In the more specific details of Vengerova's system, it may be observed that, as with Hummel, the normal position shows that wrist is level with the white keys. 497 In

⁴⁹⁵ University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1982. Also see Joseph Resitz, *Beloved Tyranna: the Legend and Legacy of Isabelle Vengerova* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995). ⁴⁹⁶ Schick, 12.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid., 17.

what is possibly a Henselt innovation, accents in twos, threes, fours, and eighths are done to develop technique.⁴⁹⁸ The fingering for double thirds (in D Major) that she preferred (she gave two possibilities),⁴⁹⁹ is the same as that suggested by Hummel on page 86 (vol. 2) of his treatise. She also taught students to use the thumb on black keys and to slide it down to a white key for a legato touch⁵⁰⁰ (Hummel gave similar instructions in vol. 2 of his method, p. 254: the same finger gliding from a black to a white key). In staccato passages, Vengerova taught mostly a non-percussive touch described as follows:

a) Depress the key with the finger; then lift it quickly from the key; b) Pluck the key with the finger as if snapping a rubber band. To accomplish this, pull the fingertip sharply inward toward the palm of the hand at the very moment when the key is being depressed. This keeps the fingertip in contact with the key only briefly and produces a very short tone.⁵⁰¹

Of couse, this sounds much like Hummel's description of how staccatos should be played. He wrote:

a) The keys are to be struck smartly by the fingers and quitted immediately, without lifting up the hand too far. b) When these marks appear over a series of quick notes, the hand must not be taken up at all; but the fingers must be hurried away from the keys, very lightly and in an inward direction. The greater the lightness with which these detached notes are played, the more pleasing the effect which they will produce. 502

For a beautiful legato, Vengerova had her students: a) substitute one finger silently for another; b) slide from black key to white; c) cross longer fingers over shorter ones; d) pass shorter fingers under longer ones.⁵⁰³ This, being very similar to what may be found in Hummel's table of contents, is also what Chopin is said to have been unique for teaching. Hummel's legacy in this is unmistakable.

Through Vengerova, Americans like Samuel Barber and Leonard Bernstein were trained in the piano technique of Hummel. Doubtless there were and are many other

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid., 26

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid., 57.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid., 61.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid., 65.

⁵⁰² Hummel vol. 1, 65. (By some strange coincidence, even the page number is the same!) ⁵⁰³ Ibid. 74.

pedagogues of piano whose approaches have not been as well documented as are those of Vengerova but who have knowingly, or even sometimes unconsciously, forwarded the gifts that Hummel bestowed on future generations. It seems most fitting that twentieth-century American pianism, like the Romantic schools of nationalism that preceded it, should have been founded, in good part, by the ever-less obscure, rotund, and somewhat unsightly German virtuoso from classical Bratislava. ⁵⁰⁴

This dissertation has demonstrated that Hummel's teaching and his legacy as an outstanding piano pedagogue lived on through the impact on his students and continued to exert influence far beyond what music history so far has considered to have been the obvious. Much of his influence has been misjudged or denied often on the basis of biased views of Hummel as a composer although that part of his musical legacy seems to be in the process of resurgence and revaluation. Hummel, a sensation in his time, primarily as a pianist and teacher but also as a composer, had a real and sustained impact on the history of music that has been overlooked because of shifting tastes, neglect and much biased assessment of his stature as a musician of repute who was during most of his lifetime regarded very highly. This dissertation has furthered previous scholarship in Hummel in the attempt to renew interest in a piano pedagogue who left an important legacy. However, in order to fully appreciate his influence and revaluate his standing as a teacher, more research in the historical roles of his students and subsequent generations of students might yield additional evidence of the significance of his legacy. This might, in time, allow for a more complete and just picture of Hummel's impact and overall importance. While the worthiness of Hummel's compositions will be enough to bring them recognition as the resurgence of his music continues, Hummel's pedagogical legacy

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⁵⁰⁴ Pressburg at the time.

will grow in recognition once past neglect and misconceptions are laid to rest and the full recognition of his diverse achievements will rehabilitate his stature as the consummate musician he was during his lifetime.

Appendix A: Biographical Timeline

- **1778:** Hummel is born in Pressburg/Pozsony (now Bratislava) on November 14.
- **1781:** Hummel begins instruction in the rudiments of music with his father.
- **1786:** The Hummel Family moves to Vienna. Hummel begins lessons with Mozart.
- **1787:** Hummel's Dresden debut (sponsored by Mozart).
- **1788:** Lessons with Mozart end. Hummel and father begin a trans-European concert tour.
- **1789:** Hummel and his father take up residence in Edinburgh, Scotland.
- **1790:** The Hummels move from Scotland to London where Hummel studies with Clementi.
- **1791:** Mozart dies. Hummel gives his first successful performance in London.
- **1792:** Hummel performs at the Salomon Concerts in London. The Hummels leave for Vienna
- **1793-1803:** Hummel studies with Haydn, Albrechtsberger, and Salieri as Beethoven's colleague.
- **1803:** Russian concert tour.
- **1804-11:** Hummel becomes, on Haydn's recommendation, concert master to the Esterházy court. Most of his sacred and dramatic music is composed during this period.
- **1816:** Hummel's Septet is premiered and published. He is appointed Kapellmeister in Stuttgart.
- **1818:** Hummel resigns his post in Stuttgart.
- **1819:** Hummel is appointed Kapellmeister in Weimar where he remains until his death. His reputation as a teacher attracts students to Weimar from all over Europe.
- **1821:** Publication of Hummel's Concertos in A Minor and B Minor, Opp. 85 and 89.
- **1822-26:** Concert tours of Russia, Holland, Belgium, France, and Germany.
- **1827:** Hummel is a pallbearer at Beethoven's funeral.
- **1828:** Franz Liszt performs the Septet in Paris. Treatise is published. Hummel meets Chopin in Warsaw.
- **1830-31:** Concert tours of France and England.
- **1832:** Felix Mendelssohn performs the Septet in London.
- **1833:** Hummel conducts the *Orchestra of the German Opera* in a series of London concerts.
- **1837:** Hummel dies in Weimar.

Appendix B: Translation of Hummel's Autobiographical Essay

Translated from the German by *The Musical World* Vol. XI, No. 161 April 11, 1839

A letter to Joseph Sonnleithner (1766-1835), secretary of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde (Society of Music Friends) in Vienna, in reply to a request from Sonnleithner for biographical information. The society was in the process of collecting information for a general biography of distinguished Austrian musicians. The letter, written by Hummel from Weimar, is dated May 22, 1826. The original letter housed in the manuscript division of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna.

My Dear Friend,

Excuse my having left your letter so long unanswered—the reason is, that it arrived here just as I had set off on a journey to Leipsic, [sic] Dresden, and Berlin, whence I have just returned. I now fulfil [sic] your wish with the greatest pleasure, the more especially as it tends to the glory of the imperial city, by celebrating the artist-talent that it has produced or cultivated.

I was born November 14, 1778 at Presburg. The particulars of my life, up to a certain period, you may find correctly given in the Conversations Lexicon. My father, who was a good musician, undertook the first development of my talent, which afterwards, from my 7th to my 9th year, had the advantage of Mozart's instructions. I then travelled with my father through Germany, Denmark, Holland, England, and Scotland. The encouragement I received on all sides, added to my own diligence and strong predisposition to music, spurred me forwards; as for what concerns the pianoforte, I was left with Mozart's instruction entirely to myself; and have been upon that instrument my own preceptor. My first attempts at composition were made about my 11th or 12th vear. and though they bear the impression of the taste of their day, and of the childhood of their author, they still show character, regularity, and a disposition for harmony, which is the more remarkable as I had not then received any instruction in composition. In my 15th year I returned to Vienna, studied counterpoint under Albrechtsberger, and enjoyed Salieri's instruction in vocal composition, more particularly in an aesthetical and philosophical view of it. During these my studious years, I worked mostly in quiet for my own improvement, seldom publishing anything; the three fugues Op. 7, and the variations Op. 8 were what first drew upon me the observation of the connoisseur world. As I had already acquired the first place as a player at Vienna, I was much occupied in teaching. My pupils were so numerous that for ten years I taught daily from nine to ten hours; and in order to improve in composition, I accustomed myself to be at my writing desk, both in winter and summer, by four o'clock in the morning, as I had no other time left.

From 1794 to 1814 I gave up playing in public at Vienna, as many circumstances stood in the way of it, and I had moreover lost the inclination; I, however, still continued

to extemporise in private circles, among my friends and the more devoted amateurs of the art. During these years I produced compositions of almost every species, that have had the applause of connoisseurs as well as amateurs, and have gradually established my reputation in foreign countries. In 1803 Joseph Haydn got me appointed to the service of the Duke of Wurtemberg; as, however, the duke afterwards altered his mind, and (for a reason with which few persons are acquainted) would not engage any new kapellmeister from Vienna, Haydn, then becoming very old, recommended me to his own master Prince Nicholas Esterhazy, as concertmeister, to supply his place in his declining years. I remained attached to this establishment, which consisted of nearly one hundred musicians, till its breaking up in 1811.

From this time I lived privately in Vienna till 1815, when I once more appeared in public as a player. The year after, when the wars had disappeared, I was seized with an inclination to travel, and made a musical tour to Prague, Dresden, Leipsic, Berlin, and Breslaw, where I was received with such applause and distinction, that I had resolved to go to England, and to stay there for a term of years; on returning to Vienna, however, I found lying for me the commission of royal kapellmeister to the King of Wurtemberg. I altered my plan, and accepted of the engagement which seemed to open to me a fine field for exertion—however, before I had been installed four weeks in my new appointment, the king, who was a distinguished connoisseur, died, and after remaining two years and a half, I resigned the place, and accepted that of Weimar instead, where I am still established as kapellmeister, under the auspices of the accomplished Grand Duke, and of my distinguished pupil, the Grand Duchess.

Since 1816 I have made many musical tours through Germany, Holland, Russia, and France, in all of which I have had the greatest success. I have had the honour to be appointed a member of the society 'Les enfans d'Apollon' in Paris, and also of another society in Geneva; a medal with my bust has likewise been struck in Paris. The number of my printed works, large and small, hitherto amount to 110, and consist of pieces for the chamber, the concert-room, the church, and the theatre; besides these I possess a great number of unprinted vocal and church compositions, and also an extensive theoretical and practical school for the pianoforte which I have just completed. You have here, my dear friend, all that I can inform you respecting my artist-life, and it will give me great pleasure to learn that it has answered your purpose.

[My wife and children (namely, two sons) convey their best regards. Grant me the certainty that I have persisted in honoring you with my excellent compliments]⁵⁰⁵

Faithfully yours, 506

J. N. Hummel

-

Does not appear in the 1839 article. Translation by the author of this dissertation.

⁵⁰⁶ Originally "Ihr ergebenster Dr. J. N. Hummel," which translates better as "Your obedient servant, Dr. J. N. Hummel."

Appendix C: List of Students and Pedagogical Adherents

Students and others influenced by Hummel pedagogically are listed below by primary country/region of occupation. Only one country is listed per person even though some names, like Thalberg, qualify for placement in more than one region.

German Territories

Anger, Louis
Baake, Ferdinand Gottfried
Czerny, Carl
Eberwein, Max Karl
Hauck, Wenzel
Heckel, Karl Ferdinand
Hiller, Ferdinand
Hummel, Eduard
Kühmstedt, Friedrich Karl
Mendelssohn, Felix
Mozart, Franz Xaver
Röckel, August
Schmidt, Gustav
Schornstein, Hermann
Silcher, (Philipp) Friedrich

USA

Hoffman, Richard Zeuner, Charles

Willmers, Rudolf

Hungary

Bräuer, Ferenc Mosonyi, Mihály

England

Benedict, Julius Engel, Carl Mangold, Karl Georg Maxwell, George Praeger, Ferdinand Röckel, Eduard

France

Chopin, Frédéric Farrenc, Louise Thalberg, Sigismond

Russia

Hartknock, Karl Eduard Henselt, Adolph Schoberlechner, Franz

<u>Italy</u>

Unia, Giuseppe

Appendix D: Hummel's Appearance





Image by E. Grünler from the Second Edition of Hummel's Piano Treatise (German-language version)

From early on, Hummel had an astounding career as piano virtuoso. His appearance, commented upon unfavorably in several accounts, did not hinder his successful career. However, it did seem to serve as fodder for those attacking his legacy after his death. Paintings of Hummel by E. Grünler, H. Müller, Carl Hummel, and others (originals or which are in the archive of the Goethe-Museum, Düsseldorf) do not necessarily support fully the negative descriptions of Hummel made by his contemporaries, but artists at the time often edited out uncomely features (like pockmarks). The two descriptions of Hummel below differ in their emphasis. Hiller, who was quite fond of Hummel, his teacher, tries to give a more balanced view. The former first met the later for the first time in 1825, when Hummel was age forty-seven. Czerny, who describes a first impression he received as a young boy, contrasts Hummel's appearance with his playing style, and thus emphasizes his negative features in order to demonstrate his surprise at Hummel's extraordinary manner of playing. Czerny's description is of Hummel sometime between the years of 1801 and 1804, when the later was in his early twenties.

Ferdinand Hiller's description, extracted from his book *Künstlerleben*, p. 4:

As is well known, Hummel's features were not comely; his forehead carried the stamp of his intelligence and his hair was a strikingly handsome chestnut brown, however, his cheeks were too thick, full of pockmarks, and the two halves of his face were not in correct ratio to each other. His deep-set blue eyes had, however, an extremely hearty, kind expression, and they shone as transfigured if he was in good spirits while sitting at the piano. Calling him rather big (his figure was actually corpulent) was a roughly appropriate way of describing his features. Despite his looks, he exerted a great appeal on all the world, and later I saw him showered with homages of every kind, in Vienna as well as in Paris, in which the admiration that was demonstrated was due not only to his talent, but also to the warm sympathy that his character aroused.

Hummel hatte bekanntlich kein schönes Äußere; seine Stirn trug den Stempel der Intelligenz, sein Haar war von auffallend hübscher, kastanienbrauner Farbe, aber die Wangen waren zu stark, von Blatternarben besäet und die beiden Hälften des Antlitzes standen nicht in richtigen Verhältniß zu einander. Die tiefliegenden blauen Augen hingegen hatten einen überaus innigen, lieben

Ausdruck und leuchteten wie verklärt, wenn er gut aufgelegt am Flügel saß. Eher groß zu nennen, war seine Gestalt doch zu corpulent, um etwa gut zu machen, was die Züge verbrachen. Trotz alledem übte er eine große Anziehungskraft auf alle Welt aus und ich sah ihn später, sowohl in Wien wie in Paris, von Huldigungen aller Art überschüttet, in welchem sich nicht allein die Bewunderung kundgab, die seinem Talente gebührte, sondern auch die warme Sympathie, welche seine Persönlichkeit hervorrief

Carl Czerny's description of Hummel, extracted from his *Erinnerungen aus Meinem Leben*, p. 18, translation by Ernest Sanders in *The Musical Quarterly* (July 1956), p. 308:

His unpleasant, common-looking face, which twitched constantly, and his utterly tasteless clothing (a light-gray coat, a long scarlet vest, and blue trousers) seemed to indicate that he was some village schoolmaster. But the many valuable diamond rings he wore on almost all fingers provided a most peculiar contrast . . . what an accomplished pianist he turned out to be! Even though I had already had so many opportunities to hear [Joseph] Gelinek, [Joseph] Lipavsky, [Joseph] Wölffl, and even Beethoven, the playing of this homely fellow seemed like a revelation. Never before had I heard such novel and dazzling difficulties, such cleanness and elegance in performance, or even so much good taste in improvisation.

Ein gemeines, unangenehmes Gesicht, mit dem er beständig zuckte, eine höchst gemschacklose Kleidung, lichtgrauer Überrock, scharlachrote lange Weste und blaue Beinkleider ließen irgendeinen Dorfschulmeister vermuten. Aber dagegen stachen sonderbar eine Menge kostbarer Brillantringe ab, die er fast an allen Fingern trug. . . . Aber welch einen Meister hörte ich da! Obwohl ich damals schon oft Gelegenheit gehabt hatte, den Gelinek, Lipavsky, Wölfl und selbst Beethoven zu hören, schien mir das Spiel dieses so unscheinbaren Menschen eine neue Welt. Noch nie hatte ich so neue glänzende Schwierigkeiten, eine solche Reinheit, Eleganz und Zartheit des Vortrags und eine so geschmackvoll zusammengesetzte Fantasie gehört.

Both descriptions remark on the uncomeliness of Hummel's face (which does not look so bad in the picture above), but both descriptions also mention his strengths, which, in the eyes of most of his contemporaries, most certainly outweighed his appearance. For Hiller, Hummel's features were highlighted by his intelligence and kindness, while Czerny was simply astounded by his pianistic skills. The contrast of Hummel's appearance with his strengths serves well as a metaphor for his piano treatise, which, while long and cumbersome, still exhibits the intelligence and elegant playing style of its author.

Appendix E: Charles Zeuner's Overlooked Contributions to American Music

The Newland/Zeuner Collection at the Library of Congress: Works by Hummel

Box 8:

- 1. Grande Sonate pour Pianoforte, Op. 20
- 2. La bella Capricciosa pour le Pianoforte
- 3. Neue Wiener Walzer für's Forte-Piano in Musik Gesetzt von J. N. Hummel
- 4. Rondeau pour le Piano Forté
- 5. Souvenirs de Paganini Fantaisie pour le Piano-Forte
- 6. Trois Airs Anglais Variés pour le Piano-Forte Oeuvre 120. No.1 – The Ploughboy

Box 18:

1. Six grandes symphonies de W. A. Mozart arrangées pour le Piano Forte avec accompagnement de Flûte, Violon et Violoncelle par J. N. Hummel. No. 5

Box 27:

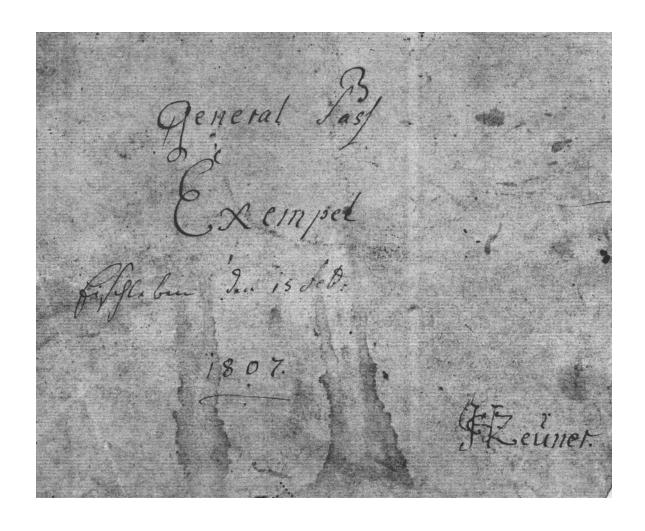
1. Messe Solenne in E-flat

Box 28

- 1. March Jubilato (violin parts only)
- 2. March Romain (violin parts only)

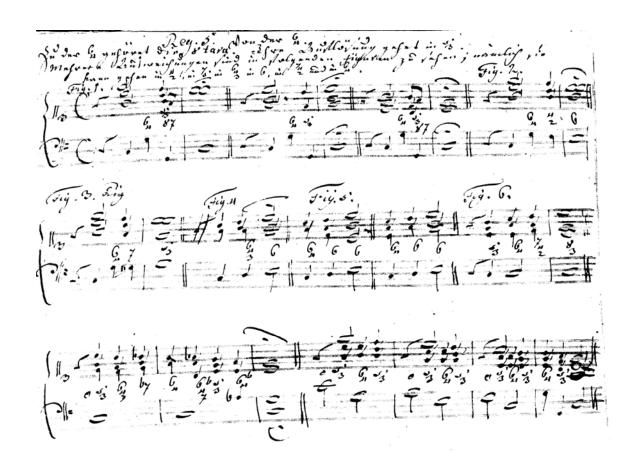
Zeuner's figured bass manual from 1807

Front Cover



Zeuner's figured bass manual from 1807

Pg. 44

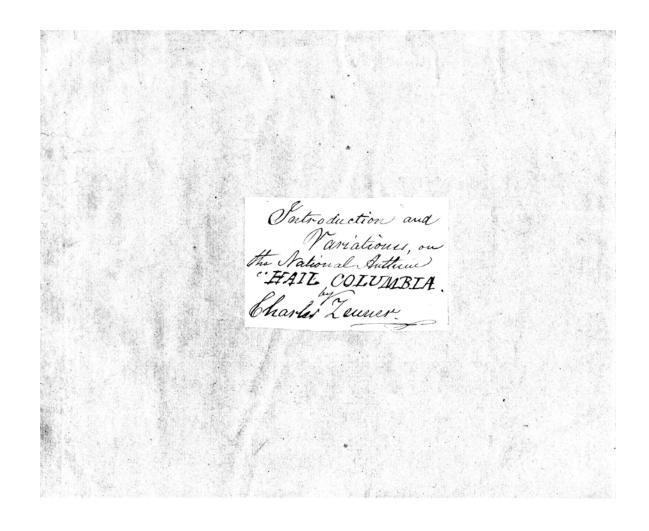


Similar to the "Thorough Bass" chapter of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, ⁵⁰⁷ these exercises demonstrate Zeuner's solid grounding in German tradition.

 $^{^{507}}$ Compare with page 231 of C.P.E. Bach's *Essay*, William J. Mitchell, ed. & trans. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1949). Both deal with the 6/4 chord and its resolution to 5/3.

Unpublished Holograph:

Zeuner's Variations on "Hail Columbia" Musical Example 28

















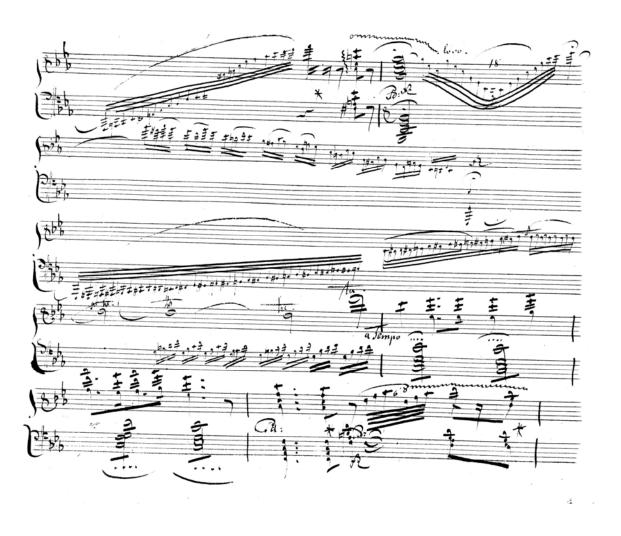






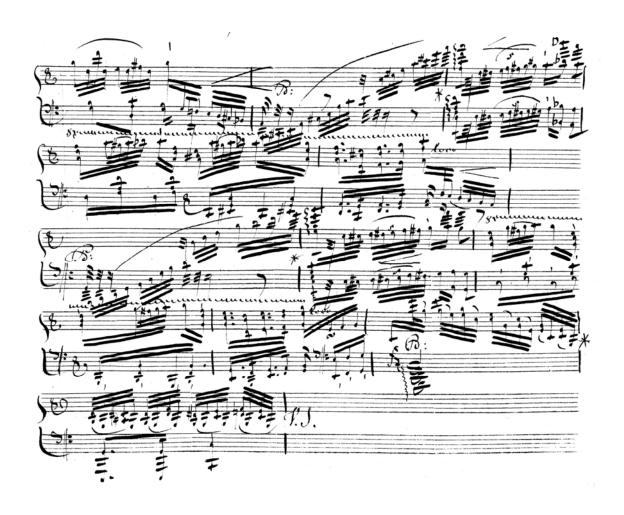






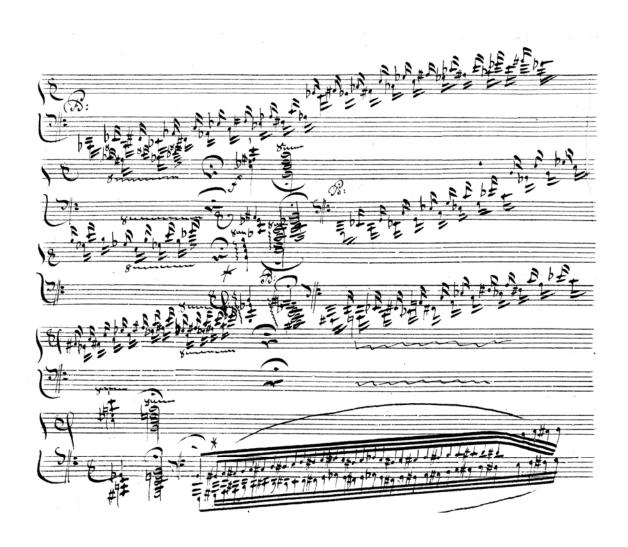


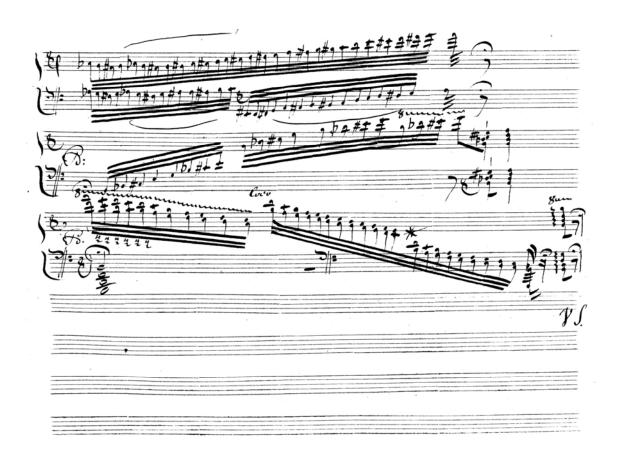


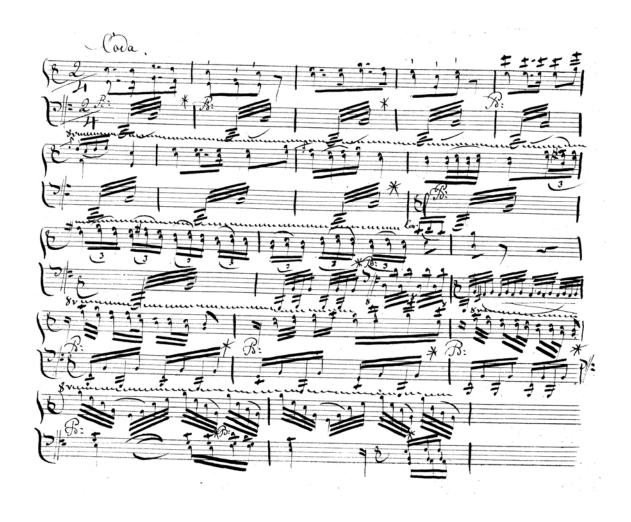














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