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ON CHOPIN EDITIONS AS DISCRETE SOURCES

THE BAUDISSIN-HENKEL-PUSCH EXEMPLAR OF THE ETUDES, OP. 10

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Are Chopin's first editions a relatively neglected musicological resource? Considering the primary sources of the composer's music, copies of early printed editions of his music far outnumber manuscript sources of it. Great numbers of Chopin's first editions inhabit the collections of national libraries, prominent research institutions and private owners. With frequency, Chopin's first editions appear for sale in the antiquarian marketplace. In the face of this abundant supply, we might profitably ponder if we have thought capaciously enough about the historical and cultural significance of these printed texts.

To consider different modes of engagement with the printed sources of Chopin's music is to acknowledge the remarkably abundant, detailed and insightful bibliographical resources that permit novel approaches in the first place. In an essay 'Chopin's Errors', published near the start of the present millennium, I praised what already was a profusion of resources, and since then our bibliographical assets have multiplied, with the appearance of Christophe Grabowski and John Rink's *Annotated Catalogue of Chopin's First Editions*, its transmutation into a continually-updated website on Chopin Online, and the publication of Bertrand Jaeger's extraordinary and richly informative *catalogue raisonnée* of his own collection of Chopin imprints.[1] These recent resources, and those that preceded them, not only enable increasingly deep and detailed insights in traditional text-critical contexts, they encourage alternative modes of assigning sense and meaning to Chopin's printed texts.

We now know much about the conception and production of Chopin's first editions, about Chopin's own compositional and business practices as they related to the publication of his works, about international commerce in music publishing, and about the legal decisions and understandings that affected publishing practices in Chopin's lifetime. Armed with this knowledge, scholars have pored over Chopin's printed editions largely for evidence of 'Chopin's hand': figuratively, for evidence pertaining to Chopin's conceptions of his works (evidence that then informs modern critical editions, studies of his compositional process, inferences about his business acumen, and considerations of his relationships with wealthy associates and patrons), and literally, for

1 Jeffrey Kallberg, 'Chopin's Errors', in Jacqueline Waeber (ed.), *La note bleue: Mélanges offertes au Professeur Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2006), 11–12; Christophe Grabowski and John Rink, *Annotated Catalogue of Chopin's First Editions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Chopin Online: https://chopinonline.ac.uk/, and therein AC Online: https://chopinonline.ac.uk/aco/; Bertrand Jaeger, *L'œuvre de Frédéric Chopin: Manuscrits – Partitions annotées – Bibliographies et Catalogue d'une collection d'éditions anciennes* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2020).

evidence pertaining to changes Chopin made in his texts, through interventions with his publishers or through annotations made in copies of editions owned by his pupils and acquaintances. The information thus quarried supports some of the most important Chopin scholarship of the last half century.

In most of this scholarship, discussions or descriptions of any particular printed source (or any particular state of that source) invoke the class to which that source belongs, rather than any individual copy of that source. Thus (choosing an entirely typical example), when, in the critical commentary to his edition of the Preludes, Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger observes that, in the fifth Prelude, bar 30, the 'pedalling to beat 2' derives from 'F2' (or in the nomenclature of the *Annotated Catalogue*, '28/1-12-1a-C'), he sensibly intends the reference to apply to all exemplars of the class labelled 'F2' or '28/1-12-1a-C', rather than to a specific, single source from within that class.[2] And this reasoning makes perfect sense, given the nature of printing practices in Chopin's time, whereby all exemplars of any given class of an edition normally derived from the same set of plates.

When Chopin scholars have considered individual exemplars from a particular class, they nearly always have done so in order to shed light on the composer's understanding (at some stage) of the work in question. Most familiarly scholars have explored handwritten entries found in copies of editions that Chopin used in lessons with his pupils. Returning again to Eigeldinger's edition of the Preludes, the critical commentary contains references to the Stirling, Jędrzejewicz and Scherbatoff copies of F2 (F-Pn: Rés. Vma 241 (IV, 28 (1-2)), PL-Wtifc: M/276; US-CAh, the Houghton Library: fMus. C 4555. B 846c) as well as to the Dubois copy, made up of both 'F3' (= 28/1-12-1c-BR) and F2 (F-Pn: Rés. F 980 (I,3)).[3] Less common are those references in the literature to particular states that only exist in a single copy, like the proof sheets of the Etudes, Op. 10 No. 2 that Chopin heavily annotated (10/2-0-Sm; F-Po: Rés. 50 (4)).

While such studies should and doubtless will continue to dominate the Chopin literature, early printed sources of Chopin's music have the potential to inform other realms of scholarship beyond those that engage with compositional intent and with critical editions. To date, the most significant kind of work to explore alternative modes of meaning has taken place in reception studies, with the sterling exemplar now being Wojciech Bońkowski's recent, authoritative investigation into the 'history of editions of Chopin's works as cultural texts'.[4] Bońkowski makes an extended, convincing case for the changing aesthetic, cultural and historical values conveyed by various editions of Chopin's music issued in the nineteenth century, a case that casts important light on economic and legal questions, on trends in performance, on the changing status of women in music and on national perspectives in editing. Bońkowski's study resonates strongly with that important strand of Chopin research which explores those meanings (generic, cultural,

2
Fryderyk Chopin, *Préludes Op. 28, Op. 45*, ed. Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger (London, Peters, n.d.), 64; Grabowski and Rink, *Annotated Catalogue*, 204.

3
Chopin, *Préludes*, ed. Eigeldinger, 63–67.

4
Wojciech Bońkowski, *Editions of Chopin's Works in the Nineteenth Century: Aspects of Reception History* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2016), 9.

historical, gendered, and so forth) that emerge from the ways that performers, audiences and listeners engaged with Chopin's music. Of course, and of necessity, Bońkowski's monograph also deals largely with editions as collective classes.

In this essay, I want to explore a consequence of Bońkowski's approach, one that tackles the reception history of Chopin through a discrete, individual printed source, rather than through the group or class to which it belongs. In essence, I attempt a brief microhistory of an individual exemplar, with the goal of situating it in a network that does not necessarily afford the composer a governing role.

In framing the issue in this particular way, I want to acknowledge the important recent scholarship (and echo the words) of Fabio Morabito, who has studied sets of instrumental parts that Pierre Baillot and his associates used in performances of string quartet repertory in Paris in the first half of the nineteenth century. In one article, Morabito examines annotations in the separate parts for two late Beethoven quartets, Opp. 127 and 130, and documents the efforts in rehearsals of Baillot and his colleagues to decode—to seek a comprehensible 'language' in—these novel and difficult works, so that they might properly coordinate the complex interactions of their instruments.[5] In the other, Morabito scrutinises the annotated parts for evidence of modes of chamber-music performance that, in endeavouring to bring scores to life, were deeply aligned with existing notions of theatricality.[6] These studies demonstrate the viability of examining printed exemplars of music as individual, discrete sources and, in so doing, situate the study of musical imprints within the larger context of the material history of the book, which has long directed attention to individual copies of particular imprints.

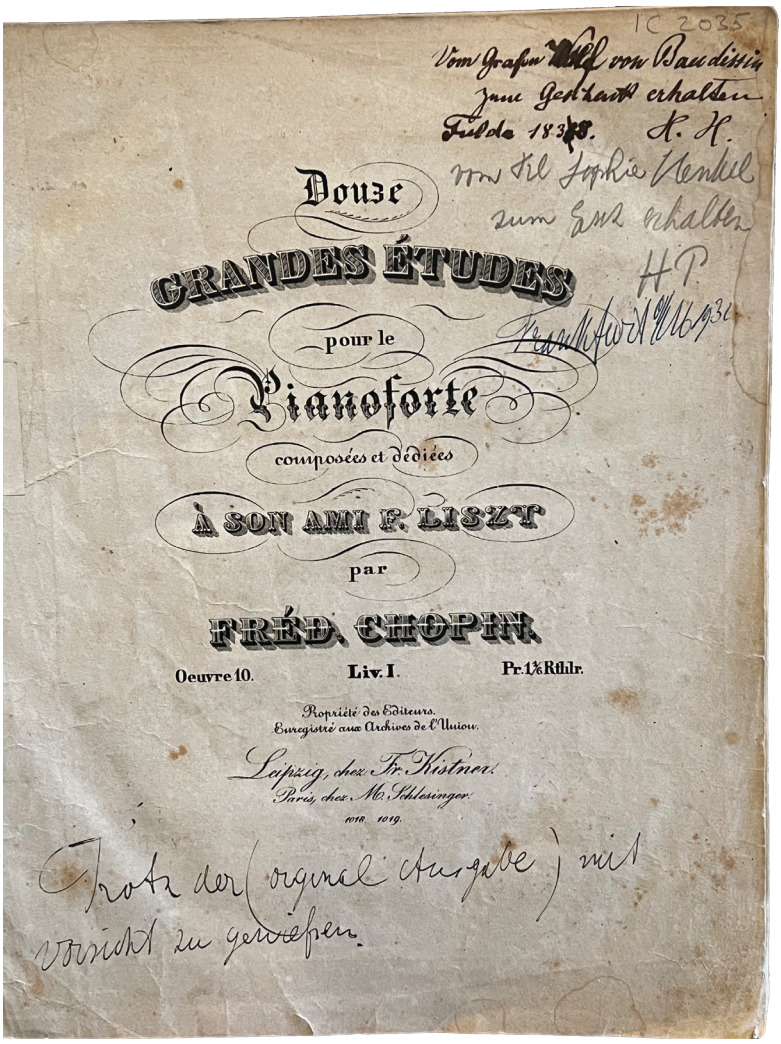
The Source

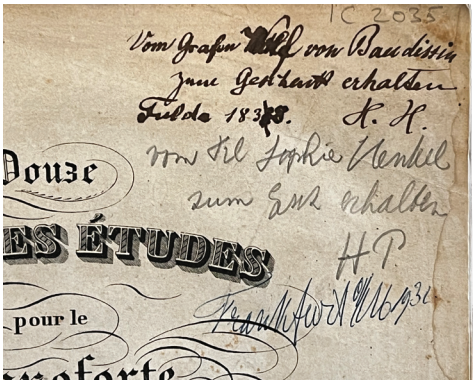
Our focus falls on an exemplar of the Kistner edition of the Etudes, Op. 10, currently housed in a private collection in Wynnewood, Pennsylvania (US). When Kistner published this edition in Leipzig in 1833, he did so in two separate instalments, sold separately, the first containing Etudes 1–6, the second containing Etudes 7–12. The exemplar in question contains both instalments. Details on their title pages as well as in the engraved musical texts identify the exemplar as the 'corrected reprint' of the first German edition, labelled '10/1-6-1a-KI' and '10/7-12-1-KI' in the *Annotated Catalogue*.[7] Kistner offered this state of the Etudes for sale up to 1840, when he issued a second edition of them. While the title pages of each instalment are lithographed, the musical texts are all engraved. The bindings of each instalment show evidence of repair and reinforcement. Foxing appears throughout both instalments.

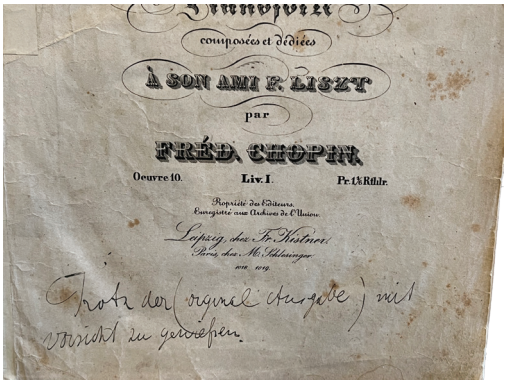
5
Fabio Morabito, 'Rehearsing the Social: Beethoven's Late Quartets in Paris, 1825–1829', *Journal of Musicology* 37 (2020), 349–382; see in particular p. 357, where Morabito writes 'I see an opportunity to write a history of hands in which the composer is not granted a more defining role than other agents in the network'.

6
Fabio Morabito, 'Theatrical Marginalia: Pierre Baillot and the Prototype of the Modern Performer', *Music & Letters* 101 (2020), 270–299. For more general information on annotated string parts from the nineteenth century, see the CHASE (Collection of Historical Annotated String Editions) website maintained by the University of Huddersfield: https://mhm.hud.ac.uk/chase/.

7
See https://chopinonline.ac.uk/aco/catalogue/etudes-opus-10/. The distinction between '1a' in the first instalment and '1' in the second reflects the fact that no exemplar of the original version of the second instalment has been found.







Figures 1–3. Fryderyk Chopin, Etudes, Op. 10, Fr. Kistner, Leipzig, private collection in Wynnewood, Pennsylvania (US), title page

The exemplar features copious handwritten inscriptions and annotations, beginning on the title page and continuing through most of the individual numbers of the opus (annotations are found in numbers 1 to 8, and number 12). Several of the annotations are verbal in nature and help establish the provenance of the source. In terms of this provenance, the most helpful of these verbal inscriptions appear on the title page of the first instalment (see Figure 1). In the top right corner, in dark brown ink, we read 'Vom Grafen Wolf von Baudissin/zum Geschenk erhalten/Fulda 1838. H.H.' ('From Count Wolf von Baudissin/received as a gift/Fulda 1838. H.H.'; Figure 2, top). As we will see below, we can further narrow down when in 1838 when Baudissin presented 'H.H.' this gift to a roughly four-week period in the autumn. Immediately below the first memorial note, in pencil and in a different hand, appears 'Vom Frl. Sophie Henkel/zum Gsch [= 'Geschenk'] erhalten/H.P.' ('From Miss Sophie Henkel/received as a gift/H.P.'; Figure 2, lower). Underneath this, in blue ink, in a third hand, 'Frankfurt a/M 1931'. The same hand that wrote the second inscription in pencil (presumably that of 'H.P.') appears to have also added an interesting admonition in grey-black ink at the bottom of the title page: 'Trotz der (original Ausgabe) mit Vorsicht zu geniessen' ('Despite the (original edition), it should be enjoyed with caution'; Figure 3).

To whom do the initials 'H.H.' and 'H.P.' belong? A pencilled comment in the hand of 'H.P.' from later in the exemplar identifies 'H.H.': 'Heinrich Henkel hat hier schon mein Fingersatz vor geahnt [*sic*]' ('Heinrich Henkel had already foreshadowed my fingering here'; Figure 4). (We will explore this comment in detail below.) Sophie Henkel was Heinrich's daughter. A quick survey of her

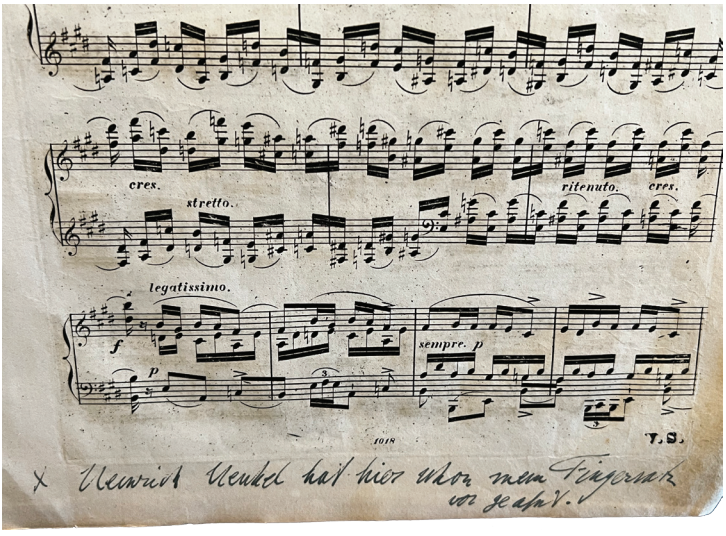


Figure 4. Fryderyk Chopin, Etude in E major, Op. 10 No. 3, Fr. Kistner, Leipzig, private collection in Wynnewood, Pennsylvania (US), p. 13

biography suggests a plausible candidate for 'H.P.'. Sophie Henkel was a notable pianist and pedagogue, and led a music school in Frankfurt am Main. We know that in 1908, she took on a co-director named Henri Pusch, and his close business proximity to Henkel suggests that Pusch is likely to be our 'H.P.'.[8]

Hence the bare facts of provenance of the exemplar: in 1838, Heinrich Henkel received this exemplar in Fulda as a gift from Wolf Graf von Baudissin. It then made its way into the possession of Heinrich's daughter, Sophie Henkel. Sophie Henkel in turn presented it as a gift to her colleague Henri Pusch, possibly in Frankfurt am Main in 1931. Considering this provenance, it makes sense henceforth to refer to this source as the Baudissin-Henkel-Pusch exemplar.

Beneath these raw data inscribed onto the exemplar lie interesting stories, narratives that reveal a largely unrecognised (among Chopin scholars, at least) connection between Chopin and an important German diplomat and translator, and that help us understand better how pianists actually engaged with Chopin's musical texts in the first century of their existence. Let us begin by considering the man who bestowed the gift of Chopin's Etudes on a young pianist in Fulda.

Wolf Graf Baudissin

Known today principally as a translator of Shakespeare and Molière into German, Wolf Heinrich Graf von Baudissin (1789–1878) led a fascinating life, two aspects of which are particularly relevant to our understanding of this exemplar of the Etudes.[9] First is that he was a passionate connoisseur of music, and an equally ardent participant in the broader European cultural sphere.[10] Second is that he spent a period of eight months in Paris in 1836–1837, where he socialised with Chopin and heard the composer perform in private salon settings.

Baudissin possessed an impeccable musical pedigree. A student of the piano from his early boyhood, while at university in Göttingen he was able to take piano lessons from Johann Nikolaus Forkel. Baudissin had nourished a passion for Bach even before studying with Forkel, and, given Chopin's own grounding in Bach, we can imagine that Baudissin's lifelong interest in Bach helped establish a basis for his profound admiration of Chopin's music.[11]

Playing the piano and music-making more generally figured centrally throughout his life. While resident in Dresden, he and his wife Julia maintained a regular artistic

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Pusch was born and died in the Netherlands, a fact that may explain a further set of occasional annotations to the musical text pencilled in Dutch (e.g. in the bottom margin referring to beat 4 of bar 31 of Op. 10 No. 5: 'NB geen ♮ voor A'), which suggest a Dutch-speaking owner, possibly at some point after the 1931 date in the last inscription on the title page. Further, that the exemplar was purchased by the present owner in July 2009 from the music antiquarian Frits Ham of Loosdrecht (NL) may indicate that the exemplar remained in that country from the time of Pusch's death in 1957 until 2009.

9
There are two excellent contemporary biographies of Baudissin: Bernd Goldmann, *Wolf Heinrich Graf Baudissin: Leben und Werk eines großen Übersetzers* (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1981), and John Sayer, *Wolf Graf Baudissin 1789–1878: Life and Legacy* (Zurich: Lit, 2015).

10
Born in Denmark to ancient nobility of German origin, Baudissin studied law in German universities (principally in Göttingen) before being drawn into Danish diplomatic service by elder family members, and eventually into the management of estates that he had inherited. But even as a student, it was clear that Baudissin's emotional and intellectual predilections gravitated to the sphere of culture, and especially music and literature (Sayer, *Baudissin*, 23). He cultivated high cultural figures across Europe, including the likes of Schlegel, de Staël and Tieck, and figured centrally in the salon life of the day. It was his meeting with Tieck in Dresden that led to his role as translator of Shakespeare – the so-called Tieck-Schlegel translations of Shakespeare were in large part the work of Baudissin (he was responsible for 13 of the translations of plays published under Tieck's name); see John Sayer, 'Briefe und Tagebuchblätter von Gräfin C***: Clotilde von Stockhausen's Diary Comes Back to Light', *German Life and Letters* 71/1 (2018), 10.

11
On Baudissin's studies in piano and his relationship to Forkel, see Sayer, *Baudissin*, 26.

salon (at which Clara Wieck was a regular visitor), and he was an early member of the Sächsischer Kunstverein.[12] His family (including adopted daughters Bella and Clothilde) all developed skills at the piano.[13]

Following the tragic death of his wife Julia from scarlet fever in March 1836, Baudissin left with his adopted children for what turned out to be an extended stay in Paris. It was through his acquaintance there with Bodo von Stockhausen, plenipotentiary diplomat for the Kingdom of Hanover and relatively recent recipient of the dedication of Chopin's Ballade, Op. 23, that Baudissin came into Chopin's social circle.[14] Possessed of an intense passion for music more generally and deeply involved personally with the piano, Baudissin was enthralled by hearing Chopin play in intimate settings. In his diaries, Baudissin recorded impressions of four separate encounters with Chopin:

> 28 Januar 1837: Dann zu Chopin dessen rührender wundervoll durch alle Farben nüancirter Ton uns zu Thränen brachte. An die Schwierigkeit denkt man gar nicht mehr bey seinem Spiel, s[on]d[ern] nur an die Schönheit. Lieder die er uns vorgespielt. Er sieht sehr hectisch aus, u. wird fürchte ich nicht lange leben.[15]
> [January 28, 1837: Then on to Chopin, whose touching, wonderfully nuanced tone brought us to tears. With his playing, you no longer think about difficulty, but only about beauty. Songs that he played for us. He looks very tubercular, and I fear he won't live long – tr. Gavin Dixon.]
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> Sonntag den 12ten Februar [1837:] . . . zu Stockhausen gefahren. Wir gingen zu Chopin, den wir im Enthusiasmus über sein neues Piano trafen: seine Freude und sein süßes Spiel reflectirten sich auf seinem angenehmen Gesicht.[16]
> [Sunday February 12th [1837:] . . . travelled to see Stockhausen. We went to see Chopin, who when we met was enthusiastic about his new piano: his joy and the sweetness of his playing were reflected in his pleasant face – tr. Gavin Dixon.]
>
> Donnerstag den 27sten April 1837: [...] Nach Tisch fuhren Arm[an]d, Clothilde u. ich, zieml. spät mobil geworden, mit Thibaut nach Paris, nahm einen Fiaker auf der place St. Michel, u. fanden den getreuen Stockhausen schon im Hotel d'Espagne vor. Er bot Armand und mir sein Cabriolet an um ihn [...] u. fuhr mit uns zu Chopin, der uns mit seiner ihm eigenthl. Grazie u. Fr[eun]dlichkeit aufnahm, und bis nach Ein Uhr vorspielte. Es kamen Stellen vor wo einem vor Vergnügen das Athmen stockte u. man hätte aufschreyen mögen. Dazu der Reitz einer keimenden Erwartung: Es war ein köstlicher

12
Ibid., 86. Among the many citations of the Baudissin family in Clara Wieck's diaries, I will note an entry from 15 February 1833, where she described trying to play the Chopin Variations, Op. 2 for the Baudissins, but being told by her father to stop at the fourth variation; Clara Schumann *Jugendtagebücher 1827–1840*, ed. Gerd Neuhaus and Nancy B. Reich (Hildesheim: Olms, 2019), 133.

13
Sayer, *Baudissin*, 111.

14
Goldmann, *Wolf Heinrich Graf Baudissin*, 84; Sayer, *Baudissin*, 120–122. The connections between Stockhausen and Baudissin grew stronger, for in July 1837 Stockhausen married Baudissin's adopted daughter Clothilde. As the Baronne de Stockhausen, Clothilde later received the dedication of Chopin's Barcarolle, Op. 60.
As Sayer notes, it is possible that Chopin and Baudissin could have met during the time Chopin spent in Dresden in 1835 (19–26 September) – see Sayer, *Baudissin*, 121. But Chopin's main purpose in including Dresden on his travel itinerary was to visit Maria Wodzińska and her family, and that preoccupation likely limited his social engagements during this time. If Baudissin and Chopin did meet, it seems unlikely that it would have been at the one occasion we know Chopin to have played for invited guests at the Wodziński residence: in light of Baudissin's enthusiastic diary entries documenting his Parisian encounters with Chopin, one would have expected something similar had Baudissin been present to hear Chopin play in Dresden. On the Dresden performance (details of which were discussed in the memoirs of Count Józef Krasiński), see Alicja Simon, 'Życie muzyczne w świetle "Pamiętnika" Józefa hr. Krasińskiego', *Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny* 1 (1935), 105.

15
Goldmann, *Wolf Heinrich Graf Baudissin*, 84.

16
Goldmann, *Wolf Heinrich Graf von Baudissin 1789–1878*, Berichte und Beiträge der Schleswig-Holsteinischen Landesbibliothek (Kiel: n.p., 1979), 25; idem, *Wolf Heinrich Graf Baudissin*, 87 n. 12.

Abend. Bella sang sehr gut, u. machte Chopin wahres Vergnügen. Sie verglich die Eine Etude mit dem jüngsten Gericht; andre haben das Meer, andre eine Sturmglocke genannt. [...][17]
[Thursday, April 27th, 1837: [...] After dinner, Arm[an]d, Clothilde and I, not having made our move until quite late, travelled with Thibaut to Paris, took a fiacre to the Place St. Michel, and found our faithful Stockhausen already at the Hotel d'Espagne. He offered Armand and me to ride with him in his cabriolet [...] and drove us to see Chopin, who welcomed us with his usual grace and friendliness and played until after one o'clock. There were moments when you would stop breathing for the sheer pleasure and simply want to cry out. Additionally, there was the excitement of the mounting expectation: It was an exquisite evening. Bella sang very well and gave Chopin real pleasure. She compared one of the etudes to the Last Judgment, called another the Sea, another an Alarm Bell [...] – tr. Gavin Dixon].

Freytag den 19ten May [1837] [...] von Berryer zu Chopin, der vielleicht zur Hochzeit kommt [...][18]
[Friday May 19th [1837] [...] from Berryer to Chopin, who may be coming to the wedding [...] – tr. Gavin Dixon.]

The general tone of wonder (and the concern for Chopin's state of health) in these entries resonates strongly with impressions recorded by other students and colleagues of Chopin (and as importantly collected and analysed by Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger in *Chopin vu par ses élèves*).[19] Still, there are some delectable details worthy of note. How, for example, are we to understand (from the entry of 28 January) 'songs that he played for us' ('Lieder die er uns vorgespielt')? Thoroughly trained and immersed in music, Baudissin seems unlikely to have used the term 'Lieder' in an informal fashion. Since it is well-established that Chopin composed a group of songs in the mid-1830s ('Śpiew z mogiły' and 'Pierścień' date from 1836; 'Moja pieszczotka' from 1837), he might well have drawn on this repertory when playing the 'Lieder' to which Baudissin referred. But 'performed' ('vorgespielt') how – in the customary way, accompanying a singer, perhaps as pianistic 'songs without words' (as we know Chopin to have done with 'Wiosna'), or improvisations on melodies from songs?[20] And if these 'Lieder' were indeed Chopin's own, it would suggest that the composer was amenable to having these songs heard outside the circle of Polish intimates who were likely their primary audience while Chopin was alive.

And Bella's impressions of certain Etudes ('she compared the one Etude to the Last Judgment; called another the Sea; another an Alarm Bell') recorded in the entry from 27 April 1837 clearly anticipate a well-known passage that Élise Fournier recorded in her own diary on 9 July 1846:

17
Private communication from Bernd Goldmann to the author, 24 March 2013. I am deeply grateful to Dr Goldmann for his kindness and generosity in sharing with me these transcriptions that he made before the Baudissin diaries disappeared from view sometime in the 1970s. The 'Arm[an]d' to whom Baudissin refers is the French aristocrat Armand, Marquis de Cubières, who was married to Baudissin's daughter Bella. See Sayer, *Baudissin*, 109–111.

18
Private communication from Bernd Goldmann to the author, 24 March 2013. 'Berryer' likely refers to Pierre-Antoine Berryer (1790–1868), French advocate and parliamentary orator; see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pierre-Antoine_Berryer. And the 'Hochzeit' in question was the impending marriage of Stockhausen to Clothilde.

19
Eigeldinger, *Chopin vu par ses élèves*, new edn (Paris: Fayard, 2006); *Chopin: Pianist and Teacher as Seen by His Pupils*, tr. Naomi Shohet, Krysia Osostowicz and Roy Howat, ed. Roy Howat (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

20
In this same general period, contemporaries recorded Chopin having improvised on Polish songs at the residence of Prince Czartoryski on 10 February 1836, on his 'Wojak' in 1836 at the salon of the Marquis de Custine, and on 28 May 1837 on Spanish melodies featuring in songs sung by Mme Merlin, again at the salon of Custine. See Krystyna Kobylańska, 'Les improvisations de Frédéric Chopin', *Chopin Studies* 3 (1990), 94–95.
On the dating, contexts and interpretation of Chopin's songs, see Mieczysław Tomaszewski, *Chopin 2: Uchwycić nieuchwytne* [Chopin 2: capturing the elusive] (Warsaw: Narodowy Instytut Fryderyka Chopina, and Cracow: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 2016), 413–451.

Il nous a joué dans ce dernier genre la charge d'un opéra de Bellini, qui nous a fait rire à nous tordre, tant il y avait de finesse d'observation et de spirituelle moquerie du style et des habitudes musicales de Bellini; puis une prière des Polonais dans le détresse, qui nous arrachait des larmes; puis une étude sur le bruit du tocsin, qui faisait frissonner; puis une marche funèbre, si grave, si sombre, si douloureuse, que nos cœurs se gonflaient, que notre poitrine se serrait et qu'on n'entendait, au milieu de notre silence, que le bruit de quelques soupirs mal contenus par une émotion trop profonde pour être dominée.[21]

[In this last genre, he played us the caricature of a Bellini opera, which made us split our sides with laughter, he had in it so much keenness of observation and witty mockery of the style and musical customs of Bellini; then a prayer of the Poles in distress, which brought tears to our eyes; then an etude on the sound of an alarm bell, which made us shiver; then a funeral march, so grave, so sombre, so painful that our hearts were swollen, that our breast tightened up and that one heard, in the middle of our silence, only the sound of a some sighs barely suppressed by an emotion too profound to be controlled – tr. John Comber].

Indeed, that, some nine years apart, both Baudissin and Fournier used essentially identical descriptive imagery ('Sturmglocke' = 'bruit de tocsin' = 'alarm bell') to describe an etude might suggest that the source of the imagery was Chopin himself – confounding to contemplate from a composer notoriously irritated by the descriptive titles that the publisher Wessel attached to his music in England. If we can ascribe these titles to Chopin, then perhaps the issue for him was less the idea of associating descriptive images to musical works than who created the associations.

Finally, and in light of the 'real pleasure' that Chopin enjoyed from hearing Bella sing, the Baudissin diaries record one more mention of Chopin, from a lunch that Baudissin, his wife and his daughter had with Liszt on 28 February 1844:

Bey Tisch saß er zwischen Sophie und Bella, die er gleich sehr richtig beurtheilt, u. anziehend gefunden hat, als er von ihrer Scheidungsgeschichte gehört [. . .] u. Streit in welchem ich Bella mit ihm über Chopin u. die George Sand einließ, deren Vergiftungsgeschichten er langierte u. indeß gestand er gegen S. ein, que Chopin n'avait pas eu les épaules assez larges pour elle.[22]

[At the table he sat between Sophie and Bella, appraising both astutely and finding them both very pleasant when he heard their separation story [. . .] and I let Bella get into an argument with him about Chopin and George Sand, whose toxic stories he went on about, and in the meantime he admitted to S. that Chopin was not broad-shouldered enough for her – tr. Gavin Dixon.]

21
Kobylańska, 'Les improvisations de Frédéric Chopin', 87–88.

22
Sayer, *Baudissin*, 164. 'Sophie' refers to Baudissin's second wife, Sophie (née Kaskel), a fine pianist and friend of Clara Wieck (Wieck dedicated her *Quatre pieces caractéristiques*, Op. 5). Working as an agent for Pleyel, Chopin was later (28 August 1847) involved in selling a piano to the Count and Sophie Baudissin in Dresden; see Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger, *Chopin et Pleyel* (Paris: Fayard, 2010), 129, 281; 335–336 – the Pleyel registers render the name as 'Beaudissin.'

Heinrich Henkel

After leaving Paris, Wolf Graf Baudissin embarked on a series of travels that eventually led him back to his home city of Dresden in 1838. His last stop before finally returning to Dresden was the small city of Fulda, where he arrived on 23 September, staying for a few weeks before arriving in Dresden on 21 October.[23] Fulda first of all offered the opportunity to visit his daughter Bella, who had moved there with her husband and child in 1838. But Fulda also featured an active and interesting musical scene, one that developed largely through the efforts of Michael Henkel (1780–1851), who established secular performing ensembles (the Harmonischen Gesellschaft, a Singakademie, and a mixed chorus, Caecilia), and also directed music for the two main Catholic churches in the city.[24]

Michael's oldest son Heinrich (1822–1899) was taught from a young age by his father and played four-hand piano music with him already as a six-year-old. In 1839 he left Fulda to continue his musical education in Frankfurt and Offenbach, studying with (among others) Aloys Schmitt and Johann Anton André. Later he continued his studies in Leipzig with Ignaz Moscheles. Returning to Frankfurt, and active as both a composer and a pedagogue, in 1860 he established the Frankfurter Musikschule, which he continued to direct until his death.[25] He also authored several books – piano methods and studies of mechanisms, but also a number of works with a historical, documentary bent, including (already in 1841) a catalogue of the Mozart manuscripts owned by André and (in 1882) a biographical sketch of important historical musicians active in his hometown of Fulda.[26] That Heinrich throughout his life demonstrated a historical sensibility may be relevant to an assessment of the present exemplar.

When Wolf Graf Baudissin visited the Henkel family in the autumn of 1838, his choice of a gift to bestow on the young musician of the household seems almost overdetermined. Deeply immersed in the musical culture of his day, with memories fresh from a set of transformative encounters with Chopin in Paris, and pondering music that might be of special importance and use to a budding professional pianist, Baudissin's selection of Chopin's first book of Etudes was inspired.

The available documentary records on Sophie Henkel and Henri Pusch are quite brief, but do confirm their pedagogical and business relationships.

Sophie Henkel

Sophie Henkel (1855–1944) studied piano first at her father's music school, and also for a short time with Clara Schumann.[27] From 1879, she taught at the *Frankfurter Musikschule*, taking over as director after

23
Sayer, *Baudissin*, 136–137.

24
'Henkel (Familie)', *Musik und Musiker am Mittelrhein 2*, http://mmm2.mugemir.de/doku.php?id=henkel.

25
Ibid. The school still exists today: https://www.musikschule-frankfurt.de/.

26
[Heinrich Henkel], *Thematisches Verzeichniß derjenigen Originalhandschriften von W. A. Mozart, welche Hofrath André in Offenbach a. M. besitzt* (Offenbach: n.p., 1841); Henkel, *Mittheilungen aus der musikalischen Vergangenheit Fuldas, nach Quellen und Erinnerungen* (Fulda: Aloys Maier, 1882). With respect to the catalogue of the André collection of Mozart manuscripts, it should also be noted that Henkel himself possessed an important collection; see Wolfgang Plath, 'Mozartiana in Fulda und Frankfurt (Neues zu Heinrich Henkel und seinem Nachlass)', *Mozart-Jahrbuch* 16 (1968–1970), 333–386.

27
Sophie Henkel's Nachlass, preserved in the music and theatre collection of the Universitätsbibliothek J. C. Senckenberg at the Goethe Universität Frankfurt am Main, includes a notebook with mention of her instruction with Clara Schumann: see https://www.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/musik/henkel_sophie.html. Correspondence between Clara Schumann and Heinrich Henkel (Schumann had known the Henkel family since at least 1834) locates the time of Sophie's study to July and

the death of her father in 1899. She remained active at the school till around 1930.[28] The connection with Clara Schumann is worthy of note, for her example helped pave the way for other women like Henkel to assume positions of leadership in pedagogical institutions.

Henri Pusch

A native of the Netherlands, Henri Pusch (1876–1957) studied initially with his father Jacob Antonius Pusch in -s'Hertogenbosch, before moving first to Berlin in 1897 and then to Frankfurt in 1908, the same year that Sophie Henkel appointed him co-director of the Frankfurter Musikschule. In addition to his work as a pedagogue, Pusch also maintained a career as a composer, especially of piano works and songs.[29]

Annotations in the Baudissin-Henkel-Pusch Exemplar

Beyond the documentary entries on the title page, several of the owners of the exemplar annotated its musical contents, and we need some grasp of these markings before we can understand the historical import of the Baudissin-Henkel-Pusch exemplar of Op. 10. These annotations fall into several different categories: pedagogical advice, alterations of the musical text (corrections of perceived errors, cautionary accidentals) and fingering count among the most important. My intent here is not to provide a thorough inventory and discussion of all the annotations, but rather (and by way of demonstrating what might be gained from studies of individual printed sources) to explore what the entries might tell us about how pianists in the past navigated through questions of pianistic technique and interpretation when using a Chopin first edition.

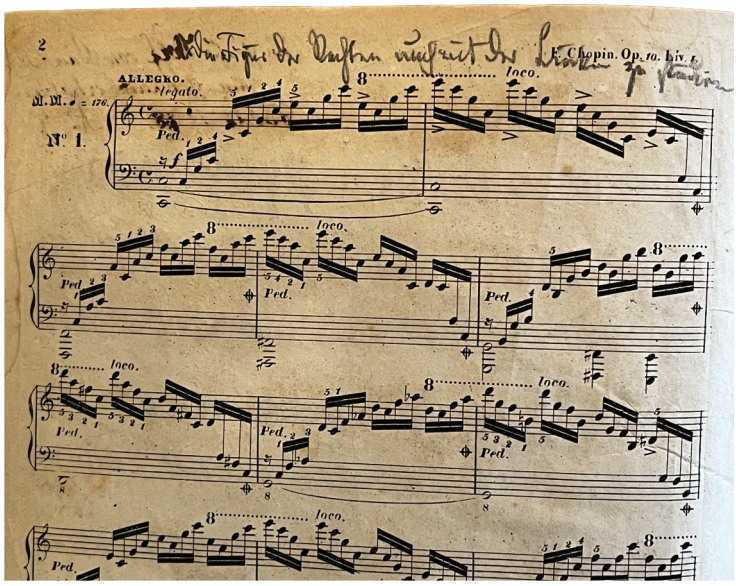
Multiple people contributed annotations to the exemplar. Some of them wrote verbal comments, and in two languages: German and Dutch. Those in German appear in two different scripts (*Kurrentschrift* and Latin cursive), and written in both ink (grey-brown and blueish-black) and pencil. The single entry in *Kurrentschrift* and the multiple entries in Latin cursive appear to be written in different hands. The Latin cursive hand looks to be the same one that wrote the admonition on the bottom of the title page, and hence most likely belonged to Henri Pusch. We might suppose that the *Kurrentschrift* hand belongs to either Heinrich or Sophie Henkel, but with only a few definite examples of Heinrich's hand available to me for study, and none of Sophie's, I cannot reach any definite conclusions. The Dutch entries are all in pencil, and do not match the hands of the German annotations.

That Heinrich Henkel, Sophie Henkel and Henri Pusch all worked as piano pedagogues likely suggests that the annotations of

August 1873. See letters of 16 June and 20 June 1873 from Clara Schumann to Heinrich Henkel, in Robert Schumann, et al., *Schumann Briefedition*; Serie II; Briefwechsel mit Freunden und Künstlerkollegen, vol. 16.1: *Briefwechsel Robert und Clara Schumanns mit Bernhard Scholz und anderen Korrespondenten in Frankfurt am Main*, ed. Annegret Rosenmüller and Anselm Eber (Cologne: Dohr, 2020), 588–591. I am very grateful to Annkatrin Babbe, Wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiterin at the Sophie Drinker Institut in Bremen, for directing me to this correspondence concerning Sophie Henkel's period of private study with Clara Schumann.
Henkel's brief tutelage with Clara Schumann thus predated the period during which Clara Schumann was formally installed as a piano pedagogue at the Hoch'sche Konservatorium in Frankfurt. See the excellent study by Annkatrin Babbe, *Clara Schumann und ihre SchülerInnen am Hoch'schen Konservatorium in Frankfurt a.M.* (Oldenburg: BIS, 2015). On Clara Schumann as pedagogue, see also Claudia de Vries, *Die Pianistin Clara Wieck-Schumann: Interpretation im Spannungsfeld von Tradition und Individualität*, Schumann Forschungen, 5 (Mainz: Schott, 1996).

28
Musik und Musiker am Mittelrhein 2 – Online, s.v. 'Henkel (Familie)': http://www.mmm2.mugemir.de/doku.php?id=henkel.

29
'Henkel (Familie)', *Musik und Musiker am Mittelrhein 2*, http://mmm2.mugemir.de/doku.php?id=henkel.



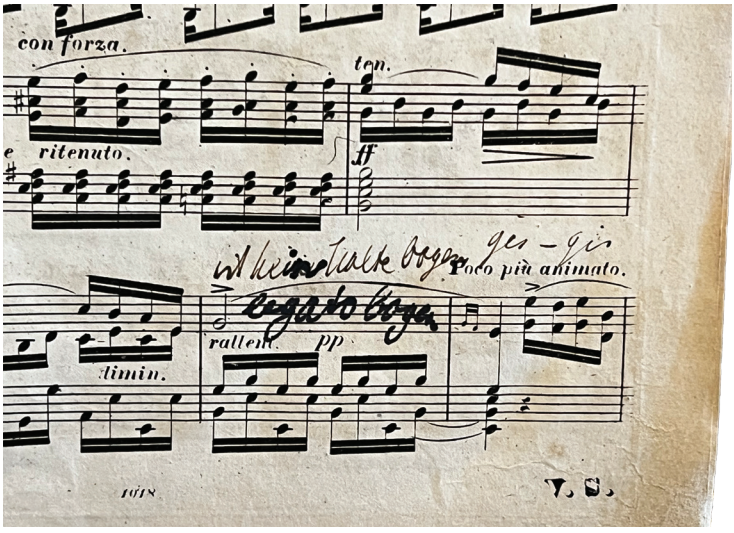


Figure 5. Fryderyk Chopin, Etude in C major, Op. 10 No. 1, Fr. Kistner, Leipzig, private collection in Wynnewood, Pennsylvania (US), p. 2

Figure 6. Fryderyk Chopin, Etude in E major, Op. 10 No. 3, Fr. Kistner, Leipzig, private collection in Wynnewood, Pennsylvania (US), bars 20–21

the musical text took place in some kind of instructional context. While we do not know for whom the annotations were made – whether Heinrich for his daughter, or any of the three of them for use by pupils in the Frankfurter Musikschule – we should likely presume an instructional frame of reference for them. Indeed, two of the annotations in the exemplar seem explicitly targeted to

students: the advice above the heading for the C major Etude, Op. 10 No. 1 ('die Figur der Rechten auch gut [?] der Linken zu studi[e] ren' ('the figure in the right is also good to study in the left' – see Figure 5) and the quite elementary explanatory remarks concerning the curved line printed above the right hand in the E major Etude, Op. 10 No.3 in bars 20–21 (Figure 6): 'ist keine halte bogen gis gis' ('is not a tie G sharp to G sharp') and below the line 'legato bogen' ('legato slur').[30]

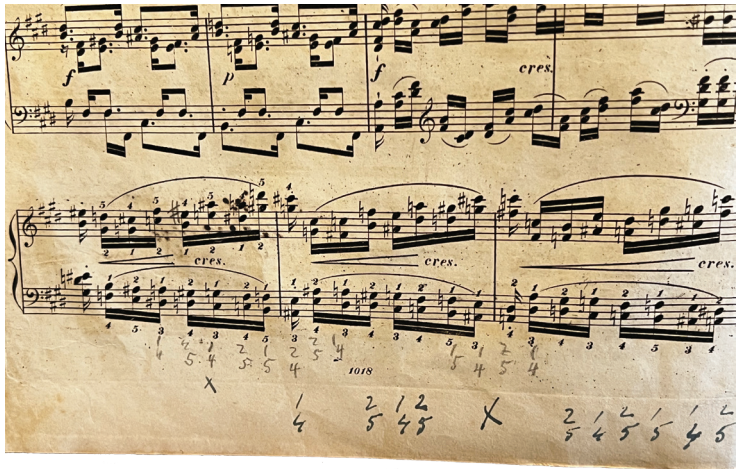
While in many instances it is not possible to know exactly which owner wrote which annotation, the glosses in their aggregate do frame issues of interest to the study of a discrete printed source. Most importantly, this exemplar shows how a group of pianists after Chopin's death engaged with notions of compositional and (what is not necessarily the same thing) textual authority. Viewed broadly, many of the pencilled and inked marks in this score alter readings transmitted by the Kistner edition, a fact foreshadowed by (and perhaps permitted by) the cautionary note on the bottom of the title page.

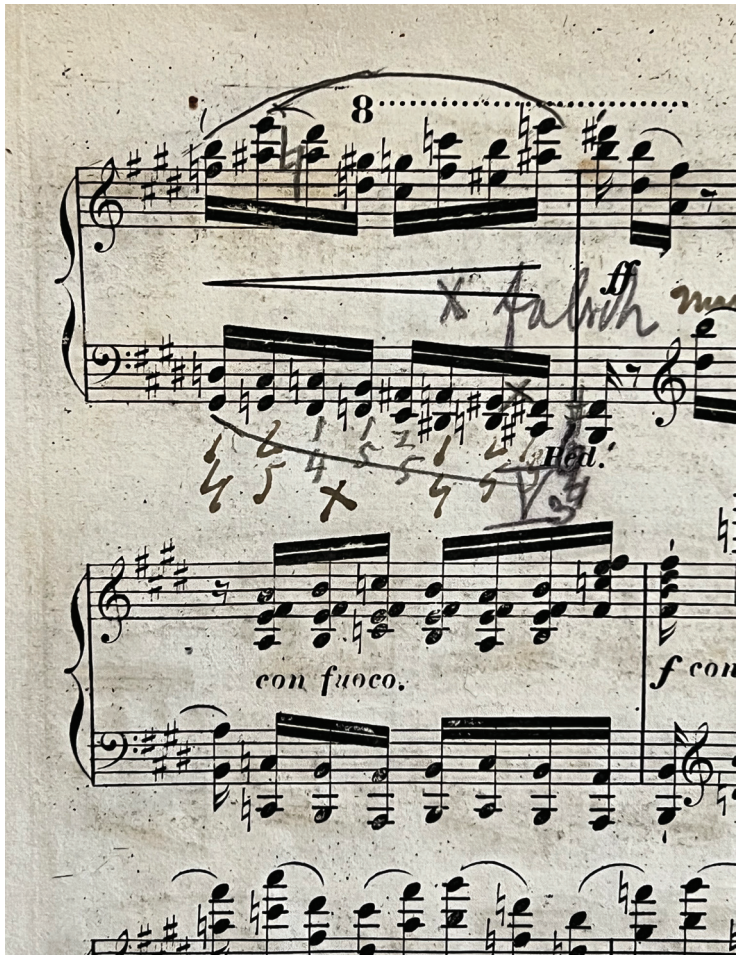
Although the majority of the etudes in the exemplar include annotations, we will focus primarily on the extensive glosses to the E major Etude, many of which challenge the readings transmitted by Kistner's edition.[31] Bars 38–42 particularly engaged various annotators. Most prominent are a series of alternative fingerings for the descending tritones in the left hand (Figures 7 and 8). These appear in pencil (one hand), and in grey-blue and brown ink (another hand). As already remarked, a note (presumably written by Pusch) in the lower margin of page 13 ('Heinrich Henkel hat hier schon mein Fingersatz vor geahnt [*sic*])' ('Heinrich Henkel had already foreshadowed my fingering here') suggests that one of the hands belonged to Heinrich Henkel. And comparing the pencilled numbers in the Baudissin-Henkel-Pusch exemplar with a pencilled annotation that Heinrich Henkel made to a letter he received from Clara Schumann on 21 October 1856 allows us to confirm that the layer of pencilled fingerings in these bars belonged to him.[32] The ink entries mostly fill in those fingerings that Henkel omitted (hence for the fourth to sixth dyads in bar 39, the third to eighth dyads in bar 40, and all of bar 41), though in one instance (bar 39, first dyad), the annotation in ink proposes an alternative fingering to Henkel's (indeed, an 'alternative' that restores the thumb that Chopin called for on the top note of the dyad). The inked fingerings are cued to the musical text through a series of 'x' marks – the 'x's in effect meaning 'use Henkel's pencilled fingerings here'. Still in the left hand (Figure 8), a pencil marking on the last dyad of bar 41 alters the accidental in front of the top note, changing the pitch from F sharp to F double-sharp (and this consequently necessitated a pencilled sharp to be added to the top note of the ensuing dyad on the downbeat of bar 42). The hand I presume to be Pusch's objected to these alterations, with a note between the staves that reads: 'falsch

30
I would like to thank Teresa Nowak and Zbigniew Skowron for help in deciphering the annotation at the start of Op. 10 No. 1. This is the unique instance of this particular hand in this exemplar, and that it is written in *Kurrentschrift* may suggest Sophie Henkel as its author.

31
The first correction occurs before the music starts: in the metronome marking, someone added a pencilled flag to the crotchet stem, so that the metronome marking reads '(♪ = 100)' instead of the printed '(♩ = 100).'

32
The letter forms part of the 'Digitalisierte Sammlungen' of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, and may be found at https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN688678580&PHYSID=PHYS_0005&DMDID=DMDLOG_0001. The shelf mark of the letter is Mus. ep. Schumann, K. 172.





Figures 7–8. Fryderyk Chopin, Etude in E major, Op. 10 No. 3, Fr. Kistner, Leipzig, private collection in Wynnewood, Pennsylvania (US), p. 12–13

muß Fis sein wie es richtig dasteht' ('Incorrect –must be F sharp as it is correctly'written; Figure 9) and, to go along with this assertion, the same hand described the harmony on the last chord of bar 41 with the Roman-numeral indication V-6-4-3. A printed slur between the second and third right-hand dyads in bar 41 is crossed out and replaced by a pencilled phrase mark that covers the entire bar, and a similar pencilled phrase mark is added beneath the left hand in the same bar. Finally, the annotator or annotators pencilled two cautionary accidentals in the right hand: a sharp before the E in the fifth dyad of bar 38, and a natural before the A in the third dyad of bar 41.

Pondering first the alternative fingerings of the descending parallel tritone, clearly Heinrich Henkel and the later annotator wished to avoid the use of third finger that the printed edition prescribed. And presumably the particular 'problems' that their alternative fingering solved were those moments in bars 38–41 where the printed edition deploys what we know to be one of Chopin's characteristic strategies, asking the longer third finger to cross over the shorter fifth finger, a motion that (until properly learned) can place some stress on the hand. (Of course, the same crossover fingering in the right hand practically defines the prior Etude in A minor, Op. 10 No. 2.) The annotators' alternative fingering lessens this stress, mostly by calling for crossings of the fourth finger over the fifth. In a few instances where the descending tritones feature adjacent white notes (B-C; F-E), the alternative fingering requires the fifth finger to slide between the two keys.[33]

While these changes certainly reveal approaches to, say, technical challenges among pianists in the nineteenth and twentieth

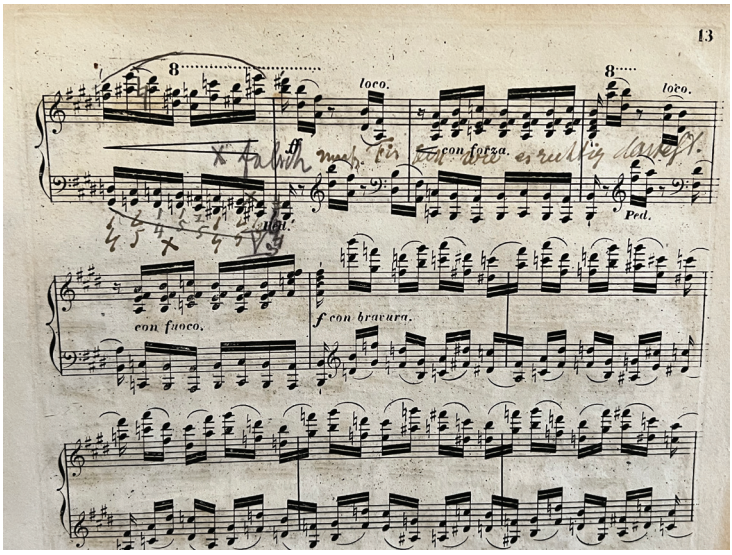


Figure 9. Fryderyk Chopin, Etude in E major, Op. 10 No. 3, Fr. Kistner, Leipzig, private collection in Wynnewood, Pennsylvania (US), p. 13

33
While fingerings are (unsurprisingly) the dominant category of annotation in the Baudissin-Henkel-Pusch exemplar, elsewhere in it the vast majority of them were added to passages lacking printed fingerings. Only a very few of them offer alternatives to printed fingerings. These include the C sharp minor Etude, Op. 10 No. 4, bar 43, where one of the two alternative fingerings proposes a thumb on the sixth note in the left hand, rather than the '4' printed in the score (this change appears to be in Heinrich Henkel's hand); and the F major Etude, Op. 10 No. 8, bar 76, where the '5' printed above the third note in the right hand is changed to '4' and thus avoids the successive use of '5' as printed above notes 2 and 3. (It is likely that this last change represents a correction of an 'error': nowhere else in this Etude did Chopin call for successive use of the fifth finger on rapid semiquavers.)

centuries, they more provocatively shed light on attitudes toward compositional authority and textual accuracy. Consider again the nature of the Baudissin-Henkel-Pusch exemplar: it is both a musical source understood to be (as the title page attests) 'original' to Chopin's time, and one that focuses on a genre whose very purpose is to exercise or develop particular elements of pianistic technique in ways that reflect the composer's own approach. In this context, we might assume that a pianist tackling the E major Etude using the Kistner edition would believe that Chopin provided the fingerings printed in the edition, and that therefore the pedagogical intent of the piece required the use of those fingerings.

That the Baudissin-Henkel-Pusch exemplar refutes these suppositions may reflect a shift in the understanding of the nature of the E major Etude itself, a work that quickly came to transcend its ostensible genre. Possessed of one of Chopin's most profoundly poignant and memorable melodies, Op. 10 No. 3 has long served pianists only secondarily as an 'etude' (a title readily calling to mind the likes of Hanon and Pischna) meant to instruct the pianist in the control of a syncopated, unpedalled accompaniment to a lyrical melody, and more primarily as a work expressively akin to a sentimental nocturne (hence such developments as the slow tempi that most pianists choose and the work's various transmutations into popular songs during the twentieth century).[34] While a full examination of the evolution of this work from 'Etude' to 'sentimental love song' lies beyond the scope of this article, I think it likely that the concept behind the alternative fingerings in the Baudissin-Henkel-Pusch exemplar demonstrates one aspect of this evolutionary shift, through its partial suppression of one of the technical challenges Chopin meant the pianist to confront. In other words, if a demanding passage can be made even slightly 'simpler' with an alternative fingering, then its function is slightly less that of a 'study' meant to improve pianistic skill.[35] Or said another way, the adoption of a more straightforward fingering permits technical challenges to be dispatched in such a manner that they do not draw attention away from Chopin's transcendent melody. The Baudissin-Henkel-Pusch exemplar essentially asserts that simplification by substitution is justifiable in pursuit of pleasing results in performance.

The annotations in the E major Etude offer various other kinds of challenges to the textual authority of the Kistner text. In one instance, the annotator (likely Pusch) drew on knowledge of the 'Chopin problem' (i.e. the fact that manuscripts and editions of the same piece can transmit different readings of the same passage) in a comment above bar 31: 'in die meisten Ausgaben falschlich C' ('most editions incorrectly C'; Figure 10). This bar of course forms part of one of the most 'famous' networks of variants in the Chopin canon, and the annotator correctly observes that C♮ appears in most collected editions printed from the 1870s on.[36]

34
On the E major Etude as a study of syncopation, writ small and large, see John Rink, 'Chopin's Study in Syncopation', in David Beach and Yosef Goldenberg (eds), *Bach to Brahms: Essays on Musical Design and Structure* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2015), 132–142. An earlier version of this essay appeared as 'Analyzing Rhythmic Shape in Chopin's E Major Etude', in Artur Szklener (ed.), *Analytical Perspectives on the Music of Chopin* (Warsaw: Narodowy Instytut Fryderyka Chopina, 2003), 125–138.

35
Chopin himself may have launched this evolutionary trend with the facilitations that he marked in Jane Stirling's copy of this Etude, cancellations that removed the most difficult of its passages (including the bars discussed here). See Frédéric Chopin, *Œuvres pour piano: Fac-similé de l'exemplaire de Jane W. Stirling avec annotations et corrections de l'auteur (Ancienne collection Edouard Ganche)*, introd. Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1982), 34–35.

36
See Fryderyk Chopin, *Etudes Opp. 10, 25; Three Etudes Méthode des Méthodes*, ed. Jan Ekier (Warsaw and Kraków: Fundacja Wydania Narodowego and Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 2021), Performance Commentary/Source Commentary (abridged), 10.

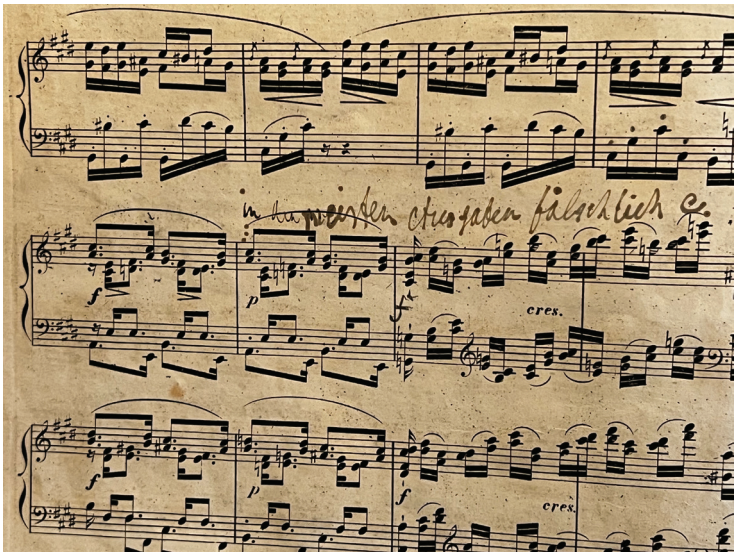


Figure 10. Fryderyk Chopin, Etude in E major, Op. 10 No. 3, Fr. Kistner, Leipzig, private collection in Wynnewood, Pennsylvania (US), p. 12

More interesting are those passages that show the users of the exemplar grappling with what they perceive to be printing errors, and applying various forms of musical 'logic' to 'correct' the printed 'mistakes'. Here I return to a topic that I have explored elsewhere, namely that examining how early users of Chopin's editions engaged with readings they perceived as 'errors' might serve to help us understand the historical valences of their 'musicality'.[37] The Baudissin-Henkel-Pusch exemplar offers copious evidence of modifications of the musical text, with the overwhelming motivation for the changes appearing to have been the perception that the printed score failed to follow through on the consequences of some kind of musical logic. Most often, this logic placed a priority on the repetition of patterns: when the printed score, with no apparent motivation, shows a break in a pattern, the annotator assumed that the break represented a printing error, and corrected it in the score.

A few simple emendations of such 'errors' occur in the heavily-annotated bars 38–41 of the E major Etude. The corrections of the right- and left-hand slurs in bar 41 exemplifies well the basic motivational principle (see Figures 7 and 8): since bars 38–40 all have slurs covering dyads 2–8, the printed slur over the second and third dyads in the right hand and the lack of any slur at all in the left hand of bar 41 broke a pattern, which required a 'correction'. (Of course, we may fairly note that the annotator did not follow the pattern of the preceding bars, since the pencilled slurs cover dyads 1–8 in both hands – but correcting Chopin's 'errors' would not have precluded the introduction of other 'errors' in turn.)

37 See the arguments I advanced in 'Chopin's Errors', 12–14.

A particular fascinatingly and multi-layered correction occurred in the left hand, on the last dyad of bar 41 and the first dyad of bar 42 (see Figure 8). In the first layer, and on the basis of the pattern of semitonal movement in the top note in the three preceding bars (or said another way, noting that the parallel tritone motion held to the end of each of these bars), someone changed the F sharp to an F double-sharp on the last dyad of bar 41, which in turn required a cautionary sharp to be added before the F on the downbeat of the next bar. In the second layer, and in the hand we presume to belong to Pusch, the annotation refuted the changes made in the first layer, added an explanatory admonition ('Incorrect –must be F sharp as it is correctly written'), and went so far as to provide a harmonic analysis of the final chord of the bar as a local dominant seventh chord of B major in second inversion.[38]

Other engagements with a pattern-based logic appear elsewhere in the exemplar. Thus in bar 52 of the Etude in C sharp minor, someone crossed out the accent on the first note of the right hand: for this user of the edition, the pattern of accenting the first note of a four-note semiquaver grouping began on the second beat, a 'fact' derived from the new pattern of four-note slurs that starts on this beat. In bar 10 of the Etude in C major (Op. 10 No. 7), the pianist added an accent to the *ab* third note in the left hand (an accompaniment note that is accented every other time it appears on the first page of the score). In bar 56 of the Etude in F major, an annotator pencilled two slurs in the left hand to match the pattern in the right hand.

That the perception and imposition of patterns so occupied the annotators of the Baudissin-Henkel-Pusch exemplar is notable for two reasons. First, it suggests that a certain level of culturally-established 'interference' posed obstacles to the perception of a celebrated nuance of Chopin's style, namely his predilection for varying musical patterns both small- and large-scale, not only notationally but also in his own performances. That is to say, against a general expectation of patterned conformity, the texts of Chopin's works sometimes, in the performances of pianists outside his immediate circle and after his death, leant themselves to modifications that regularised or otherwise smoothed out differences that the composer intended.

Secondly, these annotations provide further evidence that, at a time before the advent of the 'critical edition', 'reading for errors' was a fundamental component of the training of pianists. That this was a normal practice in Chopin's time is clear: discovering and 'correcting' errors in printed sources could serve as an index of a pianist's 'musicality', or (said another way) as a measure of a pianist's broad musical attainment.[39] Considering its context within the pedagogical orbits inhabited by its owners, the Baudissin-Henkel-Pusch exemplar suggests that the development of such close interpretative skills remained a fundamental part of a well-

38
Interestingly, Chopin later introduced another variant reading of the final dyad of bar 41 by changing the C# to a C♮ in the copy of the French first edition owned by his pupil Camille Dubois-O'Meara. See Chopin, *Etudes Opp. 10, 25; Three Etudes Méthode des Méthodes*, 26.

39
On the importance of 'reading for errors' in Chopin's time, see my 'Chopin's Errors', and 'Chopin and the Social Dimensions of Composition' (forthcoming in the volume devoted to the papers of the 4th International Chopinological Congress).

trained pianist's toolbox well into the twentieth century, indeed well beyond the point where one might have imagined that an ethos informed by 'critical editions' would have militated against the development of such a skill.

* * *

What led the Baudissin-Henkel-Pusch exemplar of the Etudes, Op. 10 to be preserved as a relic and passed down through the generations? Surely the exalted cultural status of Chopin figured into its perceived value, a partial vestige of the historical sensibilities that Heinrich Henkel manifested in his writings – though intriguingly that (presumably) Pusch scrawled his warning that the 'original edition' needed to be used with 'caution' suggests an eventual diminution in the estimation of the musical usefulness of the source itself. And contributing equally to its value must have been its provenance, from the prominent bestower of the original gift, then from father to daughter, and finally to a long-time pedagogical partner. The inscriptions on the title page of the exemplar testify to a symbolic function related to the kinship relationships among these different parties.

Viewed from the uses to which the exemplar was put, and thinking over time, we witness a transition away from Chopin's immediate circle (in the person of Baudissin) into a context where the authority of the composer – or perhaps better phrased, the authority of the printed text that supposedly transmits the composer's authority – came to be supplemented by the judgments of individual pianists and pedagogues. Interestingly, while the kind of logic that these pianist-pedagogues invoked in order to annotate the exemplar would have been entirely recognisable to Chopin and those close to him, the application of this logic at times produced results that ran contrary to the composer's own compositional and performative principles.

To what extent can this microhistory of the Baudissin-Henkel-Pusch exemplar inform other studies of Chopin editions as discrete sources? While moments along its signifying journey reveal interesting biographical nuggets (principally those Baudissin wrote in his diary in reaction to Chopin's playing) and a handful of telling interventions in the printed text of Kistner's edition, it needs to be acknowledged that the Baudissin-Henkel-Pusch exemplar may well be an idiosyncratic source. My own subjective overview of extant exemplars of Chopin first editions suggests that the majority of them lack any annotations at all – itself an intriguing notion. (What does the absence of annotations say about their use for performances? If they were not used for performance, what kinds of functions did they serve their owners?) For those that do contain annotations, it is rare to encounter verbal comments of the sort written in the Baudissin-Henkel-Pusch exemplar. Instead, when

verbal annotations do appear on the title pages of individual sources, we simply find names of owners, places and dates.

As to annotations of the musical texts, while we might certainly expect to encounter further 'reading for errors' of the sort seen in the Baudissin-Henkel-Pusch exemplar, it seems likely that, instead, the majority of the musical annotations would concern fingering, and most often fingerings added to passages that lack them in the printed texts. This might prove a useful area for study, not only in terms of the evolution of what one might think of as the 'pragmatics' of fingering (particular solutions to technical problems, certain national or genealogical 'schools' of thought), but also in trying to reach an understanding of the kinds of interpretative interventions pianists brought about through the notated addition of fingerings to printed scores. Were these purely 'mechanical' interventions (piano as machine/hand as machine), and hence a kind of latter-day tablature that simply guided the order of the placement of fingers on the keyboard?[40] Or did the scrawled numbers represent some kind of effort to draw out, indirectly, the 'inner meanings' of the music, by deflecting interpretation to the realm of a defined succession of fingers on the keyboard.[41] Here the annotated fingerings might offer evidence for the rough equivalent of a post-mortem pathological analysis for one of the crucial questions of nineteenth-century aesthetics, namely, how one could trace or explain the passage of 'soul' from composer to a distant pianist and/or audience.[42] In ways such as these (and surely others not imagined here), studies of discrete sources of Chopin editions might help us explore, in a broader historical context, questions of performing practice and aesthetics.

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From the large literature that might inform such inquiries, let me point to just four studies: Frédéric Chopin, *Esquisses pour une méthode de piano*, ed. Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger (Paris: Flammarion, 1993), 66–77; Eigeldinger, *Chopin: Pianist and Teacher*, 34–41, 106–108; de Vries, *Die Pianistin Clara Wieck-Schumann*, 247–249, 294–300; F. J. Fétis and I. Moscheles, *Méthode des méthodes de piano* (Paris: M. Schlesinger, 1840; repr. edn Geneva: Minkoff, 1973), 8–71. This last source is particularly interesting as a compendium of thoughts about fingering during Chopin's lifetime (and of course even more so for Chopin having contributed etudes to the collection).

41
A selection of apposite studies here would include Wolfgang Scherer, *Klavier-Spiele: Die Psychotechnik der Klaviere im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Fink, 1989); Leslie David Blasius, 'The Mechanics of Sensation and the Construction of the Romantic Musical Experience', in Ian Bent (ed.), *Music Theory in the Age of Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 3–24; J. Q. Davies, *Romantic Anatomies of Performance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), especially chapters 2, 4 and 6.

42
See Mary Hunter, '"To Play as if from the Soul of the Composer": The Idea of the Performer in Early Romantic Aesthetics', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 58 (2005), 357–398.

ABSTRACT
While scholarly writing on printed sources of Chopin's music typically focuses on the class to which that source belongs (say, the second state of the French first edition of the Ballade, Op. 23), this article proposes to tackle the reception history of Chopin through a discrete, individual printed source. The article proposes a brief microhistory of an individual exemplar, to situate it in a network that does not necessarily afford the composer a governing role. The source in question is a copiously annotated exemplar of the Kistner edition of the Etudes, Op. 10. Inscriptions on the title page inform us that Wolf Graf von Baudissin presented it as a gift to Heinrich Henkel in 1838. At some later date, Heinrich Henkel gave it to his daughter Sophie Henkel, who in 1931 presented it to her colleague Henri Pusch. The annotations in the edition help uncover interesting stories, narratives that reveal a largely unrecognized connection between Chopin and an important German diplomat and translator, and that help us understand better how pianists actually engaged with Chopin's musical texts in the first century of their existence.

KEYWORDS
Fryderyk Chopin, Wolf Graf von Baudissin, Heinrich Henkel, Sophie Henkel, Henri Pusch, Etudes, Op. 10, Kistner, textual annotations, fingering, corrections of 'errors', 'reading for errors', musicality, relic, microhistory.

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