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The historical editing of Mozart's keyboard sonatas
History, Context and Practice

Thesis submitted
by
Christina Georgiou
to the
Centre for Music Studies
in the
Department of Creative Practice and Enterprise
of
City University London

in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
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The music extracts cited throughout the thesis have been reproduced with kind permission by the copyright owners (ie. libraries/collectors/publishers) listed in the bibliography.

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Declaration

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the editing and publishing of music from the late-eighteenth century until present day, with particular reference to W. A. Mozart's sonatas for solo keyboard. The Introduction provides a concise description of the topic and, through a literature review, illustrates the purpose of this thesis and its place within relevant research. Chapter One consists of a historiographical study of terms which are vital to the further investigation of editing and interpretation, such as 'work', 'text', 'intention' and '*Werktreue*', also addressing relevant issues of musical ontology and eventually establishing a working definition for this study. A description of the late-eighteenth-century context within which Mozart's Keyboard Sonatas were composed and published is provided in Chapter Two, exploring the musical culture, the place of keyboard music within contemporaneous repertory and the printing and publishing practices of that time. Chapter Three investigates Mozart's relationship with publishers and the extent of his involvement in the publishing process, going on to examine the relationship between his autograph manuscripts and the first editions of the sonatas in the eighteenth-century Case Study. The nineteenth-century context within which Mozart's works were reproduced is analyzed in Chapter Four, through a discussion of the rise of musical literacy and of the evolution of printing and publishing in Europe, and especially in Germany. Chapter Five investigates the formation of editorial practices in the nineteenth century, underlining their theoretical framework and desired outcomes. Posthumous historical editions of Mozart's Keyboard Sonatas are presented in Chapter Six and are juxtaposed with the primary sources in its nineteenth-century Case Study. Chapter Seven sets the twentieth-century scene, featuring the evolution of musicology and technology, as well as the growth of the *urtext* ideal and its relevance to the rise of *Urtext* Editions during the second half of the century. Modern Mozart scholarship and its impact on editions is the subject of Chapter Eight, which features a Case Study comparison of selected twentieth-century historical editions with their nineteenth-century counterparts and the primary sources. Chapter Nine addresses the digital transformation of music publishing during the first decade of the twenty-first century, featuring comparisons of a twenty-first century edition with preceding editions in the Case Study, while the Epilogue that follows, elaborates on the future perspectives of editing and publishing.

Introduction

The editorial and publishing standards of printed music have been a regular item in musicological criticism of the last few decades: apart from numerous reviews of the latest music editions, appearing regularly in music journals,[1] musicological criticism has also gone back to investigate editions of the recent or distant past, touching upon editorial practices, publishing techniques and formatting procedures.[2] But this has not always been the case, at least not since the emergence of criticism at the dawn of the eighteenth century:[3] in their early form, reviews on music printing and publishing were mainly limited to brief announcements of recently published editions in periodicals, newspapers, magazines and pamphlets,[4] largely referring to the substance and quality of the music or to the luxurious paper and binding, rather than to the quality of the editorial work per se.

This failure to comment upon editorial issues in early reviews can partly be accounted for, considering that the majority of publications at the time were of new music, and hence reviewers were more concerned with the works themselves than with editorial work.[5] Yet this argument proves to be rather unconvincing since, even when an edition came out several years after a work's completion, reviewers more often than not tended to focus primarily on evaluating the musical content.[6] This is evident in several reviews of editions dating back to the early nineteenth century,[7] such as that of

[1] The majority of musicological journals include reviews of books, editions, recordings and performances, while there also exist journals, such as the *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* (Ashgate Publishing), which are devoted to reviewing music-related material.

[2] See, for example, Cliff Eisen, 'The old and new Mozart Editions' in *Early Music* Vol. 19, No. 4 (November 1991), pp. 513-531, or Philip Brett, *Editing Renaissance Music: The Byrd Edition* (Chicago: Renaissance English Text Society, 1985).

[3] On the emergence of musical criticism see Georgia Cowart, *The Origins of Modern Musical Criticism: French and Italian Music, 1600-1750* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981).

[4] First in Germany (Berlin, Leipzig) and then in Paris and London, written discourse on music took root in theoretical treatises and periodicals. See also Hans-Günther Ottenberg (ed.), *Der Critische Musicus an der Spree: Berliner Musikschrifttum von 1748 bis 1799: eine Dokumentation* (Leipzig: Reclam, 1984).

[5] Reviewers did sometimes complain about certain editions being full of typographical errors, but this cannot be regarded as a comment on editorship, but rather on typography and printing quality.

[6] See, for instance, the extensive discussion of Purcell's works in the review of 'Te Deum and Jubilate in D. By Henry Purcell. Edited by George C. Martin [Novello, Ewer and Co.]' in *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, Vol. 20, No. 437 (Jul. 1, 1879), p. 382, and G. A. M.'s review 'Novello's Original Octavo Edition of Mozart's Litania De Venerabile Sacramentum, in B flat' in *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, Vol. 13, No. 311 (Jan. 1, 1869), pp. 637-643.

[7] A list of nineteenth-century music periodicals is provided in the *Retrospective Index to Music Periodicals 1800-1950* (Repertoire International de la Press Musicale), available online at

Breitkopf and Härtel's edition (c. 1801) of Mozart's Clarinet Concerto, which appeared in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* in 1802:[8] though the edition appeared over a decade after the work's composition and premiere,[9] the review focuses on the music itself rather than on the edition. Similarly, during the first three quarters of the nineteenth century, reviews of editions of older music were by and large concerned with the musical content of the published pieces, considerably less so with the pricing, the clarity and quality of print, and very rarely with the editing of the text at hand.[10]

It was not until the last quarter of the nineteenth century that reviews explicitly concerned with editorial content appeared, citing extracts from the printed text and discussing the negative and positive traits of certain editions in more detail.[11] The majority referred mainly to editorial decisions regarding matters of presentation, functionality, usability and clarity[12] – and, in cases of larger editions, to completeness[13] – while a smaller number of more critical reviews also commented on editorial interpretations of the music.[14] A notable example of the latter is Heathcote Statham's extensive review of Breitkopf and Härtel's edition *W. A. Mozart: Kritisch*

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www.ripm.org, accessed 10 February 2010. Another comprehensive listing of music periodicals is provided in Don Michael Randel. 'Periodicals' in *The Harvard Dictionary of Music* (4th Edition, Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 2003), p. 650.

[8] The review of the edition of the Clarinet Concerto by W. A. Mozart in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung,* No. 4 (Leipzig, March 1802), columns 408-413, has been translated in English by William McColl, and appears in Colin James Lawson, *Mozart, Clarinet Concerto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) pp. 79-82. Regarding other printed works by Mozart, an extensive number of reviews are also cited in Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart: A Documentary Biography* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1966) and Cliff Eisen, *A Supplement to O. E. Deutsch's Documentary Biography* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1991).

[9] Mozart's Clarinet Concerto was composed in 1791 and was premiered on 16 October of the same year.

[10] See, for instance, the mid-nineteenth-century reviews in *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, concerning editions of older works by Bach, Handel, Corelli, Purcell, Mozart and others.

[11] A comprehensive discussion of late-nineteenth-century criticism is also provided in Kevin Karnes, *Music Criticism and the Challenge of History: Shaping Modern Musical Thought in Late Nineteenth-Century Vienna* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

[12] A characteristic example is evident in a reviewer's excitement over the coloured analytical exposition in Novello's edition of *Eight Fugues from Bach's Well-Tempered Clavichord*, in *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, Vol. 35, No. 621 (Nov. 1, 1894), p. 749.

[13] Such as the reviews of certain volumes of the series *The Works of G. F. Handel* (Leipzig: German Handel Society, 1858-1902), in *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, Vol. 20, No. 441 (Nov. 1, 1879), pp. 598-599, and No. 434 (Apr. 1, 1879), pp. 217-218.

[14] Reviews referring to editorial decisions include 'Mozart's Klavier Sonaten by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Hugo Riemann' in *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, Vol. 25, No. 499 (Sep. 1, 1884), pp. 530-531, and '[Novello, Ewer and Co], Sonatas for the Pianoforte. Composed by W. A. Mozart, edited and fingered by Agnes Zimmermann' in *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, Vol. 17, No. 405 (Nov. 1, 1876), pp. 666. These will be further addressed in the main corpus of the thesis.

Durchgesehene Gesammt-Ausgabe, written while the edition was still in its early course of issue,[15] and published in December 1878.[16] The review refers to the quality of printing, also touching upon issues of functionality and presentation, and it further goes on to criticize extensively several of the editorial decisions made, most especially with reference to the editing of Mozart's solo pianoforte works,

> …into which the personal element of editing seems to be more decidedly imported than into any other form of composition; partly, no doubt, because the large demand for pianoforte works by the great composers calls for a great many editions, and every editor has a not unnatural feeling that he must impart some specialty of his own into his own edition.[17]

All the way through to the first few decades of the twentieth century, reviews of editions continued to appear regularly, though the methodology behind editorial decisions only rarely received particular attention: at the time, reviews appear more preoccupied with technical aspects of presentation, such as the modernization of notation and the modes of indicating editorial intervention.[18] Though the importance of editorial methodology was sometimes commented upon,[19] it nevertheless received a rather low priority in early- to mid-twentieth-century reviews and in relevant musicological literature,[20] and much less so in practice: as a matter of fact, the discipline seemed to remain within the boundaries of its discourse, meaning that, despite the wealth of musicological writings, these were by and large not extended and applied consciously in musical and editorial practice.[21]

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[15] This edition of Mozart's complete works, also referred to as the *Alte Mozart-Ausgabe* (AMA), was not released at once; rather, it was produced in subsequent volumes, through a publishing process that was initiated in 1877 and was completed in 1883.

[16] H. Heathcote Statham 'A New Edition of Mozart' in *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, Vol. 19, No. 43 (Dec. 1, 1878), pp. 650-654.

[17] Ibid., p. 650.

[18] See, for example, the early-twentieth-century reviews in *Revue de Musicologie* (Société Française de Musicologie), *Music & Letters* (Oxford University Press), *The Galpin Society Journal* (Galpin Society) and *The Musical Times* (The Musical Times Publications).

[19] For instance, in E.W.'s review 'The Forty-Eight Preludes and Fugues of J. S. Bach by Cecil Gray' in *Music & Letters*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Oxford University Press, Jan. 1939), pp. 77-78 and Eric Halfpenny's review of 'Sonata in G minor for flute or Oboe or Violin and Piano by Antonio Vivaldi, Six Sonatas for Bassoon or 'Cello and Piano by Johann Ernst Galliard, Two Quartets for Flute or Oboe or Clarinet, and String Trio or String Quartet by Carl Stamitz, Twelve Duos for Two French Horns by W. A. Mozart' in *The Galpin Society Journal*, Vol. 2 (Mar. 1949), pp. 57-59.

[20] See, for instance, the musicological writings of Guido Adler, particularly his *Methode der Musikgeschichte* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1919) and Thurston Dart's writings, most particularly *The Interpretation of Music* (London: Hutchinson's University Library, 1954).

[21] See also Joseph Kerman, *Contemplating Music: Challenges to Musicology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985), esp. Introduction, pp. 11-30.

In other words, only exceptionally were most rigorous views of the craft of editing, as articulated by Spitta[22] and later of Schenker[23], Dolmetsch[24] and Friedländer,[25] applied in practice and seemed to be the exception rather than the rule in the preparation of editions. As Kerman has noted, most editors seemed to practice an uncritical or localized reproduction of documents, instead of evaluating them critically.[26] At the same time, and particularly in large-scale series of editions, such as the *Alte Mozart-Ausgabe*, it was often the case that the editorial methodology – if any – applied by one editor was different than that of another.[27] Thus most editors (and reviewers) working until the middle of the twentieth century appear to have disregarded the textual consequences of the lack of any thoughtful editorial standards and the overall neglect of research and evaluation of the sources and their relationships.[28]

Following a few decades of relative inactivity in discussions on the topic, a new wave of musicological discourse began after World War II, in an era marked by the commercialization of the *Urtext* concept.[29] It is important to note that Urtext Editions, at the time of their appearance, were targeted primarily towards the needs of solo keyboard performers, since it was particularly keyboard music compositions that had suffered extreme changes in the hands of virtuoso-editors, such as Bülow, in the late-

[22] Philipp Spitta (1841-1894), known as the author of Johann Sebastian Bach's biography, was one of the key editors of the AMA, and one of the initiators of source-critical studies. For a list of Spitta's writings, see Ulrike Schilling, *Philipp Spitta: Leben und Wirken im Spiegel seiner Griefwechsel* (Kassel: Barenreiter, 1994).

[23] For an extensive discussion of Heinrich Schenker's (1868-1935) views on editing, see Nicholas Cook, 'The Editor and the Virtuoso, or Schenker versus Bülow' in the *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, Vol. 116, No. 1 (1991), pp. 78-95.

[24] Arnold Dolmetsch. *The Interpretation of Music in the 17th and eighteenth Centuries* (London: Novello, 1915).

[25] Max Jakob Friedländer (1867-1958), *Über musikalische Herausgeberarbeit* (Weimar: Gesellschaft der Bibliophilen, 1922).

[26] Joseph Kerman, *Musicology* (London: Fontana Press, 1985), esp. pp. 42-50.

[27] But, ultimately, it will be indicated during the thesis that even in more recent series of editions, where common-ground practice was indeed applied, such as in the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe*, individual editorial perception remained a decisive factor regarding unresolved textual problems: for example, it is still not agreed whether Mozart used dots or strokes or both, or whether he slurred over the bar-line. The interpretation of these and other symbols thus rests in individual editorial preconception and perception, and as such, it is not surprising that certain editions within the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe* series indicate dots, while others indicate strokes. See also Frederick Neumann, 'Dots and Strokes in Mozart' in *Early Music*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (Aug. 1993), pp. 429-435, and Clive Brown, 'Dots and Strokes in Late Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Music' in *Early Music*, Vol. 21, No.3 (Aug. 1993), pp. 593-610.

[28] See also Eisen, 'The old and new Mozart Editions', pp. 513-532.

[29] The impact of the commercialization of the term was discussed by Eva Badura-Skoda, 'Textual Problems in Masterpieces of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries' in *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 51, No. 2 (1965) soon after its appearance. More on the concept in the main corpus of the thesis.

nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.[30] Initially, mid-twentieth-century scholarly debates were focused on the facts and fiction surrounding the *urtext* and Urtext Editions: while the Henle firm,[31] at the time one of the leading publishers in the field, was aided by the writings of Feder and Unverricht[32] in an attempt to render these editions acceptable, the vast majority of scholars viewed the nature of the edited text quite pragmatically.[33] Emery was one of the first English-speaking scholars to criticize Urtext Editions noting that:

> There is no such thing as an 'original text' of any piece of old music, unless either there is only one source, or all the sources give identical readings…When there really is an identifiable original (such as a unique MS), it is often manifestly wrong; in which case it cannot be printed as it stands, or in other words, it has to be edited.[34]

As the discourse progressed, the *urtext* concept was often involved in a new wave of philosophical debates regarding the nature of 'the text' and its relation to 'the work'.[35] Musicological discourse developed a more historical approach towards earlier music, further exploring issues of performance and editing, as featured in the writings of Dart,[36] Lang,[37] Dahlhaus,[38] and later Kerman,[39] Brett[40] and Kenyon.[41] Towards the turn of the century, interdisciplinary scholarship involving historical, sociological and cultural studies evolved even further: the writings of Tomlinson[42] and Shepherd[43] set

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[30] Cook, 'The Editor and the Virtuoso', pp. 78-95.
[31] Günter Henle was one of the first to commercialize the *urtext* concept, by founding *Henle Urtext* on 20 October 1948. More on the firm's activities and the commercialization of the term in Chapter VII.
[32] Georg Feder and Hubert Unverricht, 'Urtext und Urtextausgaben' in *Musikforschung*, Vol. 12 (1959), pp. 432-454.
[33] A detailed account of the origins and criticism of Urtext Editions is presented in Philip Brett 'Text, Context, and the Early Music Editor' in Nicholas Kenyon (ed.), *Authenticity and Early Music: A Symposium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 83-114.
[34] Walter Emery, *Editions and Musicians* (London: Novello, 1958), p. 9.
[35] This will be further discussed in Chapter I.
[36] Dart, *The Interpretation of Music* and Thurston Dart, Walter Emery and Christopher Morris, *Editing Early Music* (London: Novello, 1963).
[37] A collection of Paul Henry Lang's writings is supplied in *Musicology and Performance*, ed. Alfred Mann and George Buelow (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).
[38] Carl Dahlhaus, *Musikästhetik* (Gerig: 1967), C. Dahlhaus and Tibor Kneif, *Texte zur Musikologie* (Cologne: Volk, 1975) and C. Dahlhaus and Hermann Danuser, *Das Musikalische Kunstwerk: Geschichte, Ästhetik. Theorie* (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1988).
[39] Kerman, *Contemplating Music.*
[40] Brett, *Editing Renaissance Music* and 'The Historian, the Performer and Authentic Meaning in Music' in Kenyon (ed.), *Authenticity and Early Music*.
[41] Kenyon (ed.), *Authenticity and Early Music*.
[42] Gary Tomlinson, *Music and Historical Critique* (Revised edition: Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 1993/2007).
[43] John Shepherd, *Music as Social Text* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991) and J. Shepherd, Peter Wicke, *Music and Cultural Theory* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997).

forth the idea of music as an active and inseparable participant in society and culture; the literary theories of McGann[44] and McKenzie[45] indicated how the social aspects of the creative process have had an ongoing and direct impact on textual editing; Taruskin took a wide cultural view of the phenomenon of 'authenticity' in music, concluding that, far from reviving ancient traditions, it mainly represents our contemporary understanding of historical performance;[46] in the field of music editing and publishing, Lenneberg's presentation of a comprehensive account of the history of music publishing has been closely intertwined with social history,[47] while Grier's investigation of the central issues of medieval music editing provided an essential tool towards the development of a new theoretical framework for critical methodology – though its applicability to the editing of non-medieval music is rather questionable.[48]

Within the last decade, musicological research has produced increasingly specialized writings on ontological and textual studies, with direct reference to relevant sociological and cultural spectrums. For instance, the publication in 2000 of a volume edited by Talbot containing papers presented at a symposium on the nature of the musical work provided insightful criticism of the term's history and its contemporaneous perceptions and preconceptions,[49] while the following year, Davies constructed yet another interpretation of musical works, their notational specifications and their relation to performance.[50] Rink[51] and Samson[52] followed closely with their investigation of the act of performance and the 'translation' from score to sound through a spectrum of historical, analytical and psychological concepts. In the field of nineteenth-century music studies, Weber contributed with his investigation of music

[44] Jerome McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).
[45] Donald Francis McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts: The Panizzi Lectures* (London: British Library, 1986).
[46] Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).
[47] Hans Lenneberg, *The Dissemination of Music: Studies in the History of Music Publishing* (Lausanne: Gordon and Breach, 1994).
[48] James Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music: History, Method, and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
[49] Michael Talbot (ed.), *The Musical Work: Reality or Invention?* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000).
[50] Stephen Davies, *Musical Works and Performances: A Philosophical exploration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
[51] John Rink, *Musical Performance: A Guide to Understanding* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
[52] Jim Samson, *Virtuosity and the Musical Work: The Transcendental Studies of Liszt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

and the middle class,[53] and, more recently, Karnes explored the shaping of musical thought and criticism in Vienna.[54] Important contributions to the studies of editing and publishing of music include Lenneberg's study on the dissemination of music up to the mid-nineteenth century,[55] and Lewis-Hammond's investigation of musical editing in early modern Germany.[56]

The bibliography cited here is but a representative sample of the musicological work conducted so far in these areas. However, to the best of my knowledge and despite the great number of specialized studies, there hardly exist any attempts to create a consensus of this information with relation to the publication of Mozart's works, much less so with relation to his piano sonatas. The only notable exceptions are George Barth's article 'Mozart performance in the nineteenth century',[57] exploring the editorial treatment of Mozart's K333 up to the early twentieth century, and John Irving's two studies of the complete output of Mozart's Piano Sonatas,[58] studies which could nevertheless be described as providing a contextualization and an understanding of the genesis, composition and internal structure of these works, rather than an investigation of their publication, dissemination and editorial history per se: admittedly, Irving's latest book does examine a number of editions of Mozart's piano sonatas, yet it does so within the central context of understanding and analysing the music, touching upon issues of perception, reception and performance.[59]

Thus, what follows in this thesis is an attempt to construct a narrative of how changes in editorial practice have been manifested in the publication history of Mozart's piano

[53] William Weber, *Music and the Middle Class: The social structure of concert life in London, Paris and Vienna between 1830 and 1848* (2nd Edition, Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2004).
[54] Kevin Karnes, *Music Criticism and the Challenge of History*.
[55] Hans Lenneberg, *On the Publishing and Dissemination of Music: 1500-1850* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2003).
[56] Susan Lewis-Hammond, *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2007).
[57] George Barth, 'Mozart Performance in the Nineteenth Century' in *Early Music*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (Nov. 1991), pp. 538-555.
[58] John Irving, *Mozart's Piano Sonatas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) and his recent book titled *Understanding Mozart's Piano Sonatas* (Surrey and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2010). At the time that Irving's latest book became available, this thesis was already being finalized. Yet, having acknowledged the book's importance and relevance to the thesis, and having realized that several of my observations and conclusions are in considerable agreement with Irving's findings, I have done my best to accommodate his publication within the reasonably limited amount of time available until the submission deadline of this thesis.
[59] Some of the ideas that Irving sets forth will be further presented and elaborated later on.

sonatas. This will emerge through the identification and critical assessment of changing editorial approaches, transforming functionality and, ultimately, of the impact of editorial decisions upon the reconstruction of Mozart's text (and the repercussions of the text on the perception of the work and the music itself) from the late-eighteenth century until today. While a number of conclusions will be drawn regarding Mozart's music, his scores and compositional style, the construction of this narrative is primarily intended as a tool for understanding each era's editorial and publishing intention, consumer demand, as well as perception of Mozart and his works. This will be accomplished in part through a discussion of the impact of socio-cultural and technological developments upon music publishing practices, exploring relevant historical, sociological, philosophical and performance-related extensions. Even though this investigation inevitably touches upon several published works from various composers throughout the timeline in question, the specialized case study of Mozart's Piano Sonatas is key to understanding how the theoretical framework of each era has affected the functionality of editions and the nature of the text.

Therefore, the discussion of each century's editorial practices has been supplemented with extracts drawn from primary sources and later editions of Mozart's piano sonatas. Ultimately, the case study will not only serve as support to the theoretical framework, but also as a study of the editorial perceptions and preconceptions concerning the sonatas themselves: their placement within a thoroughly examined context will reveal certain attributes more clearly, at the same time exposing their textual evolution, physical transformation and editorial perception throughout the centuries.

It could be argued that such a streaming of textual information, starting from the composer's autograph and first editions, has already been provided repeatedly in critical notes produced during the preparation of every 'respectable' scholarly edition of music. But let us not forget that such critical notes are created within an entirely different context and with a different goal in mind: the production of a new edition. As such, they are most frequently provided as data codified by the editor that reflect the process of forming the edition's text. Consequently, these codified data, though being the result of editors' thorough knowledge and understanding of the contexts in which the work was composed, published or re-edited, more often than not provide

the reader with little information as to how and why a particular editorial decision has been made.

Moreover, the details of the analytical and editorial process evident in the critical notes are customarily excluded from editions: more often than not, limitations in volume size and cost are the main reasons that critical notes are physically separate from the edition itself and have to be ordered and purchased individually by anyone interested in knowing how the edition's text came into being.[60] Such is the peculiar case of the famous Henle Urtext, whose latest edition of Mozart's Piano Sonatas,[61] published in 1992, presents an interesting paradox: The volumes include a brief foreword, which only describes the layout of the edition and certain features of presentation, and interestingly, it is almost word-by-word identical to the respective foreword of the preceding 1977 edition.[62] Furthermore, the editor notes that the comments found at the end of the volume present only 'the most important points at which the sources are in variance with one another', while the edition does not include any information concerning performance practice, keyboard instruments, source material analysis or interpretation. The total absence of critical notes alone is conveniently excused by the following statement:

> The editor has resisted the temptation to append a Critical Report such as is suitable for complete editions so as not to burden the volume with excessive textual matter…A detailed, type-written report is filed with the publishers and may be had on request.[63]

In instances where critical notes have been included in editions, these are often in codified or abbreviated from, intended for specialized readers, and offering a list of the most important discrepancies between the primary sources consulted. This is the case in the latest edition of Mozart's piano sonatas commercially available, namely,

[60] This seems to be the case with twentieth-century editions of Mozart's Piano Sonatas issued by Peters, Henle, Boosey and Hawkes, Broude, Schirmer, Dover, the Philarmonia and Lea pocket scores, but also with the reputed *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe* (Bärenreiter), whose critical notes in fact were released several years after the edition had been made available.
[61] W. A. Mozart, *Klaviersonaten*, 2 vols., ed. Ernst Herttrich, fingerings by Hans-Martin Theopold (Munich: Henle Verlag, 1992).
[62] The Foreword of the 1992 edition, signed by the editor, Ernst Hettrich, carries both dates: *Duisburg, 1977 / München, 1992.*
[63] Ibid.

the Wiener Urtext published in 2003 (Band I) and 2004 (Band II);[64] interestingly, Ulrich Leisinger's editorial work has also been complemented with fingerings by Heinz Sholz and notes on interpretation by Robert Levin, while, apart from the German critical notes in the final pages, the edition includes useful complementary information in the Foreword, laying out the organization and principles of the edition, a list of available sources and their relationship, as well as a section with general notes on interpretation. Such a combination of information, which few editions have so far supplied,[65] taking in mind some directly relevant extra-musical considerations, proves an extremely useful tool for grasping at least a fragment of the basic knowledge required, in order to interpret the included works more accurately, and is thus invaluable as supplementary material towards a more informed performance.[66]

However, what critical notes offer is a comparison of only the primary sources used for the preparation of the edition, whereas the present thesis will attempt to provide a comprehensive account of the evolution of the edited musical text from one era to the next and from one historical edition to the next, through a parallel consideration of the sociological, philological, technological and commercial contexts of the text's formulation and dissemination history. Thus, the purpose of the current thesis is to specifically provide exactly that: A contextual presentation of editorial and publishing history from the late-eighteenth century to present day, with particular reference to Mozart's Piano Sonatas, so as to establish the changing approaches in editorial practice and their impact on the understanding of the works and the formation of the texts in question.

As easy as it may be to criticize any past edition's deficiencies or insufficiencies in retrospect, any attempt to contextualize these traits and understand their reasoning is a far more difficult yet fruitful task: the evaluation of any source should involve careful consideration not only of that particular era's publishing and performance practices,

[64] W. A. Mozart, *Klaviersonaten*, edited by Ulrich Leisinger, fingerings by Heinz Scholz, notes on interpretation by Robert Levin, *Vol. 1*: UT 50226 and *Vol. 2*: 50227 (Vienna: Wiener Urtext, 2003-4).
[65] Amongst the most notable exceptions is Nathan Broder's edition (revised 1987) and the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke* (the Piano Sonatas are presented in two volumes. Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1986). Also available online since 2006 at: http://www.nma.at/, accessed 29 June 2007.
[66] Editions of Mozart's Piano Sonatas including complementary material of a similar nature are those by Nathan Broder, Bärenreiter (NMA), Könemann and Wiener Urtext.

but also of its philosophical and philological views, reception history, commercial needs, audience demands, production standards and techniques. And, as far as nineteenth- and twentieth-century editions are concerned, informed criticism should inevitably involve a scrutinizing investigation of the sources used for each edition's preparation, since, very much like Carl Lachmann's technique of stemmatic filiation,[67] this process may reveal the true nature and origins of several discrepancies which may exist between sources or between editions. Last but not least, it must be always kept in mind that almost every edition has been produced not only with a particular agenda regarding its functionality (ie. 'performance' editions, 'scholarly' editions, 'Urtext Editions' and so forth), but also with particular publishing standards, within specific contexts, and with specific commercial targeting; in other words, the circumstances surrounding the production of each edition may reasonably vary, with considerable consequences upon the edited text.

Mozart's Piano Sonatas have been selected as case-study material for numerous reasons: first of all, they belong to a genre that has been immensely popular from the time of its conception until today: keyboard music,[68] and particularly the sonata, was in such great demand since the eighteenth-century, that literally thousands of sonatas were printed during the second half of that century alone.[69] Therefore, public demand for the genre was one of the definitive factors determining the selection of the sonatas as the focus of this study. Composed largely in response to public demand, Mozart's Piano Sonatas span much of his mature composing career, forming a richly diverse and significant part of his instrumental output,[70] and having been widely reprinted and distributed throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[71] Thus, another reason for selecting Mozart's Piano Sonatas for the construction of the narrative of editorial evolution and functionality is their overall popularity and wide dissemination (both during and after the composer's lifetime), not only because there exists an abundance

[67] An extensive description of the process and its application on the editing of music is provided by James Grier in 'Musical Sources and Stemmatic Filiation: A tool for Editing Music' in *Journal of Musicology,* Vol. 13 (1995), pp. 73-102.
[68] See also Volkmar Braunbehrens, *Mozart in Vienna 1781 – 1791*, trans. T. Bell (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1990), and Jim Samson, 'The Practice of Early-Nineteenth-Century Pianism' in Talbot (ed), *The Musical Work: Reality or Invention?*, pp. 110-127.
[69] See also Robert Marshall (ed.). *Eighteenth-century Keyboard Music*, 2nd edition (New York and London: Routledge, 2003).
[70] Irving, *Mozart's Piano Sonatas*, esp. Preface.
[71] See also William Newmann, *The Sonata in the Classic Era, Vol. 2* (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1963).

of editions to select from as material for the case-study, but also because these compositions are familiar territory for the majority of scholars and music lovers: as such, the musical examples and textual comparisons cited throughout the investigation will be considerably easier for the reader to grasp.

An additional reason for the selection of Mozart's Piano Sonatas is that, being a piano performer myself, they have been a cornerstone not only in my musical development from a very young age, but also in my admiration and enthusiasm for Mozart's entire output. My initial fondness of the sonatas eventually evolved into an increased interest in researching Mozart during my undergraduate[72] and postgraduate studies,[73] also being fortunate enough to have been taught and supervised by two of the most important Mozart scholars, Cliff Eisen[74] and Simon Keefe.[75] Their invaluable contribution to Mozart scholarship, which includes a considerable number of source studies, has been used as a substantial point of reference for the preparation of this thesis. Of equal importance has been my acquaintance and communication with John Irving[76] and Rupert Ridgewell,[77] whose findings on Mozart sonatas and the Artaria

[72] At King's College London, producing a dissertation titled *Women in Mozart's eighteenth century – Reflections on 'Cosi fan tutte' and 'The Magic Flute'*.

[73]Eventually producing a MA thesis, titled *The Urtext Ideal – A Discussion of Urtext Editions with Reference to Mozart's Fantasia in C minor, K 475*, under the supervision of Anya Suschitzky.

[74] It would have been impossible to list Eisen's scholarly work here, however, the sources most relevant to the current research include his books *Mozart Studies* 1 & 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991 & 1997 respectively), *The New Grove Mozart* (London and New York: MacMillan, 2002) and *The Cambridge Mozart Encyclopedia*, co-edited with Simon Keefe (Cambridge: Cambidge University Press, 2006). Equally relevant articles include 'The old and new Mozart Editions' in *Early Music*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (November 1991), pp. 513-531, an article co-authored with Christopher Wintle 'Mozart's C minor Fantasy K475: An editorial Problem and its Analytical and Critical Consequences' in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, Vol. 124, No. 1 (1999), pp. 26-52 and the article 'The Primacy of performance: text, act and continuo in Mozart's piano concertos' in *Essays on Mozart in Honour of Stanley Sadie* (London: Boydell & Brewer, 2005).

[75] Simon P. Keefe's editorial work on Mozart that is most relevant to this thesis includes the books *Mozart Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), *Mozart's Viennese Instrumental Music: A study of stylistic re-invention* (Woodbridge and Rochester NY: Boydell and Brewer, 2007) and *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). Keefe's writings include the chapter 'Across the Divide: Currents of Musical Thought, 1790-1810' in *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth Century Music* (listed above), pp. 663-87, as well as 'Mozart's Late Piano Sonatas (K457, 533, 545, 570, 576): Aesthetic and Stylistic Parallels with his Piano Concertos' in *Words about Mozart: Essays in Honour of Stanley Sadie*, ed. Dorothea Link and Judith Nagley (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer, 2005), pp. 59-75.

[76] On Irving's work on Mozart's piano sonatas see relevant footnote on page 22. Irving's output that is relevant to this thesis includes the books *Mozart: the "Haydn" String Quartets* (Cambridge: Cambridge Music Handbook, 1998), *Mozart's Piano Concertos* (Burlington: Ashgate Press, 2003), as well as a chapter on 'Performance in the Eighteenth Century' in Simon P. Keefe (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 435-454.

[77] Rupert Ridgewell's doctoral research on the Artaria publishing firm titled 'Mozart and the Artaria Publishing House: Studies in the Inventory Ledgers, 1784-1793' is also summarized in his articles

firm respectively have contributed considerably towards locating autograph manuscripts and first editions, as well as on forming a clearer view of Mozart's relationship with the main publishers of his music.

The narrative of editorial evolution and its functionality commences with a discussion of terms which are crucial to the investigation that will follow: concepts such as 'text', 'work' and 'intention' are defined and their evolution explored, since the changing perceptions of these notions through time inevitably affected to a great extent the nature, features and appearance of printed editions. Having presented these important notions, the narrative of editorial practices and their impact on the text of Mozart's Piano Sonatas from one era to the next will then commence in subsequent chapters, while the epilogue will explore – and perhaps predict – new methods of presentation, compliant to present-day technological advances, user demand and perhaps on newly reformed perceptions of 'work', 'text', 'intention', 'interpretation' and 'performance'.

'Music Printing in Mozart's Vienna: The Artaria Press' in *International Association of Music Libraries*, Vol. 48, No.3 (Sept. 2001), pp. 217-236, 'Mozart's Publishing Plans with Artaria in 1787: New Archival Evidence' in *Music and Letters*, Vol. 83, No. 1 (Feb. 2002), pp. 30-74, and 'Artaria's Music shop and Boccherini's music in Viennese musical life' in *Early Music*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (May 2005), pp. 179-189. His latest article, 'Biographical Myth and the Publication of Mozart's Piano Quartets' in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, Vol. 135, No. 1 (Spring 2010), pp. 41-114, is further discussed later on.

– CHAPTER I –

In Search of the *Werktreue*:
The ever-changing Text

STRUCTURE:

- Introduction
- The ontological vs. the historiographical question
- Towards a working definition for this study

Introduction

> …The arts may be divided into those which are created once for all--sculpture, architecture, cinema--and those which need re-creation on every occasion that they are to be experienced; thus each performance of a play or a dance or a piece of music is a unique phenomenon which may be similar to other performances of the same work but can never be said to be identical with them. These re-creative arts, the temporal arts as they are usually called, have one thing in common. All of them depend in one way or another upon a set of visual symbols which convey the artist's intentions to the performer and, through him, to the listener or the spectator.[1]

Until fairly recently, musicological discussion had been fundamentally based on two assumptions: namely, that musical works exist, and that they are fixed.[2] These assumptions, largely rooted in the late-nineteenth-century conception of a final, stable musical text and the *Fassung letzter Hand* concept,[3] initially seemed a necessary turn against the extravagant liberties of the virtuosi, who freely changed the score, especially during the 'bel canto' era.[4] Evolving as it did, the constant struggle towards the establishment of a definitive text gradually obscured the distinction between the musical work, its score and its performances:[5] severe emphasis was placed upon the written text, which was largely identified with the temporal musical work itself.[6]

But to what extent *does* the written codification of music represent the actual work? [7] If, more often than not, even the composer's autograph manuscript or authorized edition cannot be said to represent and describe the complete work or the composer's ultimate, definitive intentions, then how can the *Werktreue* – defined as involving

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[1] Thurston Dart, *The Interpretation of Music*. (London and New York: Hutchinson's University Library, 1954), p. 11.

[2] See José A. Bowen, 'The History of Remembered Innovation: Tradition and Its Role in the Relationship between Musical Works and Their Performances', in *The Journal of Musicology,* Vol. 11, No. 2 (University of California Press, Spring 1993), pp. 139-173.

[3] Ibid.

[4] This exaggerated 'freedom' in performance and in editing, which, amongst others, Czerny exercised, continued well into the twentieth century with Bülow, and was highly criticized by Schenker. See article by Nicholas Cook. 'The Editor and the Virtuoso, or Schenker versus Bülow' in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association,* Vol. 116, No. 1 (Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 78-95.

[5] See also articles in the *Journal of Musicology,* Vol. 18 No. 1. [*A Musicological Bouquet: Essays on Style, Sources and Performance in Honor of Bathia Churgin*] (University of California Press,Winter 2001).

[6] See also article by Nicholas Cook, 'At the Borders of Musical Identity: Schenker, Corelli and the Graces', in *Music Analysis* Vol. 18 (1999), pp. 179-233.

[7] An interesting discussion of the terminology and nature of the musical text and the work is provided in John Irving, *Understanding Mozart's Piano Sonatas* (Burlington and Sussex: Ashgate Press, 2010), especially sections titled 'Text as textus' and 'Text as téchnē', pp. 14-17.

'fidelity to the work and to the faithful reproduction of the original intent'[8] – be achieved and recovered? Since perceptions of the work-concept keep changing in accordance to each period's philological and philosophical theories, and since the reader's demands and expectations from a work's written codification are directly affected by the corresponding perceptions of the work itself, then how can a definitive text be established? If any two performances can vary in virtually every respect – and, in extremity, even in the sequence of pitches or instrumentation – then which are the elements considered essential for the integrity and identity of the work? Which of these elements should be included in and defined by the written text and what is, essentially, the true nature of the work and its text? These questions need to be addressed here, so as to define how the text was and is perceived – for, it would be unreasonable to explore and discuss the evolution of Mozart's text at any given time, without having first provided a working definition of the term.

The ontological vs. the historiographical question

In the early-twentieth century, Schenker, reacting against what he perceived to be the unjustified editorial liberties exercised at the time, asserted that the vision of the genius-composers of the past could only be recovered through the establishment of a 'definitive text', the so-called *Urtext*.[9] Benjamin and Adorno argued against Schenker's notion, by emphasizing that a work could not be regarded as being stable, either through notation or through actual physical constructs,[10] stating that 'the transformation of works is not prevented by their fixation in stone or on canvas, in literary texts or in musical scores…the fixated is a sign, a function, not something in-itself'.[11] Decades later, Cook wrote about the notion of the 'two musics', acknowledging the phenomenal and epistemological differences between score and performance.[12] Near the turn of the century, Boorman[13] went on to conclude that not

[8] Roger Savage, 'Social Werktreue and the musical work's independent afterlife' in *The European Legacy*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (Aug. 2004), pp. 515-524.
[9] See article by Nicholas Cook, 'Schenker's Theory of Music as Ethics', in *The Journal of Musicology,* Vol. 7, No. 4 (Autumn 1989), pp. 415-439.
[10] See article by Peter Johnson, 'Musical Works, Musical Performances', in *The Musical Times,* Vol. 138, No. 1854 (Aug. 1997), pp. 4-11.
[11] Theodor W. Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, ed. by Gretel Adorno and Rolf Tiedemann, transl. by Robert Hullot-Kentor (London: Athlone Press, 1997), pp. 193-194.
[12] Nicholas Cook, *Music, Imagination and Culture* (Clarendon Press, 1990), esp. pp. 58-59.

only performances, but all texts are versions of the work, forming a pyramid compatible to a great extent with traditional musicological principles previously posed by Ingarden:[14] at the base lies the work; further up, written sources 'corrupt' it; at the top, performances realize it in one way or another, creating, in a sense, a new kind of art-work.[15]

However, the fundamentals of this theoretical pyramid are problematic: for, if 'the texts of documents are the attempts to transmit, in tangible form, the texts of intangible works, and they may at any point be inaccurate or insufficient in conveying what their producers intended',[16] if the *Urtext* is not the work itself but yet another impregnated version of it, and if the search for authoritative sources fully representing the composer's intentions is indeed a search for something that cannot exist,[17] then what and where *is* the work? Apart from the general perception of it as 'a musical continuum of determinate duration and of sufficient internal structural cohesion to be understood as sonically identifiable in itself…'[18] where does it exist, in what form, and to what extent does its textual codification represent its identity? Is it an inviolate artifact, existent only in the composer's head as authorial intention, yet clearly distinct from its realization through authorial action[19] and expectation[20]? Is it, as Martin suggests, merely a fiction formulated so as to speak more conveniently about performances?[21] Is it, rather, a 'purely intentional' historical object,[22] an imaginary construct that is endlessly variable yet constantly recognizable?[23]

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[13] Stanley Boorman, 'The Musical Text' in Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (eds.) *Rethinking Music* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).
[14] Roman Ingarden, *The Work of Music and the Problem of Its Identity*, transl. by Adam Czerniawski, ed. Jean Harrel (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1986), esp. pp. 9-23, 34-40.
[15] Peter Kivy, *Authenticities: Philosophical Reflections on Musical Performance* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 278.
[16] G. Thomas Tanselle, 'Critical Editions, Hypertexts and Genetic Criticism' in *The Romanic Review* Vol. 86, Issue 3 (1995), pp. 581 ff.
[17] Cook, 'At the Borders of Musical Identity', esp. p. 209.
[18] For a detailed discussion of the etymology and definition of 'work' see Philip Tagg, 'The Work: An Evaluative Charge' in Michael Talbot (ed.). *The Musical Work: Reality or Invention?* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), pp. 153-166, p. 153.
[19] Tanselle, 'Critical Editions, Hypertexts and Genetic Criticism'. pp. 581 onwards.
[20] Expectation is understood here as the composer's desired outcome of the text's publication, commercialization. For a detailed discussion, see D. C. Greetham, *Theories of the Text* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), esp. p. 193 ff.
[21] Robert L. Martin, 'Musical Works in the Worlds of Performers and Listeners', in Michael Krausz (ed.), *The Interpretation of Music – Philosophical Essays* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 123.
[22] See also Roman Ingarden, *The Work of Music and the Problem of Its Identity.*
[23] Peter Johnson, 'Musical Works, Musical Performances', esp. p. 5.

Tanselle, commenting on the parallels of music and literature as allographic arts,[24] purports that 'the act of interpreting the work is inseparable from the act of questioning the text'[25] and at the same time, the very indeterminacy of the text demands that we redefine and determine the constitution of the works themselves.[26] In other words, because a work of music is abstract and does not exist in a sole, once-and-for-all definitive physical form, any attempt to apprehend it inevitably entails the interpretation of surviving texts, always with relation to history; for, liberation from history would inevitably lead to the alteration of past works – or more precisely, to the creation of new works of our own. Along these lines, Kivy[27] and Goehr[28] have persisted on the concept of the musical work as a separate entity, score and performance aside, yet with no physical manifestation, but rather, in the form of an idea: an interpretation, a reading, that is purely a combination of history and culture. Davies likewise describes musical works as socially constructed, 'created against the background of musical practices that constrain what may or may not be work determinative.'[29]

Regardless of the varying nature of its descriptions and forms, it is clear that the '*Werk-concept*' has remained the inescapable central entity of musicological discussion,[30] though it is no longer thought of in terms of fixed objects, but it is rather conceived as a creation inseparable from its cultural origins and the history of its interpretation and performance. Bowen is insightful in his observation that 'the awareness of musical works as neither stable nor fixed phenomena does not have to be paralyzing; rather, the fact that musical works change through both the creation and reception of performances presents us with a fundamentally new field of study'.[31]

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[24] For a detailed discussion of the terms 'autographic' and 'allographic' arts, see D. C. Greetham, *Theories of the Text*, and also writings by Jerome McGann and Roland Barthes.
[25] G. Thomas Tanselle, *A Rationale of Textual Criticism.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), p. 32.
[26] Ibid. p. 33.
[27] Kivy, *Authenticities*.
[28] Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).
[29] Stephen Davies, *Musical Works and Performances – A Philosophical Exploration* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), p. 91.
[30] Jonathan Dunsby, 'Acts of Recall', in *Musical Times*, Vol. 138 No. 1847 (Jan. 1997), pp. 12-17.
[31] José Bowen, 'Finding the Music in Musicology: Studying Music as Performance' in *Rethinking Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 424-451, p. 424.

The historical changes in the perception of works have naturally affected not only the way works are interpreted and performed at any given circumstance, but also the way they are textually represented in editions. Since, at least as far as music prior to the nineteenth century is concerned, the definition and conception of the work at the time of its composition was substantially different from our contemporary notion of it, it follows that, at least theoretically, a historically accurate interpretation would be the result of informed decisions, taking into account the ideological plexus within which the work was created, as well as our own corresponding theoretical framework.[32] In practice, however, defining the essence of 'work' that applied – consciously or unconsciously – at any given time proves to be far from an easy task.

In an attempt to locate the concept's origins, Goehr spoke of the gradual emergence of the 'work-concept' in the late-eighteenth century,[33] denoting that 'persons who thought, spoke about, or produced music were able for the first time to comprehend and treat the activity of producing music as one primarily involving the composition and performance of works', going on to assert that 'the work concept at this point found its regulative role'.[34] Goehr further argues that it is only at the end of the eighteenth century that 'individual instrumental compositions begin to be thought of as self-sufficient works',[35] and that the term 'work', (which later became equivalent to 'piece' or 'composition'), was used until then to denote a collected publication of several compositions which had already been performed, and which the composer did not necessarily regard as finalized. Goehr's proposition, warmly received as it was by New Musicologists,[36] raised numerous questions and objections, not only as to the definition of the 'work concept', but also as to the identity of compositions originating prior to the late-eighteenth century, and the way these were perceived at the time of their creation.

[32] See also Nicholas Kenyon, *Authenticity and Early Music* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).
[33] Parallels can be found in the writings of Carl Dahlhaus, Zofia Lissa, Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, Walter Wiora et al.
[34] Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works*, p. 113.
[35] Ibid., pp. 201-202.
[36] Such as Krausz, Cook, Hall et al.

For instance, Samson[37] and Strohm, objected that no account of alternatives of Goehr's nineteenth-century 'work concept' has been given with respect to previous eras: her claim is weak in not being able to trace a developmental path of preceding music history, or at least of the transformations which occurred in musical activities from the Renaissance onwards.[38] Furthermore, it seems that the effort to relate all kinds of historical contingencies observed around 1800, in order to establish a 'philosophically viable concept', indicates a backwards reading of history: indeed, one that reveals the emergence of *our own* work concept, and hardly the one prevalent in 1800. It is this concept of ours, the concept of the *Werktreue* (which was not even at home in the nineteenth century), that defines musical practice and the priorities of musicians.[39]

Similarly, Davies argues that New Musicologists (amongst them Goehr and Cook) do not display the necessary subtlety with respect to the ontological implications of their argument: he accepts that, if scores produced before 1800 are seen as imprecise and incomplete, on the grounds that no rigid distinction between extemporization and work performance existed, then indeed, the work concept could not have been established before the 1800s.[40] However, Davies continues, these examples 'seem rather to be ones of indefinitness, not incompleteness, and indefinitness in scores is perfectly consistent with the conscious creation of ontologically spare musical works'.[41] On the other hand, Malcolm Bilson argues that scores are neither incomplete nor indefinite, insisting that what is incomplete is our knowledge of how to read the notation, and not the notation itself.[42]

In support of Goehr's argument, Cook emphasizes that, by claiming that the 'work concept' was non-existent prior to 1800s, it is not meant that music did not have an

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[37] Specifically Jim Samson's article 'The Practice of Early-Nineteenth-Century Pianism' in Talbot (ed.). *The Musical Work*, pp. 110-127, esp. pp. 111-112.
[38] Reinhardt Strohm, 'Looking Back at Ourselves: The Problem with the Musical Work-Concept' in Michael Talbot (ed.). *The Musical Work*, p. 137.
[39] Ibid. pp.145-146.
[40] Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum*, pp. 187-9 and Krausz, (ed.). *The Interpretation of Music*, esp. Chapters A and B.
[41] Davies, *Musical Works and Performances*, p. 123. More on the terms 'indefinitness' and 'incompleteness' further on.
[42] See, for instance, 'Restoring ingredients: Malcolm Bilson on the fortepiano' in Bernard D. Sherman (ed.), *Inside Early Music: Conversations with Performers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997, reprint 2002), pp. 293-312

identity of its own, such as the 'same piece' appearing in different versions or performances, but rather, that the identity of musical works became a 'regulative concept' in musical culture, shifting its meaning from its pre-1800 application to publications to its present-day sense of an integrated unit.[43] In other words, he continues, what changed was not the identity of a work's internal structure, but rather, its function as a kind of cultural entity linked directly to publication and performance,[44] partly through a shift from 'composer-centredness' to 'work-centredness'.[45] According to Krausz, it is precisely this function that provides 'the terms in which works of music can be made intelligible and appreciated'.[46] Tagg agrees, adding that 'the concept of 'work' (in the sense of musical end product or commodity) started to become more frequently identified with the superior aesthetic values that many keepers of the 'classical' seal have attributed to a certain kind of Central European instrumental music ever since'.[47]

Still, irrespective of this dubious pre- and post-nineteenth-century distinction, it is necessary to define what it is that the 'work' consists of, that is, what the elements which define the work's identity are. If we accept the notion that 'all music is re-creation',[48] and that the work is not any particular score, performance or acoustical event, but rather, a type of sound structure that consists not only of what the composer created but also of what we are familiar with through performances,[49] it follows that, more often than not, the elements which define the work's identity may also be shifted according to one's perception of period performance practice.[50]

It further follows that some variance is built into the very concept of musical identity, most obviously in terms of performance, since 'intention' (both in music and in literature) must be understood as a historical event that has to be reconstructed, based

[43] Cook, 'At the Borders of Musical Identity, p. 202.
[44] See article by Lydia Goehr, 'On the Problems of Dating' or 'Looking Backward and Forward with Strohm', in Michael Talbot (ed.), *The Musical Work,* pp. 231 – 246.
[45] See Michael Talbot, 'The Work-Concept and Composer-Centredness' in Michael Talbot (ed.). *The Musical Work,* pp. 167-185.
[46] Michael Krausz, 'Rightness and Reasons in Musical Interpretation' in Krausz (ed.) *The Interpretation of Music*, p. 75.
[47] Philip Tagg, 'The Work: An Evaluative Charge' in Michael Talbot (ed.). *The Musical Work.* p. 163.
[48] See José A. Bowen. 'The History of Remembered Innovation', p. 166.
[49] Martin, 'Musical Works in the Worlds of Performers and Listeners', esp. pp. 121-123.
[50] See John Butt, *Playing with History* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

on surviving evidence.[51] So, if we ask which features of the work are essential in terms of its identity and which are not, we find ourselves confronted with a twofold issue. The answer is not as simple as it would have been if one would consider that the work's identity lies only within the written text: but it would have been extremely simplistic to suppose that whatever is notated is essential and whatever is excluded is not.[52] For, the conception of the work as a stable, imaginary object would mean that all performance instances of it are inessential, and on the other hand, the assumption that each performance is an individual work, would deny the perception that the work remains the same from one performance to the next. [53] Perhaps one practical solution would be to define the identity of a work as a result of the 'relation between its notation and the field of its performances'.[54] By this token, a work (realized through both notation and performance) may embody features that the composer perhaps never intended, or which were left at the discretion of the performer; in that sense, the intentions of a given composer need not locate or exhaust ideally admissible interpretations of it;[55] the text exists not to confine, but rather, to release the imagination of the reader.[56]

[51] See Tanselle, 'Critical Editions, Hypertexts and Genetic Criticism'.
[52] Nelson Goodman, *Languages of Art: An Approach to a Theory of Symbols* (2nd edition, Indianapolis: Hacket, 1976).
[53] Cook, 'At the Borders of Musical Identity', esp. p. 181.
[54] Lawrence Rosenwald, 'Theory, Text-setting and Performance', in *Journal of Musicology,* Vol. 11 (1993), pp. 52-65, p. 62.
[55] Krausz, 'Rightness and Reasons in Musical Interpretation', p. 81.
[56] Irving, *Understanding Mozart's Piano Sonatas*, p. 11.

Towards a working definition for this study

An example in support of this combination of notation and its performances as constitutive of a work is provided by Mozart's compositions for keyboard, and most specifically, by his concerti[57] and piano sonatas: as indicated in the extracts presented towards the end of this chapter, the fact that, at several instances, Mozart's written text calls for extemporization and ornamentation in performance,[58] exposes most clearly this vital relation between text and performance as to the reconstruction of the work. In other words, the work is not indicated exclusively through its score: rather, the instructions given through notation are ideally to be interpreted taking into account whatever is known [and whatever *was* known] of the performance practices and the notational conventions of the composer's time.[59] As Irving sets forth, Mozart's sonatas must be understood and appreciated as 'works which celebrate the absence of separation between a creative act of composition and a creative act of performance'.[60]

This idea gives rise to the function of a work at different levels: the score is usually thinner in properties than any of its performances,[61] since several options are – intentionally or unintentionally – left open to the performer.[62] Thus, the score contains both work-determinative (mandatory) and recommendatory instructions, yet at most instances, especially with respect to works composed prior to the twentieth century, these are not transparent to the work: much of what is played (and is also work-determinative) may not be recorded in the notation.[63] In that sense, then, performance is an invaluable tool, which serves to illuminate a number of possible aspects of meaning within a work, codified or merely impregnated in the text.[64]

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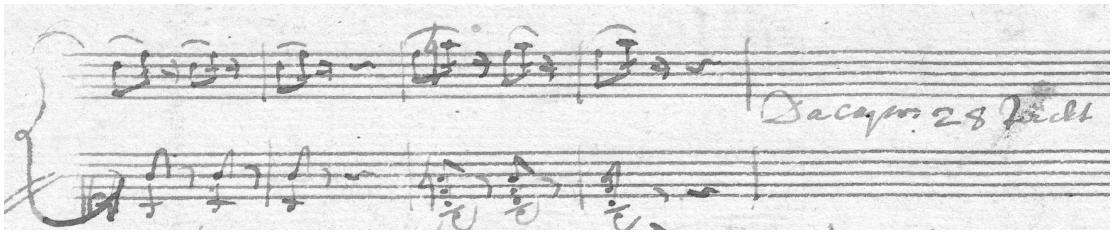
[57] See Cliff Eisen, 'The Primacy of performance: text, act and continuo in Mozart's piano concertos' in Dorothea Link and Judith Nagley (eds.). *Essays on Mozart in Honour of Stanley Sadie* (Rochester, New York: Boydell & Brewer, 2005), pp. 107-120.
[58] For instance, in the Piano Sonatas K284 and K457. More on these examples later on.
[59] Davies, *Musical Works and Performances*, p. 107.
[60] Irving, *Understanding Mozart's Piano Sonatas*, p. 5.
[61] See Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), esp. pp. 51-66.
[62] Davies, *Musical Works and Performances*, p. 20.
[63] Ibid. p. 213.
[64] Irving, *Understanding Mozart's Piano Sonatas*, p. 15.

The very fact that in many instances composers themselves revised their works, not so much in order to 'improve' them, but mostly in order to make them more compatible with a specific function, or with the limitations of means or instruments at their disposal, or to make them more appropriate for publication purposes, or even in order to render through the revised score an 'alternate performance' of the work, denotes that much of what had been included in the score was not work-determinate; and yet, despite the extensive changes, the work was still identifiable.[65] Mozart's autographs demonstrate this well: the keyboard concerti, which in many instances could be viewed as 'incomplete' (since the sparse, almost skeletal keyboard part at certain points often served as a mnemonic for Mozart's own performances), can at such points be characterized as a mere description, a context of the work, rather than as a fully-fledged, definitive prescription. In spite of this, such works were still identifiable; even when Mozart had to adapt his (orchestral and operatic) music in order to fit the needs of a specific production, or when he filled in performance details (such as embellished versions of the text in published editions or in copies of his works used for didactic purposes) otherwise left to the discretion of the performer.[66]

Mozart's piano sonatas are an excellent source of similar examples. As we shall see in subsequent chapters, his autographs often lack extemporization or variation at points of literal reprises (such as in points of recapitulation, or the recurrence of the principal theme in rondo passages): In some of these instances, Mozart not only did not include any kind of alteration, he actually did not even write out the repetition, merely indicating that a certain passage was to be repeated by leaving a brief blank space in the manuscript, with the remark *da Capo X Täckt*[67]– and probably expecting that, in accordance with classical performance practice, the repetition would be ornamented wherever required, as in the following extract from the third movement of the Piano Sonata K330:

[65] An interesting discussion of text revisions can be found in Cook, 'The Editor and the Virtuoso', pp. 78-95.
[66] See also Cliff Eisen, 'The Primacy of performance', pp. 107-120.
[67] 'X' denoting the particular number of bars to be repeated.

EXAMPLE 1.A: Piano Sonata K 330, Movement III [68]



In other instances in the piano sonatas, Mozart eventually wrote out parts which he had left blank in repetitions (most especially in the recurrence of the principal theme in slow movements), either in the context of teaching the sonata to a pupil, or with the prospect of sending the sonata out for publication. In Sonata K457, for example, two separate sets of embellishments for the returns of the second movement's principal theme survive on extra sheets of paper; they are not written out in the manuscript itself:

EXAMPLE 1.B: Piano Sonata K457, Movement II: Extract of written-out repetitions [69]



Interestingly, some of the autograph manuscripts of Mozart's piano sonatas remained unembellished at several instances, while their first editions, many published during the composer's lifetime, contain a substantial number of textual additions and emendations. One such example occurs in the Piano Sonata K284: here, several additional embellishments and performance directions appear in the edition (such as written out appoggiaturas, passing notes and dynamics):

[68] Extract reproduced from a digital scan of the autograph manuscript, supplied by the Jagiellonian Library, Krakow, where the autograph is currently located.
[69] Extract reproduced from the CD-ROM of *Fantasia and Sonata in C minor K 457 and 475* (Salzburg: Mozart Digital Edition, Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, 2006).

EXAMPLE 1.C: Piano Sonata K284, Movement III, Variation XI:i *Adagio Cantabile* [70]

Autograph Manuscript



First Edition



Such examples indicate clearly that it is inappropriate to speak of a definitive text since, by its very nature it is intentionally and consciously 'indefinite' in several instances, and thus the work is not necessarily stable or fixed. This open-ended nature and partial ambiguity must be perceived and accepted as part of a work's flexible, indefinite yet identifiable state. By dismissing the possibility of a definitive, unambiguous *Urtext*, variants such as those provided by the Mozart examples cited here, can be understood simply as *versions* of a single work which, despite their overlaps, may be united and identified by those features they have in common. In that light, one can talk more freely about a specific *version* or an edition or a performance of a particular work, rather than about the hazy, narrow idea of the fixed work itself.

It has been made clear that one cannot escape this indefinite nature of the written text, even when discussing musical works that have been notated in every single detail and according to our contemporary notational standards and practices. As Dart insightfully notes:

> A composer of the eighteenth or the sixteenth or the fourteenth century also used notation in accordance with the conventions of his own time, but there is therefore every chance in the world that a twentieth-century performer will entirely misrepresent his music through an inadequate knowledge of these conventions, for the most part long obsolete and forgotten. In a word, when a modern performer looks at a piece of early music he must not take for granted the significance of any of the symbols he sees.[71]

[70] Extract reproduced from a digital scan of the autograph manuscript, supplied by the Jagiellonian Library, Krakow, where the autograph is currently located.
[71] Thurston Dart, *Invitation to Medieval Music* (London: Stainer and Bell, 1967), p. 13.

Davies goes on to add that 'no notation, however detailed and highly structured, can determine its own application; all notations must be interpreted'.[72] It follows that taking a musical score 'literally' can immediately cause a major misunderstanding of its instructions. Similarly, when one is to discuss a work, equal emphasis must be placed upon both the score and the performance culture within which the work was conceived, for 'not all the definitive features of the work are indicated in its score'.[73] Once the interpreter (the editor or the performer) decides which of the instructions included in the score are work-determinative, there still remain numerous performance issues that are unspecified, and are up to one's informed personal judgment to decide.[74] Therefore, and since the evidence 'cannot provide instructions, so explicit as to eliminate ambiguity regarding intention',[75] rigid uniformity amongst editions or performances is pragmatically unattainable, let alone undesirable.

Thus, it can be said that the text of a work (irrespective of the number of different surviving sources) which is by nature open to interpretation, should not be regarded as incomplete or without identity, but rather, as characterized by an intentional 'indeterminacy that is constitutive of the work', by not constraining 'those details of performance that go beyond the piece in embodying it in sound'.[76] The text that the performer follows, not being the actual work of music, but merely a 'recipe' impregnated with potential meanings,[77] inevitably needs to be interpreted, through an act of textual criticism; and equally 'one can say that textual criticism of music incorporates interpretation, for one cannot make judgments about what should be in a score without trying to understand what the work, as a whole and in its parts, accomplishes'.[78] It is this very open-ended nature of the musical work, which must be reconstructed through indefinite sources, that constitutes interpretation and

[72] Davies, *Musical Works and Performances,* p. 144.
[73] Ibid. p. 107
[74] See also Stephen Davies, 'Authenticity in Musical Performance', in *British Journal of Aesthetics Vol. 27*, pp. 39-50; Richard Cochrane, 'Playing by the Rules: A pragmatic Characterization of Musical Performance', in *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* Vol. 58, pp. 135-142; Carol S. Gould and Kenneth Keaton, 'The Essential Role of Improvisation in Musical Performance', in *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism,* Vol. 58, pp. 143-148.
[75] Tanselle, *A Rationale of Textual Criticism*, p. 23. See also Taruskin, *Text and Act*, esp. pp. 51-66.
[76] Davies, *Musical Works and Performances*, p. 117.
[77] Irving, *Understanding Mozart's Piano Sonatas*, pp. 121 and 130.
[78] Tanselle, *A Rationale of Textual Criticism*, p. 23.

performance a creative act, and by extension, that allows for musical works to function as living organisms, transcending time.

To conclude, it can be said that the musical work is an idea that is only to a certain extent accessible through a combined study of the text, its contemporaneous notions and performance practice and through performance itself. Particularly with reference to Mozart's piano sonatas, this combination of text, performance and performance-practice is essential in the 'reconstruction' of the work at any time, and justifies a claim for a certain kind of 'authenticity' without becoming prescriptive, while recognizing the complicated relationship between the present and our perception of the past. Besides, the idea that a musical work can be identifiable without necessarily being stable or fixed is closely relevant to the skeletal notations found in several of Mozart's piano works, which provide strong evidence towards this argument.

The musical text is by nature provisional, open to interpretation, and by no means transparent to the work, which in turn is subject to historical, social and material conditions.[79] Mozart seems to have been conscious and more than welcoming of the text's 'indefiniteness', essentially acknowledging it as a feature of contemporaneous performance and incorporating it in his music, most particularly in his works for keyboard.[80] Given that all musical texts, irrespective of their precision and detail, are bound to interpretation, the texts of Mozart's piano sonatas do not by themselves constitute the work nor do they aspire to do so: the work's realization involves the creation of an infinite number of renditions, and ultimately relies on qualities of the text, its interpretation and performance.[81] These conclusions will be explored further in subsequent chapters in the context of past centuries and practices, so as to establish the impact of varied approaches upon the formation of the musical text and the evolution of what we have come to define as 'versions' of works – in this case, of Mozart's piano sonatas.

[79] See also Bruce Horner, 'On the study of music as material social practice' in *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Spring 1998), pp. 159-199, esp. p. 161.
[80] See also Irving, *Understanding Mozart's Piano Sonatas*, esp. pp. 126 ff.
[81] See also Janice E. Kleeman, 'The parameters of musical transmission' in *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Winter 1985-1986), pp. 1-22.

– CHAPTER II –

Music Praxis in Mozart's Eighteenth Century

STRUCTURE:

- Introduction
- The Musical Culture
- Aspects of the Musical Work
- Publication and the Rise of Keyboard Music
- Forming the Printed Text – The Publishers' Practices
- Summary - Conclusions

Introduction

If Mozart's piano sonatas are to be viewed as adjacent to the emergence of autonomous musical works in the late-eighteenth century, then the contexts within which they were conceived, developed and matured, as well as the impact these contexts have had on the texts themselves, ought to be further explored.

Consequently, this chapter intends to investigate the culture within which Mozart's piano sonatas evolved, and the ways in which the former affected or even determined the nature and the text of the latter. This chapter will therefore touch upon issues of late-eighteenth-century performance practice, which was considerably affected by the increasing number of cultivated amateurs, and was supported by and documented in treatises on theory, performance and taste. Furthermore, the chapter will refer to the massive expansion in the domestic use of keyboard instruments, and the impact that this expansion has had on the elevation of the keyboard sonata as one of the most popular genres of the time.

As an extension of the popularity of the keyboard sonata, the attitude of publishers towards the genre and the techniques which they employed to market their prints of sonatas must also be examined. This will inevitably include an investigation of late-eighteenth-century printing and publishing techniques, concluding with reference to the composers' expectations and demands over the resulting printed versions of their works. Ultimately, conclusions regarding the nature of the printed text (with particular reference to Mozart's piano sonatas), as opposed to the nature of the autograph manuscripts, will be drawn.

The Musical Culture

> Beginning in the 1780s Viennese music witnessed a steady rise in productivity, compositional technique and artistic pretension. Until 1809, the "systems" that sustained it – modes of composition and publication, noble patrons, musical institutions (including theatres, "academies" and private establishments, as well as middle-class musical activity), generic preferences, and so on – remained essentially unchanged…[1]

Apart from epitomizing the musical scene of the late-eighteenth-century Vienna, the above statement raises another important issue, concerning the periodization of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: while the eighteenth century's boundaries from a strictly chronological view are determined by the calendar, the eighteenth-century as a historically coherent period is construed by characteristics that are taken as definitive of its boundaries. By this token, and depending on which characteristics are interpreted as definitive, the eighteenth-century historical period has been defined by a number of historians as ending much prior to 1780, while the nineteenth century as lasting until the outbreak of the First World War.[2] On the other end, Dahlhaus places Mozart's late-eighteenth-century within a completely different set of boundaries, defining the eighteenth-century historical period as beginning in ca. 1720 and ending in 1814, and the nineteenth century as ending precisely a hundred years later, in 1914.[3]

Along similar lines, Webster has suggested a tripartite reading of the eighteenth century: he argues that the first two decades of the eighteenth century belong to the 'late baroque period', while the years between c.1720 and 1780 constitute a period in their own right, which could be called the 'central eighteenth century', and that the period from 1780 up to 1830 is understood as 'pre-Romantic', featuring the rise of a 'regulative work concept' and the ascension of autonomous instrumental music.[4] In

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[1] James Webster, 'Between Enlightenment and Romanticism in Music History: "First Viennese Modernism" and the Delayed Nineteenth Century' in *19th-Century Music*, Vol. 25, No. 2/3 [The Long Century, 1780-1920] (Autumn, 2001 – Spring, 2002), pp. 108-126, p. 121.

[2] See, for example, David Blackbourn, *The Long Nineteenth Century: A History of Germany 1780-1918* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Lynne Tatlock (ed.), *Publishing Culture and the Reading Nation: German Book History in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2010) and *The Nineteenth-Century Music Review* (Ashgate Publishing, 2007), described as aiming 'to locate music within the widest possible framework of intellectual activity pertaining to the long nineteenth century (c. 1789 – 1914).'

[3] Carl Dahlhaus (ed.), 'Die Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts' from the series *Neues Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft*, Vol. 5 (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1985), esp. pp. 1-8 and 139-147.

[4] James Webster, 'The Eighteenth Century as a Music-Historical Period?' in *Eighteenth Century Music* (2004), Vol. 1 No. 1, pp. 47-60.

any case, the fact that the late-eighteenth century falls either at the end of a historical period or right at the beginning of another signifies just how important that time has been in music history: whether understood by current historians as representing the peak of a concluding era or the seeds for the genesis of another, the late-eighteenth century inarguably represents a cornerstone in the narrative of musical evolution. It should be noted, however, that this constructed periodization, especially in Webster's case, is particularly centred in Germany, with little reference to Italy, France or England.[5]

The musical culture which is of interest to this thesis is Vienna during the 1780s; whatever broader periodizations one may construct, Viennese music culture can be pinned down in ways that are characteristic of its particular time and place, and in ways germane to how we think about Mozart. From a historical point of view,[6] the 1780s witnessed a new musical, intellectual and cultural flourishing under the reign of Joseph II: marked by the founding of the *National-Theater* in 1778 and of the new *opera buffa* troupe[7] five years later, music-making became firmly established as an important part of the country's culture. Apart from the concert hall, music's emerging function as pure recreation in the sphere of consumption gradually extended to activities within domestic settings.[8] Especially in Vienna, both the aristocracy and the cultivated amateurs played an active role: domestic music-making took place on all social levels, while concerts in aristocratic houses were open to all music-lovers.[9]

Most importantly, music-making ultimately became such an important part of social life, that the owning of a household piano was increasingly considered a *sine qua non*.[10] As Mattheson wrote: '[It is amateurs] who make up the largest heap of [users

[5] Many thanks to Cliff Eisen for indicating this Germano-centric tendency in Webster's retrospection.
[6] See Guido Adler, *Methode der Musikgeschichte*, (2nd Edition, Berlin: Keller, 1929-30), Vol. 1, p. 69.
[7] For which Mozart composed *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, *Le nozze di Figaro* and *Così fan tutte* respectively.
[8] See also Robert Marshall (ed.). *Eighteenth-Century Keyboard Music,* (2nd Edition, New York and London: Schirmer, 1994)
[9] For example, professionals who played at the Burgtheater, took part regularly in the Friday concerts held in Prince Lichnowsky's house. See Mary Sue Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna: aspects of a developing musical and social institution* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1989).
[10] See also Volkmar Braunbehrens, *Mozart in Vienna 1781 – 1791*, trans. T. Bell (New York: Grove Press, 1989), p. 146.

of music] and it is to these that a sensible composer must address himself…'[11] This growing, active interest on behalf of music amateurs naturally affected the structure of musical life to a great extent: it contributed significantly to the expansion of music as a social and compositional activity, as well as to the avid development of keyboard manufacturing and music publishing,[12] through the constant and notably high demand for new compositions.

The result was a flourishing market for sheet music: responding to the rising demand, and land-marked by the founding of the *Artaria*[13] firm in 1778, a local music-printing industry emerged, which eventually established Vienna as the third largest European publishing capital after Paris and London.[14] The new printing techniques enlarged the market in a decisive way; the new pewter-plate method of printing offered the possibility of using cheaper plates than those of copper, providing advantages in the cost and the number of copies that could be printed. Conversely, the massive expansion of commercial publication affected musical activity to a considerable extent, contributing towards the formation of a new core of audience: The primary published material consisted of genres that appealed to both professionals and amateurs, mainly involving chamber works, music for solo keyboard, and *Lieder*.

The fact that almost all keyboard music to be heard and published was contemporaneous, meant that the composition of works for the instrument was now largely targeted towards publication, opening up an important artistic, creative and profitable prospect to composers, who could either sell compositions to publishers, or potentially self-publish their works and sell them for profit.[15] And though there was still no copyright law in Germany at the time,[16] the system of reservation by

[11] *Das forschende Orchester in Horst Heussner*, "Nürnberger Musikverlag und Musikalienhandel im 18. Jahrhundert.", transl. by Hans Lenneberg as part of the book *On the publishing and dissemination of music, 1500-1850* (Hillsdale, New York: Pendragon Press, 2003), pp. 67-68.
[12] See also William Weber, *Music and the Middle Class*, (2nd Edition, London: Ashgate Publishing, 2004).
[13] The firm acted as Mozart's and Haydn's principal Viennese publisher.
[14] An extended discussion of this issue is provided in the section titled *Publication and the Rise of Keyboard Music*.
[15] For instance, the Viennese composer Hoffmeister, apart from self-publishing his works, also founded his own publishing house, printing and distributing works by his fellow composers. Leopold Kozeluch also turned to publishing in order to support his career. In other European capitals, Clementi in London and Pleyel in Paris were also publishers and piano makers besides being composers and concert performers.
[16] Before copyright laws existed, a composer could only derive a one-time payment from each publication. Likewise, publishers wished for a rapid sale directly after publishing, since they could not

subscription became common for publications, which were announced at the appropriate time by public notices in the newspapers.

It was these favorable prospects of publishing that Mozart had in mind when, soon after his move to Vienna, along with public appearances, he showed great interest in securing his financial positions through publication: according to Braunbehrens, 110 works of the 790 listed in the Köchel Catalogue (6th Edition) were printed during his Viennese years;[17] an unusually high number that very few of his colleagues were able to match. In Michael North's ranking[18] of composers in Germany around 1800 based on their published works, Mozart is listed as the composer with the most published works, followed by Beethoven and then Haydn, while other Mozart contemporaries, such as Pleyel and Hoffmeister, appear much later on the list.[19] Interestingly, this recent conclusion contradicts Hyatt King's mid-twentieth-century assertion that Mozart was 'less published during his lifetime than Handel, Haydn and Beethoven during theirs'.[20]

TABLE 2.A: RANKING OF COMPOSERS (c.1800) ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF PUBLISHED WORKS

1. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart	(1756 – 1791)
2. Ludwig van Beethoven	(1770 – 1827)
3. Joseph Haydn	(1732 – 1809)
4. Daniel Gottlieb Steibelt	(1765 – 1823)
5. Ignaz Pleyel	(1757 – 1831)
6. Franz Krommer	(1759 – 1831)
7. Leonhard von Call	(1767 – 1815)
8. Franz Anton Hoffmeister	(1754 – 1812)
9. Adalbert Gyrowetz	(1763 – 1850)
10. Johann Baptist Vanhal	(1739 – 1813)

be protected from pirated editions, which were often cheaper than the original editions. More on copyright protection in late-eighteenth-century Europe in Chapter III: Mozart and the Publishers. See also Lewis Lockwood, *Beethoven: The Music and the Life* (New York: Norton, 2003), p. 91.

[17] See Braunbehrens, *Mozart in Vienna 1781 – 1791*, p. 135.

[18] Michael North, *Material delight and the joy of living: Cultural consumption in the Age of Enlightenment in Germany* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2008), p. 126. It is stated that the ranking has been compiled based on relevant research material in Axel Beer, *Musik zwischen Komponist, Verlag und Publikum. Die Rahmenbedingungen des Musikschaffens in Deutschland im ersten Drittel des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2000), pp. 47-50.

[19] See Table 2.A., reproduced from North, *Material delight*, p. 126.

[20] A. Hyatt King, *Mozart in Retrospect* (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), as quoted in William Stafford, *The Mozart Myths: A critical reassessment*, (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1993), p. 252.

The fact that Mozart was one of the most published composers – and also one of the most well-rewarded for publishing his works[21] – is directly linked to the popularity of his performed music: for, as North notes, 'the reputation of the composer…was key to the successful sale of a work'.[22] The success of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* had already brought Mozart great popularity after its premiere in 1782, while at the same time he had managed to establish himself as one of the finest keyboard players in Vienna, so that by 1786 he had given more than 71 public performances and private concerts.[23] His growing reputation was also reinforced by visiting and local virtuosos, as well as by concert organizations, which frequently performed his newly commissioned works.[24] Performances brought Mozart considerable acclaim: a review of the December *Tonkünstler-Societät* concert spoke highly of 'the deserved fame of this master, as well known as he is universally valued'.[25]

It was precisely this popularity during the first half of the 1780s that led to an unprecedented demand for Mozart's printed works: Artaria published his six sonatas for keyboard and violin[26] in November 1781; in 1784 Torricella published his three keyboard sonatas K333, 284 and 454, and Artaria his keyboard sonatas K330-332; in July 1784 Lausch advertised manuscript copies of six piano concertos; in February 1785 Traeg offered copies of three symphonies; in 1785 Artaria printed the three concertos K413–15, the Fantasia and Sonata K475/457 and the *Haydn Quartets*.[27]

This success appears to have brought about a fundamental shift in Mozart's attitude towards composition and publishing: from 1786 onwards, several of his works were

[21] See the analytical reference to Mozart's and other composers' payment rates by Artaria in Rupert Ridgewell, 'Music Printing in Mozart's Vienna: The Artaria Press', in *International Association of Music Libraries*, Vol. 48 No. 3 (Sept. 2001), pp. 217-236 and 'Mozart's Publishing plans with Artaria in 1787: New Archival Evidence', in *Music and Letters*, Vol. 83 No. 1 (February 2002), pp. 30-74.
[22] North, *Material delight*, p. 126.
[23] For an account of Mozart performances see Robbins Landon (ed.) *The Mozart Compendium* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990).
[24] On 23 March 1783, for instance, the clarinettist Anton Stadler performed the Wind Serenade K361, and on 29 April Mozart and the violinist Regina Strinasacchi played the Sonata K454.
[25] 'Wiener Zeitung' (24 December 1785) in Cliff Eisen, *New Mozart Documents: A Supplement to O. E. Deutch's Documentary Biography* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1991), pp. 38-9. For an excellent summary of Mozart reception and reviews see also Landon (ed.) *Mozart Compendium*, esp. pp. 216-228.
[26] K296, 376/374d, 377/374e, 378/317d, 379/373a and 380/374f.
[27] Information as listed by Cliff Eisen, 'Mozart, (Johann Chrysostom) Wolfgang Amadeus: Vienna, 1781-1788' in Cliff Eisen and Simon P. Keefe (eds.), *The Cambridge Mozart Encyclopedia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 303-343, p. 315.

planned primarily with a view towards publication rather than public performance,[28] while his public performances also decreased considerably. Also, as Irving has suggested,[29] the textual revisions found in the first editions of Mozart's piano sonatas, such as those in K332, may in fact indicate an alignment with certain emerging trends of the 1780s in Vienna: as public presentations of solo piano music by professional performers noted for their virtuosity became increasingly popular at the time, so did the first edition aspire in reconstructing a textual codification of that performance practice.[30]

This last assertion, that sets forth crucial questions about the work and its written codifications in the eighteenth century, is further addressed in the next section.

[28] Ibid. These include the *Piano Quartets* K478 and K493, the *Piano Trios* K496, K542 and K548, the *String Quintets* K515-6, the *Hoffmeister Quartet* K499 and the *Sonata for Piano and Violin* K526.
[29] Irving, *Understanding Mozart's Piano Sonatas*, pp. 132 ff.
[30] Mozart's involvement in the publishing process, as well as the textual emendations which appear in the majority of first editions compared to the autograph manuscripts, will be further addressed in Chapter III.

Aspects of the Musical Work in late-18th-century Vienna

> Wherein consists the art of playing prima vista? In this: To play in the proper tempo; give expression to every note, appoggiatura, etc., tastefully and as they are written, so as to create the impression that the player had composed the piece.[31]

The rising demand for 'proper' – as Mozart put it – interpretation in the eighteenth century meant that the roles of performers, listeners and composers were increasingly undergoing refinement: a slow but steady transition regarding the determinative traits of what constitutes a performance true to the notation was ignited, which was mainly characterized by an increasing level of control over the text on behalf of composers.

Of course, this is not to say that composers of the late-eighteenth century wished to prevent the extemporization of their works in performance – on the contrary, interpretive initiatives were not only accepted but also encouraged, especially when carried out tastefully by informed, dexterous performers.[32] It could be said, then, that to a certain degree the notation did assert control over the work, but was not determinative of every aspect of performance; while in other instances, the notation could be understood as representing a particular performance in itself, in which case the text was quite determinative of that performance, but not of the work per se.[33] In any case, composers expected that their musical ideas be comprehended, interpreted with care and transmitted imaginatively through performance,[34] employing not only an understanding of the notation, but also a thorough knowledge and awareness of contemporaneous theory, performance practice and taste.[35]

Several treatises on the multiple aspects of music-making were produced in the second half of the eighteenth century, the most famous being those on performance

[31] This is part of Mozart's letter to his father, written in Mannheim in January 17, 1778, and refers to a composer's critique of the playing of Abbe Vogler. In Friedrich Kerst, *Mozart: The Man and the Artist as Revealed in his own Words*, trans. Henry Edward Krehbiel (1907, Electronic Text Edition 2004, as part of the Project Gutenberg at www.gutenberg.org, accessed 10 January 2006), Quotation No. 62.

[32] See also Waldo S. Pratt, *The History of Music – A Handbook and Guide for Students* (Reprint. Whitefish, Montana: Kessinger Publishing, 2004), esp. p. 389.

[33] On the attributes of the notation and its relation to performance see also Chapter I, as well as Cliff Eisen's article 'The primacy of performance: text, act and continuo in Mozart's keyboard concertos' in Dorothea Link and Judith Nagley (eds.), *Words about Mozart: Essays in Honour of Stanley Sadie* (Woodbrige: Boydell, 2005), pp. 107-120.

[34] One aspect of this new relationship between composer and public was underlined by Theodor Körner in his essay *Über Charakterdarstellung in der Musik* (1795): 'the conceptual universe of [the composer's] public is enriched through his creation'.

[35] See also Joel Lester, *Compositional Theory in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992).

by Leopold Mozart, Quantz, C. P. E. Bach [36] and Türk[37], with corresponding theory treatises by Marpung[38], d' Alembert[39], Kirnberger[40] and Vogler[41], and philosophy treatises by Diderot[42], Rousseau[43] and Kant[44]. One of the most significant aspects of the German treatises of the time (and especially those concerning performance) was that they were increasingly directed towards the cultivated amateur, featuring verbose descriptions and 'self-help' directions of interest primarily to music consumers.[45] As such, the treatises served as 'social documents of their times, demonstrating music's attraction to a broader social sector':[46] for, it was mainly the increasing numbers of amateur audiences and music lovers, along with the rise of chamber works for domestic performances and of public concerts, and the emerging popularity of the pianoforte in households[47] that paved the way towards the changes which occurred later, both in the transmission and the understanding of musical works.

It is, in fact, possible to acknowledge an interrelationship between the emergence of the concept of the autonomous work and the institution of the public concert, which

[36] Leopold Mozart's *Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing* (1755), probably the major work of its period on violin performance, was comparable in importance to Quantz's *On Playing the Flute* (1752), and C. P. E. Bach's *The Art of Playing the Keyboard* (1753).
[37] Daniel Gottlob Türk's (1750 – 1813) interest in performance is evident in his best known treatise, the *Klavierschule* (1789), as well as in his treatises for Organ (1787), and for figured bass (1800), the latter being the most important contribution to the topic after C.P.E. Bach's *Versuch* (1753).
[38] Friedrich Wilhelm Marpung's (1718-1795) *Handbuch bey dem Generalbasse und der Composition* (Berlin: 1755 and 1758) is considered as one of the major works of the mid-eighteenth century, through which Rameau's ideas were transmitted to Germany. It includes a translation of D'Alembert's *Elémens de Musique Théorique et Pratique* (See next footnote).
[39] Jean le Rond D' Alembert (1717-1783), contributed articles to Diderot's *Encyclopédie* (See footnotes 42 and 97 in this chapter). D' Alembert's *Elémens de Musique Théorique et Pratique* (Lyon: 1772) contains an extensive critique of Rameau's work.
[40] Johann Philipp Kirnberger (1721 - 1783), a student of J. S. Bach and a significant theorist, having written *Grundsätze des Generalbasses als erste Linien zur Composition* (Vienna: ca. 1790) and *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik*. (Berlin: 1771).
[41] Georg Joseph Vogler's (1749 – 1814) *Betrachtungen der Mannheimer Tonschule*, (1778) is a series of critical essays on contemporary issues, tracing the foundations of comparative musicology.
[42] Denis Diderot (1713 – 1784). *Encyclopédie* (1750-1772).
[43] Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778). *Lettre sur la Musique françoise* (1753).
[44] Immanuel Kant, *Kritik der Urteilskraft* (1790).
[45] See also Colin Lawson and Robin Stowell, *The historical performance of music: An introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 22-27, and Robin Stowell, 'Performance practice in the eighteenth-century concerto' in Simon P. Keefe (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Concerto* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 192-226, esp. pp. 196-197.
[46] Lawson and Stowell, *The historical performance of music*, p. 24.
[47] Characteristically, in Vienna alone at the end of the eighteenth century, some sixty piano makers were active. See also Philip Belt, Maribel Meisel and Alfons Huber. 'Pianoforte – History of the Instrument – Germany and Austria, 1750-1800' in *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy, (accessed 10 October 2008), http://www.grovemusic.com.

crystallized in the eighteenth century.[48] This combination, matched by a move away from the idea of art as 'mimesis' to 'art for its own sake'[49] and enhanced by the advances in the fields of publication and instrument manufacturing, brought on a substantial change in music praxis:[50] through a very slow procession from the seventeenth century onwards, music in Europe was gradually detached from its role as a ritual and functional entity, and was largely perceived as an increasingly autonomous form of art and spectacle,[51] creating 'an immense field for developing musical ideas within self-contained works'.[52]

In terms of the late-eighteenth century, then, the musical work can be defined as a creation not necessarily bound to its original functional role as part of a certain occasion or event; a creation which was vitally intertwined with the thorough knowledge of contemporaneous performance practice not only for its realization but also, as Irving has suggested, for its composition.[53] As such, the text and context of the musical work were rather subjected to consequent adjustments and alterations, often depending on issues of functionality and on the availability of performance resources. These are probably the textual traits referred to by Scott when he purported that in the eighteenth century an 'accurate score' (or, more correctly, a thoroughly prescriptive text) 'had not been especially desirable, since improvisation was still a major feature of music-making'.[54] On a similar note, Davies argues that

> …works, thought of as entities that invite repeat performance and can be re-identified from one performance to another, pre-existed the nineteenth century, though composers often produced given works in several versions and left much to the performer.[55]

[48] Carl Dahlhaus, *Schoenberg and the New Music*, transl. Derrick Puffett and Alfred Clayton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), esp. pp. 210-234.
[49] See also Andrew Bowie, 'Philosophy of Music – III. Aesthetics, 1750-2000', *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy, (accessed 10 October 2008), http://www.grovemusic.com.
[50] See also Chapter I.
[51] Peter Kivy, *Music Alone: Philosophical Reflections on the Purely Musical Experience* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990).
[52] Stephen Blum, 'Composition'. *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy, (accessed 10 October 2008), http://www.grovemusic.com.
[53] Irving, *Understanding Mozart's Piano Sonatas*, p. 4.
[54] Derek Scott, *Music, Culture and Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 190.
[55] Davies, 'Aesthetic Issues of Specific Art-forms', p. 494.

Similarly, Dahlhaus asserted that up to the eighteenth century musical texts were 'mere scenarios' for ephemeral performance occasions.[56] All of the above arguments have relied on the prevailing eighteenth-century philosophical notions regarding the nature of the work and its realization through performance, which were in fact rooted in preceding centuries:[57] most particularly in Descartes' claim that, in order for a musical work to be understood as a unity, imaginative activity is required on behalf of the listener.[58] However, the idea of imaginative listening does not in itself exclude another highly plausible possibility recently suggested by Eisen, regarding the specificity of the text: in a case-driven argument regarding the piano concertos of Mozart, Eisen was the first to purport that, in certain instances, the musical text may also be understood as representing a particular and context-specific performance of the work rather than the work itself.[59]

Eisen's argument brings forth another issue, regarding the definiteness of a source on the selection of instruments: if, according to this idea, a textual source represents a context-specific performance, it further follows that the instruments employed within that source could have also been determined by their availability for that particular performance.[60] This goes hand in hand with the fact that, despite the emergence of music printing, late-eighteenth-century composers often continued to rely on the circulation of their music through manuscript copies,[61] for two important reasons: First, music-copying was often reputed for offering cheaper and more accurate music

[56] Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), p. 138.
[57] Reinhard Strohm, 'Looking back at Ourselves: The Problem with the Musical Work-Concept' in Michael Talbot (ed.), *The Musical Work: Reality or Invention*, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), pp. 128-152.
[58] This was part of Descartes' *Compendium Musicae* (1650). Detailed contents of Descartes' theories in Albert Cohen, 'Descartes, Rene', in *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy, (accessed 10 October 2008), http://www.grovemusic.com.
[59] Eisen, 'The primacy of performance' in *Words about Mozart*, pp. 107-120. See also discussion at the beginning of this section. This idea has also been expressed by Irving in *Understanding Mozart's Piano Sonatas*. On Irving's connection between composition and performance see also relevant references in the previous section and in Chapter One.
[60] For instance, while it has not been established with certainty whether Mozart's Symphony No. 40 was ever performed during his lifetime, the fact that the composer added a pair of clarinets to the original scoring (which only called for a flute, and pairs of oboes, horns and strings) later on, may in fact indicate that that the score was emended in view of an upcoming performance. Therefore, it could be said that two versions of the symphony survive and that both are equally valid as the textual representations of two different performance approaches of it. For a detailed discussion, see Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart: A Documentary Biography*. (California: Stanford University Press, 1965), p. 320.
[61] See also Neal Zaslaw, *Mozart's Symphonies: Context, Performance Practice, Reception* (Oxford: Oxford University Press,1991), pp. 269-74.

compared to printed editions.[62] Second, particularly in orchestral and stage genres, such as the opera, the use of manuscript copies not only offered the composer a measure of control over the text, but most importantly, it provided the opportunity to adjust a work and its instrumentation to suit the needs of each production – something that would have been impossible had the work been printed rather than copied by hand. The specificity of instrument within the text is also evident in the keyboard works by Mozart: though he often interchanged the terms *clavier* and *cembalo* in his manuscripts and correspondence,[63] both terms were in fact employed at the time by all German-speaking composers as equivalent, denoting keyboard instruments with strings:[64] regardless, the dynamic markings in Mozart's keyboard parts from as early as Op. 5, and especially after 1778, indicate strongly that what he had in mind was indeed a performance on the pianoforte.[65] All these performance-specific attributes of the text provide further evidence in support of an understanding of each source as representing a particular performance, rather than the work itself in an absolute form.

Another performance-related attribute of the text concerns the structural role of each composition as part of a set: whereas in the early eighteenth century the idea of a 'set of works' functioned merely as a collection of works of the same genre or of high public demand,[66] the late eighteenth century also saw an important shift towards the function of a group of works as intentionally structured according to a greater plan for performance.[67] Composers of that time often produced sets of works that were characterized by a planned distribution of keys, which would provide unity amongst the set while also allow for a smooth, coherent aural progression during the performance of the complete set: for instance, Mozart's Op. 1 – 3[68] (K6-15), his violin sonatas K26-31 and his set of six piano sonatas K189d-h and 205b, in C, F, Bb,

[62] See also Hans Lenneberg, *The Dissemination of Music: Studies in the History of Music Publishing* (Lausanne: Routledge, 1994).
[63] See article by Katalin Komlós, 'Mozart the Performer' in Simon Keefe (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Mozart* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 215-226.
[64] See relevant discussion in Richard Maunder, 'Mozart's Walter Fortepiano' in *Early Music*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (2000), pp. 685-686.
[65] See also Daniel Heartz, *Haydn, Mozart and the Viennese School* (New York and London: Norton, 1995), pp. 584-595.
[66] In the early eighteenth century, publishers often delivered sonatas for various instruments one by one, eventually forming sets of 12, or 2 sets of 6: For instance, Clementi's sonatas for solo, duo and trio in Op. 2 (1770) and Hummel's sonatas in Op. 2a (1792).
[67] See also Jessie Ann Owens, *Composers at Work: The Craft of Musical Composition 1450-1600* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).
[68] Mozart's Op. 3 was a set of six sonatas for keyboard and violin or flute with optional cello, K10-15 (1764-5).

Eb, G and D, were amongst his most prominent published works intended as a coherent collection.[69]

Apart from such performance-related specificities, another factor was also at play in the formation or revision of the text: Saleability had become an important consideration for composers, most especially since, apart from optimum public recognition, it meant a considerable profit and most importantly, it opened up the way to more promising business deals with publishers. Leopold's words are indicative of the authority of public opinion and the importance of public recognition and saleability,[70] when he advises his son to let his name be known by way of 'something short, easy and popular',[71] and when he writes:

> I recommend you to think when at work not only of the musical but also of the unmusical public. You know that for ten true connoisseurs there are a hundred ignoramuses! Do not neglect the so-called popular, which tickles long ears.[72]

That said, additional considerations of saleability on behalf of the publishers could also affect aspects of the printed text, and often in ways that were beyond the composer's control.[73] For instance, while a composer might have specified a single keyboard instrument for which a work was composed, printed publications would often continue to bear the indication *Pour le Clavecin ou le Pianoforte*,[74] in accordance with the wide usage of both instruments at the time, so as to ensure better sales. Additionally, despite the composers' planned distribution of keys within the set, the final order could often be altered by the publisher, 'who would arrange in order of saleability, with the most 'difficult' – whether technically, emotionally or intellectually – coming late in sets.'[75]

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[69] Elaine Sisman, 'Six of One: The Opus Concept in the Eighteenth Century,' in *The Century of Bach and Mozart*, ed. Sean Gallagher and Thomas Forrest Kelly (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), pp. 79-107.
[70] See also William Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), esp. pp. 26-28.
[71] 'Leopold Mozart to his son, 13 August 1778' in Anderson, *Letters*. p. 597.
[72] 'Leopold Mozart to his son, 11 December 1780' in Anderson, *Letters*, p. 685.
[73] See also previous discussion in current section, regarding the level of composers' control in the production of manuscript copies as opposed to printed editions.
[74] Robert Levin, 'Mozart's Solo Keyboard Music' in Marshall (ed.), *Eighteenth-Century Music*, pp. 308-351.
[75] Derek Carew, *The Mechanical Muse: The Piano, Pianism and Piano Music c. 1760 – 1850* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2007), pp. 262-263.

Publication and the Rise of Keyboard Music

Even though only sporadic attempts in music publishing were made in Vienna prior to the 1770s,[76] the Austrian capital eventually became the third most important music-publication centre in late-eighteenth-century Europe, offering a diversity of musical material, such as manuscripts from Italy, typeset editions from Leipzig and engravings from Paris.[77] The chief centre of music printing in mid-eighteenth century was Paris, where there was a host of publishers, including Sieber and Huberty (who later moved to Vienna), with branches in the main European cities. Rivalry with London was very strong – meanwhile, Hummel was working in Amsterdam and Berlin; Breitkopf in Leipzig; Schlesinger in Berlin and Schott in Mainz.

The flourishing of music publishing in Vienna towards the end of the eighteenth century can be attributed to a variety of factors: first, it had undoubtedly become host to some of the most highly reputed and prestigious composers of the time, and the public demand for the dissemination of their music was high, both locally and across Europe;[78] second, Viennese publishers served an area that extended far beyond the Austrian capital and into most of Bohemia and much of Catholic Germany, where publishing was not very common;[79] and third, the increasing ownership of keyboard instruments by Viennese households created a lucrative potential market for music for/with keyboard, which gradually attracted the financial interest of publishers and instrument manufacturers from across Europe.[80]

The majority of publishing firm founders were not native Viennese: apart from Nikolai and Kurzböck, who published Hafner's *Ernst in Liedern* in 1763, the first to engrave music in Vienna were the Hungarian Trattner and the Parisian Huberty, who

[76] Such as Gottlieb Muffat's keyboard music publication (1726).
[77] It was common practice at the time to import editions that had already been printed in other countries and sell them under a different label, rather than to print them from scratch. This was certainly the case with editions exchanged between London, Paris and Vienna. The importing trade of printed keyboard music in late-eighteenth-century Europe is discussed in Richard Maunder, *Keyboard Instruments in Eighteenth-century Vienna* (New York and Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 102-104.
[78] For a list of the most reputed composers residing in Vienna see Table 2.A. Further discussion regarding the contribution of composers to the flourishing of music publication is provided as part of Chapter Four, 'Introduction: An Advancing Germany'.
[79] See also Rudolf Rasch (ed.), *The circulation of music in Europe, 1600-1900: a collection of essays and case studies* (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2008), esp. Introduction.
[80] Such as Huberty and the Augsburg piano maker Johann Andreas Stein. See Richard Maunder, *Keyboard Instruments in Eighteenth-century Vienna*, p. 102.

settled there in 1777. Huberty's engraving methods were not out of the ordinary, but the volume of music engraved by his family in conjunction with Artaria and the Swiss Torricella from 1781 onwards was remarkable. The Artaria firm (founded 1770), originally a prints dealer, acted as the principal publisher of Haydn and Mozart during the final decade of his life. Artaria's editions were immediately successful, dominating Viennese music publishing until the end of the century. Also, the composer Franz Anton Hoffmeister, who founded a firm in 1784, ranked alongside Artaria both for his important and ambitious editions by subscription and for his varied dealings with other publishers.[81] Soon after, many rival Austrian firms were founded, offering printed or copied music, such as that of Löschenkohl, a specialist in cheap engravings; Traeg, active as a dealer in manuscript material from 1781; Lausch, also a copyist, operating a music lending business, loaning manuscript music for six months; Kozeluch, a composer, trading as the *Musikalisches Magazin,* and many more, all of them eager to profit from the publication of works by contemporaneous musicians. [82]

As a general rule, the majority of printed music in the eighteenth century was of works for/with keyboard, with particular preference in sonatas. This is illustrated by the catalogues of three of the largest publishing houses of the time:[83] in Nuremburg, Haffner published approximately 300 sonatas between 1742 and 1766 from a total of 500 publications. Of these, approximately 240 were for solo keyboard. In Leipzig, Breitkopf listed approximately 2200 sonatas in the thematic catalogue of manuscripts in his keeping, which dates from 1762 to 1787. Of these manuscripts, approximately 30% were for solo keyboard and an equal amount for accompanied keyboard. Lastly, Artaria in Vienna published more than 1800 sonatas between 1778 and 1858; half of these were for accompanied keyboard and approximately 40% for solo keyboard. The popularity of the genre is also indicated by the corresponding figures for three

[81] Hoffmeister's most important dealing is perhaps his sale of selected titles to Artaria: on 12 August 1786 Artaria bought 980 of his engraving plates at a public auction, together with all his publishing rights for these works (including some of Mozart's compositions). This business relationship lasted until the turn of the century, as Hoffmeister continued to surrender portions of his publishing business to Artaria. See Rupert Ridgwell, 'Artaria's Music shop and Bocherini's music in Viennese musical life' in *Early Music*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (May 2005), pp. 179-189.
[82] See also Heartz, *Haydn, Mozart and the Viennese School*, pp. 72-74.
[83] Information as listed in William Newmann, *The Sonata in the Classic Era, Vol. 2* (Chappell Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963), pp. 69-71.

important Viennese composers: sonatas comprise about half of Haydn's and Beethoven's output of instrumental works and about one quarter of Mozart's.[84]

Apart from keyboard sonatas, other sonata settings also enjoyed popularity in eighteenth-century Vienna, especially for domestic use: sonatas for duet (four hands on a single keyboard), such as those by J. C. Bach (T. 340, 1778), Clementi (Op. 3, 1780) and Mozart (K123a and 186c, 1783) were amongst the most prominent works of the time. Sonatas for two keyboards also enjoyed some popularity, though they appeared less frequently (Clementi's Op. la/6 and Op. 12/5, and Mozart's K375a). Quite often, symphonies, concertos and chamber works were transcribed into keyboard sonatas and vice versa: Clementi adapted his concertos into two solo piano sonatas (Op. 32/3 and 34/1), and Beethoven his E major Sonata (Op. 14/1) into a version for string quartet in F major.[85]

The popularity of sonatas compared to other forms of instrumental music can be interpreted with reference to the financial, cultural and social circumstances of the era. First of all, the cost of printing when a set of sonatas (accompanied or not) was published was less, compared to a reduction of an operatic score, while the prospects for sales were substantially better. Secondly, the various possibilities in settings could be targeted towards a wider market spectrum. Mozart's Op. 1-2 (K6-7 and 8-9), printed in Paris in the spring of 1764, represent a typical case of how settings could be interchanged, especially prior to the 1770s: while K6 was originally conceived for solo keyboard, Wolfgang himself added the optional violin part at a later stage. The optional addition of a violin part, which was more often than not added by the publisher, was favoured in Paris at the time, and served the double purpose of enriching the sonority and ensuring commercial popularity.

Lastly, the enormous success of the keyboard sonata was a direct outcome of the evolution of keyboard instruments and their increasing availability in several households. Therefore, the demand of keyboard sonatas as study pieces in the private domain[86] was constantly rising and, as C. P. E. Bach noted, 'works for clavier sell

[84] Ibid.
[85] Most of these transcriptions were published under such titles as *Sonates en Symphonique* or *Sonata o vero Sinfonia*, though in some instances they did keep their original title.
[86] See also Carew, *The Mechanical Muse*, esp. pp. 263-267.

better and are also for non-Germans'.[87] The growing diversity of keyboard instruments also brought forward a variety in sonata titles, since publishers wished to target their editions towards both progressive and conservative customers: thus, the seventeenth-century heading *per organo e cembalo* became *per cembalo o piano forte* in the eighteenth. Most editions of the time, such as Eckard's *Six Sonates pour le clavecin* (1763) were advertised as intended for performance on both the clavichord and on the piano, and for this reason additional dynamic directions were often added.

It was not until the end of the century that composers began publishing their sonatas singly, such as Mozart did in the case of his *Sonata and Fantasia* K457 and K475 (Artaria, 1785). Earlier on, the only means for a composer who wished to publish one sonata at a time was through published anthologies, or by the method of private subscription. The latter was useful for financing publications and distributing them to music dealers: C. P. E. Bach was perhaps one of the best examples of a composer acting as his own publisher, with Breitkopf serving simply as a printer of the music:[88] several publisher-dealers would subscribe and on publication receive a number of copies, proportional to the amount of their subscription. Music was also sold on subscription to private individuals, and the benefit to the subscriber lay in the lower price paid. In August 1795, Artaria published Beethoven's Op. 1 by subscription. The subscribers' list contained 123 names, and amounted to 241 copies at one ducat each; and since Beethoven paid the publisher only a florin per copy he must have made considerable profit.

Mozart attempted many times to sell his works through subscriptions, since his and Leopold's long experience in dealing with publishers predisposed him to avoid them and try to maximize his profits by publishing his works himself. In a letter to his father,[89] he mentions an intention of selling some sonatas by subscription. However, no evidence is known concerning how and even whether the subscription scheme was

[87] Letter to Breitkopf, No. 241 in Stephen Clark (transl. & ed.), *The Letters of C. P. E. Bach* (Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press, 1997).
[88] The process of publishing by subscriptions is clearly outlined by C. P. E. Bach's correspondence. Subscribers ranged from 167 to 362; it is worth noting, however, that many of the lists are incomplete, and many subscribers ordered more than one copy. See Stephen Clark. *The Letters of C. P. E. Bach*, esp. Introduction.
[89] Letter to Leopold, 19 May 1781, in Anderson (ed.), *Letters*, pp.733-5:

realized.[90] The following year Mozart made another attempt to sell three keyboard concertos (K413-5) in manuscript copies, but, not having obtained sufficient subscribers, they were eventually sold to Artaria in March 1785. Similarly, his three string quintets (K406 [516b], 515 and 516) were first offered by subscription in April 1788, the offer being later extended to January 1789.[91] Other eighteenth-century subscription sales by publishers, especially those of anthologies, seem to have been highly successful: Hoffmeister's subscription series,[92] which included works by Mozart,[93] was widely disseminated throughout Europe.[94] It must be emphasized, however, that the number of copies was not nearly as large as it is today, usually numbering up to 600 copies, and only in exceptional instances reaching 1000, depending on the number of subscribers who had pre-requested a particular edition.[95]

[90] It is possible that Mozart abandoned the idea and sold the sonatas to Artaria just to get them out, for in November 1781 Artaria issued six violin sonatas, K296 and 376-380.
[91] Mozart's letter to M. Puchberg, June 1788, Vienna, in Anderson (ed.), *Letters,* p. 915.
[92] See Hoffmeister's advertisement in the *Brünner Zeitung*, 2 July 1785, for subscription to a collection of his works and of 'the best local composers', including Haydn, Mozart, Wanhall, Albrechtsberger, Pleyel et al. In Vienna, this advertisement first appeared on 6 August. See Eisen, *New Mozart Documents*, p. 36.
[93] Hoffmeister's subscription series included Mozart's sonatas for piano K330, 331 and 533; the rondos K485 and 511; the four-hand works K426, 501 and 521; the quartet K478; the string quartet K499; and the fugue K546.
[94] See Eisen, *New Mozart Documents*, p. 37.
[95] N. G. Gruner's first set of keyboard sonatas appeared in Leipzig in 1781 with 1365 subscribers, and the first volume of G. Benda *Sammlung vermischter Clavierstücke* (Gotha, 1780) with over 2000 subscribers. See Newmann, *The Sonata in the Classic Era*, Vol. 2, p. 74.

Forming the Printed Text – The Publishers' Practices

Engraving was the most common procedure for printing works in the late-eighteenth century. Some aspects of the process, having direct implications on the layout, the presentation and the accurate representation of the music, need to be examined at this point, before proceeding to the closer study of the first editions of Mozart's piano sonatas in the ensuing chapter.[96]

According to an article by Madame Delusse in Diderot's *Encyclopédie*,[97] the aim of the engraver was to reproduce the manuscript copy exactly, on a copper or pewter plate. The engraving process began with a detailed planning of the layout of the music. This involved consideration of the style of the music and the format that corresponded to the genre, decisions about the number of staves on a plate and where the line ends might come, and provision of space for ledger lines, texts and titles, for it was common practice to avoid using ledger lines between the staves, by changing to the other stave or by changing clefs.[98] Yet in practice, it seems that, contrary to Delusse's description, the detailed planning of the edition more often than not focused on issues of presentation rather than on the faithful reproduction of the text. For instance, the eighteenth-century case study of Mozart's piano sonatas presented further on indicates that, as a general rule, editions at the time paid little attention to phrasing marks: it often happened that longer slurs in the original draft had to be split up purely because of lack of space, because in printing, unlike handwritten sources, two slurs crossing or touching one another were avoided. A comparison of the primary sources regarding the slurring in the opening bars of the final movement of the *Sonata in C minor* K457 indicates that, either Mozart's contemporaries were

[96] An excellent summary of eighteenth-century printing and publishing practices is provided in Frederic M. Scherer, *Quarter notes and bank notes: the economics of music composition in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2004), esp. Chapter 7: The economics of music publishing, pp. 155-196.

[97] This article, by Mme Delusse, was the first valuable account of the methods of engraving. Available online as *The Encyclopedia of Diderot & d'Alembert Collaborative Translation Project*. (Ann Arbor: Scholarly Publishing Office of the University of Michigan Library, 2001. http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.did2222.0001.499 (accessed April 19, 2008). Originally published as "Gravure en lettres, en géographie et en musique," Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, vol. 5 (plates) (Paris, 1767).

[98] See also Ulrich Leisinger, *Mozart Klaviersonaten Band II* , Preface (Vienna: Wiener Urtext, 2003), pp. XIII-XV.

careless in reproducing slurs accurately, or they may have taken certain liberties when handling the musical text.

A similar attitude is observed in issues of ornamentation and dynamics: first editions often replaced some of the ornament symbols with others for no compelling reason, while also shifting dynamics or abbreviating their written out form.[99] Perhaps engravers thought that it would still be possible to see what was meant by those familiar with contemporary performance practice, even if they knowingly produced an inexact reproduction.[100] Or perhaps, while these inaccuracies might have been detected during proofreading, most were left uncorrected in order to avoid the time-consuming process of incorporating all of the corrections on the plates.[101] Another possibility might be that, despite the importance that composers placed on the accurate representation of these elements as central to the music's style and character, engravers of the time would not perceive of such marks as an integral part of the composition, treating them instead only as suggestions for performance, and adapting them according to their own judgment, or as their contemporary performance practices dictated: for, these works were published during a period when changes were occurring in all aspects of music-making, and most importantly, in what was perceived as definitive – but, as is the case with every transitional period, theory is not always applied as desired. Either way, what can be said with certainty is that, although composers may have acquired more control over the textual representation of their ideas during that time, the mediating procedures leading to the production of the printed text would still not respond effectively enough to these demands, despite the fact that printing technology was advanced enough to reproduce aspects of the manuscript more accurately than it did.

[99] The treatment of slurs, ornaments and dynamics by engravers will be further discussed in detail as part of the case study presented in the next chapter.

[100] From as early as the 17th century pedantic accuracy in the notation of polyphonic textures was avoided, by omitting rests and simplifying note lengths, especially in inner parts. A more detailed account of similar omissions listed in Geoffrey Chew and Richard Rastall, 'Notation - §III, 4: Mensural Notation from 1500', *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy, (accessed 10 October 2008), http://www.grovemusic.com.

[101] The process of proofreading is discussed more extensively later on.

The next stage in the engraving process, according to the *Encyclopédie,* was to layout the staff lines on each plate. When the ruling was finished, everything on the manuscript was lightly drawn on the plate. At this stage, the engraver might well have had to modify some of the detail written on the manuscript. When the cutting was finished, the plate was examined carefully and touched up as necessary. A proof-copy was pulled and errors were marked by the composer or the printer's reader for emendation. However, since making corrections on the plates, apart from being costly, was also laborious and held the additional danger of damaging the immediate vicinity of the queried point in the text, proof-readers were usually obliged to restrict themselves in eliminating only the worst mistakes; subsequent changes to the engraver's manuscript must have been a rare exception in Mozart's time.[102] Thus, misplaced dynamic marks or slurs, whose length did not correspond exactly to that of the original copy, would usually have to be left uncorrected, even though they might have been detected during proof-reading.[103]

By the same token, discrepancies in engraving style that occur through the parts of any large work might stir thoughts of cancelled and re-engraved plates,[104] but, they can more likely be attributed to trade practices: according to Ridgewell, most engraved books of music were the work of more than one craftsman[105] and, indeed, this is quite reasonable, if one considers that, especially in Vienna, many editions appeared in the market with a speed no longer achievable even today, despite technological progress. Extensive works could be distributed within three months after obtaining an engraver's copy, and some pirated copies were reported just six weeks after the original editions appeared.[106] Given these circumstances, there was only a short time available for the proof-reader to make corrections, and for the

[102] See also Robyn Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote (eds.), *Music and the Book Trade from the sixteenth to the twentieth century* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press; London: The British Library, 2008), especially Rupert Ridgewell's article 'Artaria Plate Numbers and the Publication Process, 1778-1787'.

[103] An excellent example is provided by the two imprints of the edition of J. S. Bach's so-called *Clavier Übung* in 1735, published by Christoph Weigel Jr. A comparison of the first imprints, which include numerous corrections in Bach's hand, with the second imprints, reveals that, despite the laborious corrections of the composer, only some of these corrections were incorporated into the second imprint, while others were miscorrected, introducing new mistakes. See also Gregory Butler, *Bach's Clavier Übung III: The making of a print* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1990).

[104] Some printers engraved each page on a single plate, so that in case of damage they would only replace single pages instead of the whole composition.

[105] See Rupert Ridgewell, 'Biographical Myth and the Publication of Mozart's Piano Quartets' in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, Vol. 135, No. 1 (Spring 2010), pp. 41-114, esp. pp. 79-80.

[106] See Leisinger (ed.), *Mozart Klaviersonaten Band II*, Preface, p. XIV.

engravers to emend the plates. And, even when there was adequate time to proof-read the text, this was a difficult process:

> Whereas ordinary books were corrected orally – a boy read from the original copy while the corrector followed the proofs – it is probable that music was corrected visually against the copy, which […] is a slow, laborious and skilled job.[107]

More often than not, late-eighteenth-century publishers seemed negligent of the last stage of the publishing process, which involved proof-reading and plate correction: in a number of instances, Artaria is known to have failed to offer proofs and to have sold the music with many errors: Beethoven's correspondence indicates that he repeatedly insisted that they send him a preliminary proof together with the working manuscript before going on with the printing, so that he could make necessary corrections in time but, despite the common sense of his proposal, it was rarely carried out by the publishers.[108] Haydn too, in a letter to Artaria regarding their edition of his three keyboard trios (Hob.XV:6-8), stated that he was

> greatly astounded to see such bad engraving, and so many glaring errors in all the parts, especially in the pianoforte part. I was at first so furious that I wanted to return the money to you and send the score of the Sonatas instantly to Her Hummel in Berlin; for the sections which are occasionally illegible, and the passages omitted or badly spaced, will bring little honour to me and little profit to you. Everyone who buys them will curse the engraver and have to stop playing […] and this really seems to be the result of complete stinginess, I would rather pay for two new plates out of my own pocket than see such confusion.[109]

Going on, Haydn insisted that the engraving be repaired, and Artaria responded to his request by sending the engravings to Schott to repair.[110] Mozart's concern is likewise evident through his correspondence: in a letter dated 26 April 1783 and addressed to the Parisian publisher Jean-George Sieber, who eventually published Mozart's *Sonatas for Piano and Violin* (K301-6) in 1778, the composer expresses his dissatisfaction with the often poor and hasty work of Artaria:

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[107] Stephen Rose, 'Publication and the Anxiety of Judgment in German Musical Life of the Seventeenth Century' in *Music and Letters* Vol. 85 (1), pp. 22-40 (Oxford: Feb. 2004), p. 27.

[108] See also Lewis Lockwood, *Beethoven: Studies in the Creative Process* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1992), p. 31.

[109] H. C. Robbins Landon, *The Collected Correspondence and London Notebooks of Joseph Haydn* (London: Barrie & Rockliff, 1959), p. 51: Letter 72, dated 10 December 1785.

[110] This may suggest a possible collaboration between the two firms, and this possibility becomes more plausible considering that, as previously stated, several publishers at the time, including Artaria, are known for having shared the workload with engravers working for other firms. See also Ridgewell's assertions in previous page.

> You are probably acquainted with my Sonatas for Pianoforte and violin accompaniment that were engraved here by Artaria and Compagnie.[111] Since I am not altogether happy with these engravings, and even if I were, I would like to share, once more, some of my work with a Landsmann in Paris; therefore, I wish to bring to your attention that I have 3 piano concertos[112] ready to be engraved … Artaria has agreed to engrave them, but you, my friend, have first choice.[113]

Even when Artaria did offer proofs, their general appearance received negative comments: Beethoven commented on the rapid prints produced by Artaria, which often resulted to poor quality, and of an engraving that was not of the highest standards.[114] Haydn, who was punctilious concerning the accuracy of the text, was eventually bound to settle with only correcting 'gross errors' and 'with making occasional changes in the musical substance',[115] due to the limited changes that could be applied on the plates. Thus, the often inaccurate representation of the composers' text seems, to a considerable extent, to have been due to practical negligence, combined with some practical difficulties of the process: apart from the challenges in proof-reading and correcting, early Viennese editions, compared to the handsome London and Paris editions, were clumsily punched with crudely designed signs, and printed from plates that were frequently cracked and seldom wiped completely clean.[116]

Similar practices seem to have been applied by the majority of publishing labels in German-speaking countries: C. P. E. Bach's correspondence with Breitkopf, especially concerning the edition of the *Heilig*[117], denotes both the composer's concern and the carelessness of the printers: 'Tell your proof-readers (for more than one is absolutely necessary in the case of the *Heilig*) that if they deprive me of my honor through the slightest mistake, then they would deserve nothing better than to be

[111] Referring to K296 and K376-380.
[112] K413 – 415. The concertos were eventually published in 1785 by Artaria as Oeuvre IV.
[113] Spaethling, *Mozart's Letters*, p. 248. Of course, though these comments do state Mozart's clear dissatisfaction, they may nevertheless be hyperbolic, as an attempt to persuade Sieber towards a publishing deal.
[114] See also Lockwood, *Beethoven: The Music and the Life*, p. 92.
[115] See James Webster, 'The Triumph of Variability: Haydn's Articulation Markings in the Autograph of Sonata No. 49 in E Flat' in Sieghard Brandenburg (ed.), *Haydn, Mozart, & Beethoven: Studies in the Music of the Classical Period* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998). pp. 34-35.
[116] Later on, as the centre of music publishing moved to Leipzig, Viennese editions improved in appearance, at a time when their repertory was directed towards virtuoso keyboard music.
[117] C.P.E. Bach's *Oratorio for Double Choir*, H778 (W217), composed in 1776, became an established part of the Michaelmas music and other festive music performed in Hamburg, and came to be regarded as one of the most important sacred vocal works of its time after its publication in 1779.

taken to Waldheim [a prison of Saxony]'.[118] Yet even in the middle of his career, such concerns were often ignored by editors, publishers and printers.[119] A few years apart, Beethoven's dissatisfaction on similar issues was also addressed towards the prints of Breitkopf:

> Why is the very fine edition not without inaccuracies???? Why did you not send me first a copy to check, as I have so often asked you to do? [120]

In any case, these erroneous prints often required a list of corrections, though the latter did not always make it to the press. More than once after receiving the first prints, Beethoven sent the publisher a list of corrections to be entered in remaining copies or in subsequent runs, while his intention to publish them in the local newspaper was usually not realized. [121] C. P. E. Bach's exchange of manuscripts and proofs often took a project beyond the delivery date promised in the initial public announcement.[122] But, since the publishers seem in general to have been no more attentive to the insertion of corrections than they had been to avoid errors in the first place, most editions of the time contained a variety of errors, eventually affecting, as we shall see in the sections to follow, the musical content in the majority of their contemporary as well as later editions.

[118] 'Letter to Breitkopf' (dated 20 February 1779), in Stephen Clark, *The letters of C. P. E. Bach*, p. 135.
[119] See article by Eugene Helm, 'The Editorial Transmission of C. P. E. Bach's music' in *Early Music*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Feb. 1989), pp. 32-40.
[120] Leo Plantiga, *Beethoven's Concertos* (New York and London: Norton, 1999), p.275.
[121] Lewis Lockwood, *Beethoven: Studies in the Creative Process*, p. 32.
[122] Stephen Clark, *The letters of C. P. E. Bach*, esp. Introduction.

Summary - Conclusions

The late-eighteenth century saw the rise of the musical work within a new context, as it gradually detached from its role as a functional entity and was increasingly perceived as an autonomous work of art. This musical work was to be planned by the composer and interpreted by the performer based on the common ground of contemporary theory, performance practice and taste. These features were cultivated through the publication of treatises on performance, which were increasingly directed primarily towards the cultivated amateur and secondarily to professional musicians. The increasing number of amateurs supported the growth of publication and consequently affected the formation of the disseminated text (either through print or through manuscript copies).

Since the keyboard was widely used domestically, the keyboard sonata was by far the most popular genre amongst amateurs, and therefore the majority of printed music in the eighteenth century was of sonatas for/with keyboard in various settings. Identifying the commercial success of the keyboard sonata, publishers employed a number of marketing tools and options, in order to achieve a wider market spectrum: for example, keyboard sonata editions often offered optional additional parts for the violin, and were advertised as intended for both the *clavecin* and the pianoforte.

As composers became increasingly concerned with notational and interpretational accuracy, they often were far from content with the alteration/misrepresentation of their ideas in printed editions of the time: on the contrary, they were often dissatisfied with the low level of textual accuracy and the often poor quality of the engravers' work, since the latter appear to have emended the text (especially with respect to performance directions, such as slurs, dynamics etc.) according to their own considerations (if any), which were more concerned with the edition's layout and presentation rather than with the accurate representation of the composer's text.

While it has been observed that the printed text was often richer in performance directions and extemporization than the original manuscripts, this is not to say that an authorized edition necessarily represents the composers' ultimate intentions; rather, – taking Eisen's and Irving's assertion as valid – it most likely represents a particular

‘performance’ that would be of better use to the amateur consumer, combined with commercial considerations by both the composer and the publisher, targeting towards as wide a market as possible. In other words, the nature and formation of the late-eighteenth-century’s printed text was to a great extent determined by the implication of practical and commercial considerations of the publisher (and sometimes not necessarily of the composer), by the numerous difficulties and limitations faced during the publishing process, and also by the unusually fast delivery of the printed text in response to high demand and consumption.

Therefore, it can be concluded that first editions, or any eighteenth-century edition, for that matter, should be interpreted with caution: for, it would not be wise to regard any discrepancies found between such editions and their respective autograph manuscripts as the composer’s ‘definitive improvements’ or ultimate intentions. All or some of the factors discussed earlier on may be equally responsible for textual alterations found in first editions (whether in the form of changes, ‘improvements’ or apparent misrepresentations of the text), and must always be kept in mind when approaching and interpreting late-eighteenth-century primary sources.

– CHAPTER III –

Eighteenth century:
Mozart's Keyboard Sonatas in print

STRUCTURE:

- Mozart and the Publishers
- Mozart's Involvement in the Publishing Process
- Case Study – Mozart's Keyboard Sonatas
- Summary - Conclusions

Introduction

Having examined the musical scene of the eighteenth century and the technical and commercial aspects of printed music at the time, one further question requires exploration; a question regarding the nature of Mozart's and his contemporaries' collaboration with publishers. Important issues are in need of investigation: Were the first editions of Mozart's works published with his authorization? And if so, did he have any control over the formation of the printed text? In short, is there evidence of the composer's direct or indirect involvement in the publishing process of his works?

The case study towards the end of this chapter presents evidence that points towards plausible answers, but also raises further questions: How can one account for certain important divergences between Mozart's autograph manuscripts and the first editions? Did these changes in the printed text originate from him and, if so, what was the process followed for such alterations? Did he consent to changes made by the type-setters? Did he have any control over the printing process, and, if so, in what way? How certain can we be that any emendations or extensive revisions appearing in the printed text actually represented Mozart's revised intentions? Ultimately, if we accept that these revisions did originate from the composer and were made in view of the work's publication and release to a wide audience, does that mean that the text of the first print necessarily represents an *Ausgabe letzter Hand*?

Addressing such questions will serve to determine the textual value of both the autograph and the printed text, their significance as primary sources and, most importantly, will allow for their contextualization: for, a text, whether in autograph manuscript or in printed form, is not to be judged at face value – being a social and cultural artifact, it must be viewed within the context of its genesis, so as to determine its attributes, as well as its relation to performance and performance practice. Ultimately, the most important question rests in the essence and the intentionality of the text itself, and our understanding of it: up to what extent can we determine which textual elements were regarded by the composer as constitutive of the work and which were suggestions for performance? In other words, how does work, text and performance relate in this eighteenth-century equation, as revealed through the closer study of Mozart's piano sonatas?

Mozart and the Publishers

Even though eighteenth-century composers generally responded enthusiastically to the challenge of the publishing market, they sometimes chose to withhold some of their works from publication, for a variety of reasons: first were the limitations imposed by their patrons, who often wished to keep specific compositions for their personal use and performance.[1] Second was the aforementioned mistrust by composers of the hasty and often inconsistent manner in which publishers conducted the publication of works.[2] Third was an intentional withholding of works by composers, who either felt dissatisfied with the quality of their composition or, most frequently, wanted to use certain compositions exclusively for their own performances: some of Mozart's early works were withheld from publishing by his father Leopold, who judged that their quality might have been questionable,[3] while later, Mozart himself consciously chose to withhold certain pieces, intended for his performances – this was certainly the case with his keyboard concertos, most especially K449 – 51 and K453.[4]

Yet another important reason for withholding certain works was the composers' fear of forgery and unauthorized reproduction, which would deprive them of whatever profits or credit might be made from a composition: since, in contrast to England and France,[5] there was no effective copyright protection at the time in Germany and Austria – which is humorously said to have 'regarded piracy as a local industry'[6] – the biggest obstacle for composers lay in the limited rights of ownership they had

[1] A dubious anecdote from Mozart's life, published in the *Allgemeine musicalische Zeitung* (Leipzig, 1799) reports that a Polish count kept the original score of Mozart's *Quintet for piano and strings*, 'and some time later it was published by *Artaria* as a Quartet for piano, violin, viola and violoncello, without Mozart's authorization.' As Eisen has noted, *Artaria* did publish the quartet arrangement, but this was not until 1794, after Mozart's death. Eisen. *New Mozart Documents*, esp. pp. 77 - 80.

[2] On the quality of printing and the inaccuracies in the representation of the text, see Chapter II: 'Forming the Printed Text: The Publishers' Practices'.

[3] See also Mozart's letter to his father, dated 26 May 1784, in Anderson. *Letters*, p. 878.

[4] Stephan D. Lindeman, *Structural novelty and tradition in the early romantic piano concerto* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1999), p. 288 ff.

[5] In France or England, music publications had copyright protection at the very beginning of the 18th century. This, however, did not eliminate the appearance of pirated editions, which were clearly noted for their unfaithfulness to the original: C. P. E. Bach's *Sechs Sonaten furs Clavier mit veränderen Reprisen*, pirated by the London publisher John Walsh three years after the first edition (1760), omitted completely Bach's explanatory preface; also, the 1770s pirated Longman and Lukey print of the 'Six Easy Keyboard Sonatas', changes the articulation, tempo markings and ornaments. See Eugene Helm, 'The Editorial Transmission of C. P. E. Bach's music' in *Early Music* Vol. 17 (1) (February 1989), pp. 32-40: pp. 33-34.

[6] Joel Sachs, 'Hummel and the Pirates: The Struggle for Musical Copyright' in *The Musical Quarterly* Vol. 59 (1973), pp. 31-60, p. 32.

over their works: they lost ownership of a composition once they sold it to a publisher, which they did for a flat fee, without royalties. Moreover, they were often denied their fee by unscrupulous publishers who pirated their music, and by arrangers who would, for example, make and sell vocal scores of popular numbers from a new opera, from which the composer of course received nothing: four days after the premiere of *The Abduction*, Mozart wrote to his father predicting that if he did not complete his arrangement of the opera for wind instruments in a week, someone else would do it, which is indeed what happened.[7]

Consequently, while Mozart was eager to have several of his works published, he and his family were also particularly concerned with controlling both the hand-copied and the printed reproduction of his works. For, since unauthorized reproduction was particularly frequent for works that were enthusiastically received – popular, in a sense – Mozart's music would not escape this plague: the unauthorized dissemination of his compositions was a major concern of the Mozarts, who always proceeded with the copying of works with caution. During Mozart's visit in Rome in April 1770, for instance, he wrote to Nannerl that 'a symphony is being copied (my father is the copyist), for we do not wish to give it out to be copied as it would be stolen'.[8] Whenever it was possible, Mozart's family supervised or somehow controlled the copying of works, in order not only to guarantee the quality of the copies, but also to secure any financial interests. Leopold's advice to his son is fairly descriptive of the family's concerns as well as of their policy to ensure safe copying:

> …I should have told you that immediately after you arrival (in Munich), you should try to find a copyist, and that you should do this wherever you stay for any length of time… The copying should be arranged so that the copyist writes out at your lodgings and under your supervision at least the violino primo or some other leading part. The rest he can copy out at home…It is far too laborious to have your compositions copied from the score, and a thousand mistakes will creep in unless the copyist works the whole time under your supervision. [9]

[7] See also Dorothea Link. 'Mozart in Vienna' (pp.22-34) in Simon Keefe (ed.). *The Cambridge Companion to Mozart* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 31.
[8] Anderson. *Letters*, p.131.
[9] Letter dated 15 October 1777, advising Mozart during his stay in Augsburg. Anderson. *Letters*, p. 139.

As far as authorized printed dissemination was concerned, the dangers of uncontrolled reproduction were also a major concern: in other words, even when Mozart had authorized the publication of a work, he feared that the firm would print far more copies than agreed, therefore increasing its profit without paying him additional sums. This is clearly evident in Mozart's letter of 20 February 1784 to his father, seeking advice on this particular matter:

> Well, I must ask you something about which I know nothing whatever. If I have some work printed or engraved at my own expense, how can I protect myself from being cheated by the engraver? For surely he can print off as many copies as he likes and therefore swindle me. The only way to prevent this would be to keep a sharp eye on him… Why, I almost feel inclined not to sell any more of my compositions to any engraver [i.e. Publisher] but to have them printed or engraved by subscription at my own expense, as most people do and in this way make good profits.[10]

While Leopold's response to his son's question is thus far unknown to us, the extract is important in that it indicates both Mozart's anxiety regarding the publishers' devious dealings, but also his consideration of self-publication, influenced by the recent business ventures of his fellow composer Hoffmeister, who was printing and selling works by various composers by subscription.[11]

Unauthorized reproduction aside, further withholding of works was sometimes aimed at making them seem more attractive when offered exclusively to publishers, as indicated clearly in a letter of Leopold's to Breitkopf's publishing firm:

> For a long time I have hoped that you would want to print something by my son. Surely you will not judge him by the keyboard sonatas that he wrote as a child? Indeed, you will not have seen a note of what he has written for several years, perhaps only the 6 Sonatas for keyboard and a violin, which he had published in Paris [K301-306]…for we allow very little to appear… [12]

On the other hand, the above extract also indicates that the publication of works ultimately depended on the willingness and the interest of publishers: therefore, works which did not enjoy a warm reception by the audience, could often lead to substantial emendations of the agreements between composers and publishers. In Mozart's case,

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[10] In Anderson, *Letters* (Letter 504), p. 868.

[11] A thorough discussion of Hoffmeister's enterprise and Mozart's involvement is presented in Rupert Ridgewell, 'Biographical Myth and the Publication of Mozart's Piano Quartets' in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, Vol. 135, No.1 (May 2010), pp. 41-114.

[12] Ibid. p. 710. Even though Leopold's comment 'we allow very little to appear' could be regarded as an attempt to make Wolfgang's works more appealing, it may in fact indicate a hesitance on his behalf, concerning the dissemination of his son's works.

it appears that certain publishers were not always happy with some of his apparently complicated and harmonically innovative music. Hummel, an influential publisher established in Berlin, who printed many of Haydn's mature compositions, is said to have boasted that he sent back some of Mozart's works to him.[13] Also, there is evidence that, though Breitkopf approached Mozart in 1786, they eventually did not publish any of his works at the time.[14] Furthermore, in contrast with the warm reception of his piano sonatas, works such as the quartets dedicated to Haydn seem not to have enjoyed equal popularity. Constanze reports:

> Now and then these quartets had a curious fate. When the late Artaria sent them to Italy, he received them back 'because the engraving was so very faulty' – that is, the many unfamiliar chords and dissonances were taken there for engraving errors. Even in Germany Mozart's work now and again did not fare better. The late Prince Grassalkowich, for example, once had these quartets performed by some players from his *Kapelle*. Time and again he cried out. 'You are not playing correctly!' and when he was convinced to the contrary, he tore up the music on the spot.[15]

A letter of Dittersdorf's to *Artaria* also suggests that these quartets were not received as warmly as other chamber works,[16] though the comment may be interpreted as Dittersdorf's attempt to promote his own music. Apart from this evidence, there survives the much-quoted extract from the memoirs of Georg Nikolaus Nissen, Constanze's second husband, describing how Mozart was released from a contract with *Hoffmeister* to publish three quartets for piano and strings:

> Mozart's first piano quartet, in G minor [K478], was so little thought-of at first that the publisher Hoffmeister sent [Mozart] the advance on the honorarium on the condition that he not compose the two other agreed-upon quartets and Hoffmeister was released from his contract. [17]

However, Ridgewell has recently disproved the credibility of this anecdote, indicating with copious evidence that Mozart's quartet was successful enough to have been reprinted separately after its inclusion in Hoffmeister's subscription series, and that

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[13] Hyatt King, *Mozart in Retrospect* (London, New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 6.
[14] Landon, *The Mozart Compendium*, p. 183.
[15] In Eisen. *New Mozart Documents*, p. 79.
[16] Letter dated 12 February 1781. Ibid. p. 54.
[17] Nissen, *Biographie W. A. Mozarts* (Leipzig: 1828), p. 633. Maynard Solomon has doubted the truth of this anecdote, noting that Hoffmeister may have cancelled part of his contract with Mozart after the completion of the second piano quartet, K493, on 3 June 1786. Artaria's edition of the work, published in July 1787, includes viola, cello and piano parts already engraved by Hoffmeister. See also Eisen. *New Mozart Documents*, p. 36.

the termination of Mozart's collaboration with Hoffmeister was due to the latter's financial difficulties, and not, as stated in the anecdote, due to the negative reception of Mozart's work.[18]

In any case, one or more of the factors presented thus far were responsible for the fact that very few of Mozart's compositions had entered general circulation prior to 1780, and that the majority of publications of his works during that time appeared under the family's direct supervision or with their consent.[19] The dissemination of Mozart's music changed dramatically after his move to Vienna in the 1780s, where most of his works were published between 1781 and 1791. For, as soon as Mozart took up residence there, he established contacts with local publishers, so that by December 1781 Artaria published the violin sonatas K296 and K376-380, and the keyboard sonatas for four hands K381 (123a) and K358 (186c) in 1783. In 1784 Mozart wrote to his father:

> I have now given Artaria, to engrave, the three sonatas for clavier only, which I once sent to my sister, the first in C, the second in A, and the third in F [K330-2]. I have given three others to Torricella, the last of which is the one in D, which I composed for Dürnitz in Munich [Keyboard Sonata K284 (205b), with Keyboard Sonata K333 (315c) and Violin Sonata K454]. Further, I am giving three of my six symphonies to be engraved,[20] and these I shall dedicate to Prince von Fürstenberg.[21]

The extract cited above also stands witness to the fact that Mozart's keyboard and chamber works acted as cornerstones to the wider dissemination of his works, so that, by the age of twenty-six, he had published an equal number of authorized works.

Little more survives concerning Mozart's relationship with publishers; even general information regarding the financial affairs of eighteenth-century publishers is rare, while particularly for the last quarter of the eighteenth century, evidence of their dealings is almost entirely non existent. No records survive concerning printing and engraving, apart from few archival records, some anecdotes of questionable reliability

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[18] Ridgwell, 'Biographical Myth and the Publication of Mozart's Piano Quartets'.
[19] The sonatas and variations K6-15, K24-25 and K26-31 were published during the grand tour of 1763-6, the songs K52-53 in Vienna in 1768, and the variations and sonatas K179-180, K301-306 and K354 in Paris in 1778. See also Robbins Landon (ed.) *The Mozart Compendium: a Guide to Mozart's Life and Music* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990), p. 186.
[20] The latter plan for the symphonies was not carried out eventually.
[21] Letter dated 9th June 1784 in Anderson. *Letters*, p. 880.

and limited correspondence.[22] Due to this lack of evidence, important questions remain with no definitive answer, not only regarding the activities and the work of music engravers in eighteenth-century Vienna, but also regarding the textual value of eighteenth-century printed editions, in terms of their authorization or supervision by the composer, most especially since many include significant deviations from Mozart's autographs.[23]

And while the letters of Mozart and his family have proven to be a vital source of information, correspondence on this matter is frustratingly limited – most possibly due to the fact that, following his move to Vienna, the most important firms with which he collaborated were located there, and all transactions apparently took place in person. Even the details of Mozart's collaboration with Artaria, the principal Viennese publisher of his music until his death in 1791, are not documented sufficiently. Apart from the firm's regular advertisements of new editions in the *Wiener Zeitung*,[24] which of course state nothing regarding transactions between the composer and the firm, the sporadic references to Artaria in Mozart's correspondence are confined to the period between 1781 and 1785, and shed very little light on the relationship: only three editions are mentioned in his correspondence,[25] and no word concerns the preparation undertaken for their publication.

Perhaps the most important surviving source of evidence is a document witnessing 'a particular transaction between the composer and Artaria in the summer of 1787', which was rediscovered a few years ago.[26] The document, labelled *Manuscritti*, includes four items attributed to Mozart, as well as pieces by Haydn, Pleyel, Malzat, and Zimmerman.[27] The listing reveals that, of the five composers, only Haydn can be proven to have given authorization to publish his music; as for Mozart's, the

[22] See Alexander Weinmann, *Vollständiges Verlagsverzeichnis Artaria & Comp.* (Vienna: L. Krenn, 1952), suppl. *Verzeichnis der Musicalien des Verlages Maisch, Sprenger, Artaria*, (Vienna: Universal, 1970).
[23] Evidence of such deviations provided in the case study, included further on in this chapter.
[24] See also John Irving, *Mozart: The 'Haydn' Quartets* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), esp. pp. 21-24.
[25] The piano sonatas K330-2, violin sonatas K296, K376-80 and piano-duet sonatas K381 and K358.
[26] Ridgewell. 'Mozart's Publishing Plans with Artaria', p. 31.
[27] This document also indicates clearly that the works of Mozart and Haydn were more expensive than those of Malzat, Zimmermann, and Pleyel: Mozart's trios, for example, were valued at 94 gulden 30 kreutzer whereas six quartets by Malzat were valued at only 13 gulden 30 kreutzer. The single Mozart trio was, at 27 gulden, almost three times more valuable than a Pleyel concerto. Ibid. p. 43.

document provides evidence that Artaria bought the following manuscripts directly from the composer: the *Kegelstatt Trio* K498; the first of a proposed collection of six piano trios K502, the *Piano Variations* K500, and four songs (K476, 519, 523, 524), intended as the first instalment of a scheduled set of twelve. This type of arrangement in instalments between publisher and composer appears to have been quite common: Haydn himself entered into a comparable agreement with Artaria almost exactly one year later.[28]

Since, according to the information provided in this document, a number of manuscripts were submitted to Artaria by Mozart himself, their publication was undoubtedly authorized. This is also the case for the piano sonatas K330-2, for Mozart's letter to his father in June 1784 mentions that he had given them to Artaria to engrave.[29] The letter also mentions that K284 (205b), K333 (315c) and K454 were given to Torricella for publication.[30] However, there remains a large number of works printed by Artaria that is unaccounted for, and which the publisher may have acquired from non-authorized sources, such as performers, copyists, or foreign dealers, or which were obtained from previously authorized published sources, but not directly from Mozart.

For example, it may be possible that Artaria's edition of *Twelve Variations in C on a Minuet from J.C. Fischer's Oboe Concerto No.1* (K179)[31] was engraved from a copy of Heina's edition (1778). By the same token, Heina's first edition of K354 (K299a), *Twelve Variations in E flat on 'Je suis Lindor'* was later reprinted by Schmitt (Amsterdam, 1780), Schauff (Pressburg, 1783/4), and Kozeluch (Vienna, 1789), all during Mozart's lifetime. Furthermore, Artaria acquired a large number of Hoffmeister's plates[32] and, as Weinmann notes, many of the firm's editions appearing around this time were printed from these purchased plates.[33] In fact, Artaria's two series of Mozart publications, which continued after the composer's death, were

[28] Ibid. p. 66.
[29] See Anderson, *Letters*: Letter dated 9 June 1784, No. 515, p. 880.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Plate Number 398, 1792, 12th in the series of Mozart Keyboard Variations.
[32] Hoffmeister surrendered portions of his publishing business to Artaria. See Weinmann and Ridgewell. 'Artaria' in L. Macy (ed.), *Grove Music Online*, (accessed 2 January 2006), www.grovemusic.com.
[33] Ibid.

completed by issuing pirated editions of the *Piano Trios* K254 (1795, as Op. 33) and K496 (1799, as Op. 42), and by adding four further instalments of Mozart songs by the end of the century.[34] However, while Artaria is said to have produced pirated editions posthumously, no solid evidence regarding the unauthorized reproduction of Mozart's works during his lifetime survives, apart from a dubious anecdote by Friedrich Rochlitz in 1798:[35]

> Those venturesome gentlemen [music dealers] found ways to procure manuscript copies for themselves and set about printing them right away. In particular a certain rather famous art dealer carried out a lot of such business, and a variety of Mozart's compositions were printed, published, and sold without asking the master about it. One day a friend came to the latter – 'A. has once again printed a set of keyboard variations by you: did you know about it?' 'No!' 'Why don't you put a stop to his game?' 'Ah, why make such an issue of it? He is a rascal!' 'But here it is not just a matter of money, but also of your honour!' 'Well – whoever judges me by such trifles is also a rascal! No more about it!' [36]

Whether the events described in the extract are true cannot be established with certainty; however, the mere existence of such an anecdote, be it true or not, still confirms that unauthorized editions and reprints of successful works were often produced, and may have amounted to about a fifth – if not more – of Mozart's published music. Therefore, despite the dubious nature of the anecdote cited above, and even though no spurious works are known to have appeared under the Artaria imprint before 1792, the prospect that some of the manuscripts obtained by the firm were unauthorized copies of Mozart's works cannot be ruled out; nor can we exclude the possibility that some of them were arrangements or reprints of previously published works.

Despite the fact that certain works were reproduced without the composer's authorization, the fact remains that, particularly after his move to Vienna, Mozart was a great commercial asset to publishers who naturally tried to exploit the popularity of his music to the maximum. Torricella and Artaria in particular, had regularly been rivals for Mozart's music, as is evident through their advertisements of Mozart's

[34] These included three misattributions. See Ridgewell, 'Mozart's Publishing Plans with Artaria'.
[35] Scholarly opinions vary concerning the anecdote's reliability. However, one must keep in mind that, though Artaria was an authorized publisher of Mozart's, this does not necessarily exclude the possibility that they reprinted some of Mozart's works without his consent, as already discussed in the preceding chapter. For a detailed discussion, see Ridgewell, 'Mozart's Publishing Plans with Artaria'.
[36] Ibid. p. 52.

works. For instance, when Artaria advertised the edition of Mozart's 'Haydn' Quartets in December 1785,[37] Torricella also announced an intentionally unspecified offer of 'Six Quartets for two violins, viola and violoncello', which were in fact older works by Mozart (K168-173). Seeing that Torricella was obviously exploiting the momentum created by the release of Mozart's new quartets, the composer thought it necessary to intervene by placing his own announcement:

> As the art dealer Herr *Torricella* also announced six Quartets by Mozart at a low price in the recent newspapers, without saying whether they were in manuscript or engraved, old or new, Herr Mozart regards it as his duty to inform the estimable public that the said six Quartets are by no means new, but an old work written by him as long as fifteen years ago, so that amateurs who had been expecting the new ones should not be wrongly served…[38]

As all the evidence presented thus far indicates, Mozart sought the authorized publication of several of his works, while at the same time tried his best to protect his interests. This is also evident by the fact that in the last three years of his life, he appears to have turned to publishers other than Artaria, such as Kozeluch in 1789[39] and Hoffmeister in 1790, albeit with limited success. Still, the very fact that Mozart sought to publish independently of Artaria, which was the most important music publishing house in Vienna at the time, is thought provoking: since Artaria went on publishing Mozart works, with and without his authorization, continuing even after his death, it seems highly unlikely that Mozart's turn to other publishers was due to Artaria's unwillingness to collaborate with him. Rather, it seems highly likely that Mozart, possibly disturbed by the firm's numerous ventures to print his music without authorization – and perhaps even by the firm's inaccurate rendition of his works in print – sought an escape route through alternative publishers.

[37] *Wiener Zeitung*, 17 December 1785.
[38] Cited in Cliff Eisen, 'Contributions to a New Mozart Documentary Biography' in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 39, No. 3 (Autumn, 1986), pp. 615-632.
[39] Indeed, his proposed collaboration with Kozeluch in 1789 indicates that he looked for an alternative route to publication, even though it involved financial risk.

Mozart's Involvement in the Publishing Process

Mozart's direct involvement in the publishing process of authorized editions is yet to be proven. In isolated instances, it can be stated with relative certainty that Mozart had little or no control over the publication process: such is the case of the sonatas for piano and violin K301-306, for the print came out in Paris in 1778, after Mozart had left the city. In other instances, evidence points towards the possibility that the printing procedure was in some cases supervised by a person he trusted: a copy of his early sonatas K6-7[40] contains Leopold's autograph corrections, some of which were mistakenly not included in the print, as Leopold notes in his letter to Lorenz Hagenauer:

> I regret that a few mistakes have remained in the engraving, even after the corrections were made. The woman who engraved them and I were at too great a distance; and, as everything was done hurriedly, I had no time to obtain a revised proof. That is the reason why especially in … the last trio you will find three consecutive fifths in the violin part, which my young gentleman perpetrated and which, although I corrected them, old Madame Vendôme left in.[41]

After Mozart's move to Vienna, sources indicate that some of his sonatas and variations produced by local publishing firms may have been seen through the press by his pupil Josepha Auernhammer, as reported in the *Magazin der Musik*:

> Mme Auernhammer is an excellent mistress of the clavier, on which she also gives lesson... It is she who arranged and supervised the engraving of many sonatas and varied Ariettas by Mozart at Messrs Artaria.[42]

It is highly likely that amongst these 'sonatas and varied Ariettas', Auernhammer supervised the keyboard variations in C major 'Ah, vous dirai-je Maman' K256, which Mozart had dedicated to her. That may actually account for the fact that the first edition of the variations is considerably free of printing mistakes.[43]

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[40] The copy is kept in the Library of the Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum in Salzburg.
[41] Letter dated 3rd December 1764, referring to K6-9, in Anderson, *Letters* (3rd Edition). p. 53.
[42] This report, dated 29 January 1787, appeared in column 1274 in the second issue of the *Magazin der Muzik* (Hamburg: 1787), published under the editorship of Carl Friedrich Cramer. However, since the identity of the author remains unknown, the report's reliability is doubted. See also Ridgewell. 'Mozart's Publishing Plans with Artaria in 1787', p. 51.
[43] The comparison between the autograph manuscript and the first edition of the *Keyboard Variations* K256 (originally published by Torricella in 1785 and reprinted by Artaria in 1787) is provided in the *Appendix*. Along with it, comparisons of the autograph manuscripts and the first editions of Mozart's *Piano Trio in E major* K452 (published by Artaria in 1788), and of his song 'Das Veilchen' K476

Auernhammer's contribution in the supervision of the printing process is also mentioned in Maximilian Stadler's reminiscences, where he describes how Mozart played through the proofs of his *Violin Sonatas Op. 2* (K296 and K376-380) with Auernhammer – to whom the edition was dedicated – 'in the presence of Herr Artaria';

> When he [Mozart] arrived in Vienna and had his six sonatas for piano and violin engraved by Artaria and dedicated to Mademoiselle Auernhammer, he took me along to the rehearsal. Artaria brought along the first proofs, and Mademoiselle Auernhammer played the fortepiano. Instead of playing the violin, Mozart accompanied her on a second adjoining fortepiano. I was completely delighted with the performance by the master and his pupil.[44]

As the extract further indicates, this method of 'proof-playing' chamber works often replaced the traditional proof-reading process, considering that works with multiple parts demanded a juxtaposition of the separate parts with each other, making proof-reading quite laborious. According to Weber, performing the work was also Haydn's most common method of correcting proof, more so for quartets.[45] On the other hand, solo instrumental music could be easily checked and played through by a single person: especially in the case of keyboard works, both proof-reading and proof-playing were much easier, and this certainly accounts for the higher level of accuracy that can be found in authentic prints of Mozart's keyboard music compared to those of chamber or orchestral music.[46]

But can 'proof-playing' account for major discrepancies and 'improvements' that appear from autograph to first edition? Certain evidence has led scholars to believe that such discrepancies are too carefully thought-out to have been an afterthought during a proofing performance, suggesting instead that Mozart supplied the publishers in advance with second-generation sources, such as performance copies or engraver's copies. Two important arguments have been made in support of this view:

(published by Artaria in 1789) are presented, since they were published in close proximity and in certain instances they feature significant discrepancies that could have originated from Mozart's or from Auernhammer's hands.

[44] *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (1957, p. 83) as quoted in Otto Biba and David Wyn Jones (eds.), *Studies in Music History Presented to H. C. Robbins Landon on his Seventieth Birthday* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996), p. 162.

[45] Weber, *Music and the Middle Class,* p. 35

[46] As a reference to this point, my brief comparison of the autograph manuscript and the first edition of Mozart's *Piano Trio in E major* (K542) and of the song *Das Veilchen* (K476) is provided in the *Appendix*.

the first concerns Mozart's '*Haydn Quartets*', published by Artaria in 1785 as Op. 10. Although the considerably fewer errors found in this edition had originally led scholars[47] to believe that it proved Mozart's active involvement in the publishing process, Seiffert[48] asserted that, since the first edition includes a vast number of detailed interpretational 'aids' not found in the autographs, and which 'cannot represent arbitrary additions by a copyist or engraver, nor do such signs normally result from proof-reading galleys', it is most likely that as a text for the engraving, Artaria was copying from parts that had already been tried in performance.[49] Going on, Seiffert strengthens his argument by emphasizing that these 'aids' were not added to the plates as a proofed afterthought, since the neatness of engraving indicates they had been taken into account in advance.

In short, the relatively few printing mistakes and the notable additions found in some first prints of Mozart's works may not necessarily indicate Mozart's direct involvement in the publishing process, but, rather, the use of manuscript performance copies which were consulted by publishers and engravers for the preparation of the printed texts. This of course does not exclude the possibility that the proofs themselves were checked (thus accounting for the remarkably few errors found in the edition), but rather indicates that the most extensive and decisive changes to the text were probably made by Mozart on performance copies provided to the publishers for the preparation of the print.

In any case, and considering that evidence varies from one print to the next, it is impossible to generalize over whether the textual details, omissions and additions found in first editions of Mozart's works are the result of proof-reading or proof-playing by the composer or someone acting on his behalf, or even the result of an intervening manuscript copy: each work must be judged by its own attributes, according to its genre and the circumstances of its composition and publication.

That said, the ensuing case-study will investigate the extent to which these theories may relate and apply individually to the first editions of Mozart's keyboard sonatas.

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[47] A detailed discussion is provided in Fritz Rothschild, *Musical Performance in the Times of Mozart and Beethoven: The Lost Tradition in Music, Part II.* (London: A.&C. Black, 1961), pp. 91-95.
[48] Wolf-Dieter Seiffert, 'Mozart's 'Haydn' Quartets: An evaluation of the Autographs and First Edition, with particular attention to mm. 125-42 of the Finale of K387' in Cliff Eisen (ed.), *Mozart Studies 2.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 175 – 200.
[49] Ibid. p. 194.

TABLE 3.A: THE KEYBOARD SONATAS OF W. A. MOZART

Köchel No.	Key	Year and place of completion	Manuscript	First Edition (18th century)
189d (279)	C major	1774, Salzburg	Complete	Breitkopf & Härtel, 1799
189e (280)	F major	"	Complete	Breitkopf & Härtel, 1799
189f (281)	Bb major	"	Complete	Breitkopf & Härtel, 1799
189g (282)	Eb major	"	Complete	Breitkopf & Härtel, 1799
189h (283)	G major	"	Complete	Breitkopf & Härtel, 1799
* 205b (284)	D major	1775, Munich	Complete	Torricella, 1784 Op. 7
284b (309)	C major	1777, Mannheim	MS copy by Leopold	Heina, 1782?
300d (310)	A minor	1778, Paris	Complete	Heina, 1782?
284c (311)	D major	1777, Munich and Mannheim	Complete	Heina, 1782?
* 315c (333)	Bb major	1783, Linz?	Complete	Torricella, 1784 Op. 7
* 300h (330)	C major	Early 1780s	Missing final bars of 2nd and 3rd movements	Artaria, 1784
* 300i (331)	A major	"	Fragmentary	Artaria, 1784
* 300k (332)	F major	Early 1780s	Up to b. 106 of the Finale	Artaria, 1784
* 457	C minor	1778, Munich?	Complete	Artaria, 1785 (with K. 475) Op. 11
533 & 494	F major	1788, 1786, Vienna	Only of Rondo 494	Hoffmeister, 1788
545	C minor	1788, Vienna	Lost	(19th century)
570	Bb major	1789, Vienna	Fragmentary	Artaria, 1796
576	D major	1789, Vienna	Lost	(19th century)

Case Study – Mozart's Keyboard Sonatas

As indicated in table 3.A, only ten complete manuscripts of Mozart's eighteen keyboard sonatas are currently available; four more manuscripts survive in fragments, while the rest are considered lost.[50] Ten of these sonatas were published during the composer's lifetime, and most probably with his authorization: as already discussed, it is certain that at least six of these sonatas (namely K330-2, as well as K284, K333 and K454) were authorized, since Mozart's letter to his father (9 June 1784) mentions that he had submitted them to publishers for engraving.[51] Of the ten sonatas published during the composer's lifetime, nine autograph manuscripts (complete/in fragments) are currently available: namely, the three sonatas published by Heina (K309-311: Paris, 1782), those published by Torricella (K284 and 333: Vienna, 1784) and those by Artaria (K330-2: Vienna, 1784 and K457: Vienna, 1785).[52]

Referring to the Heina edition, which came out in Paris after Mozart's departure, it could be that the composer had left instructions with the publisher before leaving the city, but it is certain that he did not have a chance to proof-read the print. This is also supported by the fact that the edition is far from flawless;[53] yet, interestingly, its content is also closest to the original manuscripts, in the sense that it contains no 'revisions' of the musical text, such as those identified in later Viennese editions of Mozart's sonatas, as will be demonstrated further on. The majority of discrepancies between the primary sources in the case of the Heina edition are to be interpreted as misprints than as intentional emendations: it seems that they occurred precisely due to lack of proof-reading, which may also account for the absence of 'revisions' or changes in the course of the musical text. John Irving has also suggested that these discrepancies are more likely the result of an inaccurate, intervening manuscript copy, now lost, made by a hasty copyist for the purposes of engraving.[54] In any case, since the focus of the current investigation will be on editions which may have been supervised by Mozart, the Heina edition of K309-311 has been excluded from the

[50] Information reconstructed according to the NMA Online. http://dme.mozarteum.at/DME/nma/, accessed 10 October 2008.
[51] See previous sections on Mozart's involvement in the publishing process.
[52] See also John Irving. *Mozart's Piano Sonatas: Context, Sources, Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
[53] See analytical comparison of the primary sources in the *Appendix*.
[54] Irving. *Mozart's Piano Sonatas*. esp. pp. 64-65.

case study, though selected discrepancies between the autograph manuscripts and the first edition are presented analytically in the *Appendix*.

We are thus left with six available manuscripts and editions in which Mozart's involvement in the publishing process is likely: those by Torricella (K284 and K333) and by Artaria (K330-2 and K457). Of these, K330-333 were composed 'likely not long before the appearance of the first print';[55] could it be that, since these sonatas were probably composed in view of upcoming teaching and/or publication, their text did not undergo extensive revisions towards publication?[56] On the other hand, could the fact that K284 (composed in 1775, published in 1784) and K457 (composed in 1778, published in 1785) were printed several years after their composition indicate that these two works were extensively revised for publication purposes? Considering that in its first edition (published as Op. 11), K457 was coupled with the Fantasia K475, which was composed just a few months prior to publication, as a prologue to the Sonata, is it possible that Mozart returned to K457 (and perhaps to K284) and revised the text in view of the upcoming publication?

Let us proceed to the case study for answers: through an array of key points, the study presents and interprets evidence in relevance to all issues, hypotheses and questions which have arisen so far. The comparisons of autograph manuscripts and first editions of the sonatas presented discuss only certain important discrepancies between primary sources, with particular emphasis placed on those indicating some kind of intervention, supervision or provision of a performance copy by the composer, as described in preceding sections. Once the key points are identified, these will function as references to the cross-examination with nineteenth- and twentieth-century respective prints.

[55] See Alan Tyson, *Mozart: Studies of the Autograph Scores* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990 reprint), esp. pp. 29-30 and Chapter 6.

[56] This and further hypotheses will be explored later on. Interestingly, however, in *Understanding Mozart's Piano Sonatas*, Irving purports that the first editions appearing in Vienna during Mozart's lifetime *possibly* [my italics] incorporate the composer's direct input (p. 54), while in most of the case studies appearing later on in the book, Irving's approach of most extensive textual additions found in the first editions is solidly based on a conviction that such additions originate from the composer himself.

Illustration 3.A: Additional Dynamics in the First Edition

Piano Sonata K457 – 2nd Movement: *Adagio* (First page)

Autograph Manuscript



First Edition



Key point 1: Performance directions and textual elaborations added in the prints

Even a superficial comparison of the primary sources indicates that the Viennese editions of Mozart's works, printed while the composer resided in Vienna, are consistently richer in performance directions (such as dynamics, articulation marks, embellishments) compared to the respective autographs. The slow movements of sonatas K333 and K457 (see *Illustration 3.A* in previous page), as well as the first and last movements of Sonata K330, are excellent specimens of the additional performance directions found in the prints.

Particularly in K333, the autograph manuscript[57] of the slow movement includes no dynamic marks whatsoever, apart from a *pp* in the penultimate bar. In contrast, the respective movement in the first edition of K333 by Torricella (1784)[58] is enriched with detailed indications of dynamics from start to finish. The overall sparse use of performance directions in the autograph, the small number of corrections and the fact that, despite the apparent hastiness of the writing, there are scarcely any errors of pitch, may in fact indicate that Mozart had already improvised the sonatas and only afterwards set them on paper.[59] In the few cases when Mozart does include dynamics in the framing movements of his manuscript, these occur mainly in places of structural significance and are reinforced in the edition.[60] Perhaps Mozart wished to emphasize these structurally important points,[61] or perhaps included them as an aid to and indication of the general character of each section. Apart from these occurrences, Mozart also provided detailed performance directions wherever he expected a particular style of performance, which at times may have been contradictory to the performance-practice norm.

[57] The autograph is located at the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin.
[58] The edition by Torricella (Vienna, 1784, Plate No. 118), which also includes the *Piano Sonata in D major* K284 and the *Violin Sonata in B flat* K454, was reproduced by Artaria in 1787, possibly after the latter firm purchased Torricella's plates (See relevant footnote on page 86). This is highly likely since Artaria's reprint is identical to that of the original edition by Torricella, including the same plate number.
[59] Even so, the tempo markings for the second and third movements appear in pencil in Mozart's handwriting and must have been added on the autograph at a later stage.
[60] Such as in bars 30-31, 54-57 and 144-149 of the first movement and bar 36 of the third movement, with some rare exceptions (i.e. bar 124 of the first and bar 31 of the slow movement).
[61] Irving explores in depth the structural implications of certain indications of dynamics and articulation in K333, in *Understanding Mozart's Piano Sonatas*, pp. 62-63.

Another excellent example of the addition of dynamics, embellishments, passing notes and appoggiaturas, is provided in the third movement of the first edition of K284, and most particularly in variation XI:i (Example 3.A). Interestingly, continuing to the second, third and fourth part of the same variation, an increase of embellishments, chromatic passages and articulation marks is observed, many of which are also found in the autograph manuscript.

EXAMPLE 3.A: Sonata in D major K284, 3rd Movement, Variation XI:i *Adagio Cantabile*

Autograph Manuscript



First Edition



The fact that the Viennese first editions of Mozart's works contain a great number of additional dynamic markings and extemporization compared to the autograph manuscript, creates two alternatives: first, that such substantial changes may indeed originate from Mozart himself, either through proof-reading of through the provision of a revised manuscript copy: for, it is reasonable that the composer wished to provide precise performance practice instructions before he released his keyboard works to the broad public.[62] Another less plausible scenario would be that, since these additions can hardly be regarded as mistakes or misrepresentations of the manuscript by the engraver, publishers enriched the musical text for the purposes of the edition. In other words, it may be possible that Mozart's contemporaries – perhaps with the composer's consent – took certain liberties when handling the musical text.

In any case, regarding the additional written-out extemporizations in the first edition of K284, the possibility that these resulted from proof-reading can be ruled out with

[62] This possibility has also been supported by a number of Mozart scholars, including Eisen, Irving, Seiffert and Keefe.

certainty, since such extensive emendations would have been very difficult to be made on the plates: besides, the neatness of engraving at those points and the fact that appropriate spacing was employed, indicates that these extemporizations could not have been a proof-reading afterthought. Furthermore, the fact that several mistakes, (which could be easily emended on the plates) were left uncorrected, signifies that the edition was most likely not proof-read. It follows that both the additions and the discrepancies observed can be accounted for, if Mozart had provided the publishers with a manuscript copy, in which he notated an elaborated, enriched version of the autograph.

Key Point 2: Extensive textual revisions made in view of teaching or publication

The majority of extensive textual divergences occur mainly in the slow movements of printed works, where repetitions are written out in fully ornamented versions, whereas Mozart in his autographs is usually content with a repeat sign or a *Da Capo*. This absence of written-out versions relates to the idiomatic performance practice of the time: as we have seen, the decoration and expression of the notated text was usually excluded from manuscripts (since it was to be improvised anew at each performance by the composer or by professional musicians). However, such ornamented repetitions were often included in written out form in printed editions since, as already discussed, composers may have felt that amateurs required detailed instruction and aid in such matters.

As the following example indicates, the source situation for K457 is particularly useful, since it provides evidence that these extensive changes in this edition indeed originate from Mozart himself: for, it is reasonable that the composer, having composed the work several years prior to its publication, wished to provide precise performance instructions not only for his students but also for the broader public.

EXAMPLE 3.B: Sonata in C minor K457, 2nd Movement: Extract of written-out repetitions

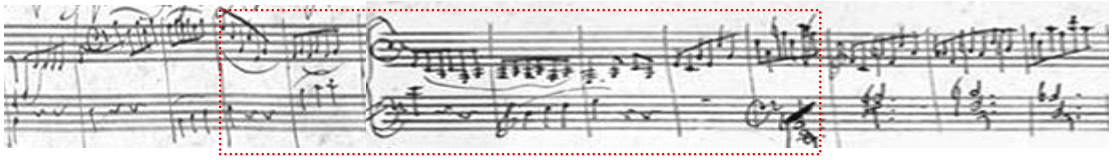
Two separate sets of embellishments for the returns of the second movement's principal theme survive on extra sheets of paper (they are not written out in the autograph itself):



Yet another excellent specimen of changes that may derive from Mozart himself is provided in the third movement of the Piano Sonata in C minor, K457. In the following example, a change of register takes place, which occurs twice in the movement and which enables the performer to play the passage with more ease while crossing hands:

EXAMPLE 3.C: Sonata in C minor K457, 3rd Movement. Bars: 89-99

Autograph Manuscript



First Edition



Other examples indicative of textual revision include the addition of a coda in the second and third movements of K330 (whereas the autograph breaks off before the final bars – again, pointing towards the possibility that the first edition was based on a manuscript copy which was complete and revised) and variation XI in the third movement of K284, already presented as part of the previous Key Point.

Key Point 3: Practical considerations appearing in the printed text

The case of the sonatas K330-2 indicates clearly how the presentation of the text was adjusted according to its functionality: in Mozart's autograph,[63] the right-hand part of all three sonatas was notated in the soprano clef, which at the time was used primarily for didactic purposes.[64] The first edition (Vienna: Artaria, 1784),[65] however, presents the right-hand part in the standard treble clef, which was more appropriate for published works, being considerably more practical and convenient in performance:

EXAMPLE 3.D: Sonata in C major K330, 1st Movement. Final Bars: 144-9

Manuscript



First Edition



Another interesting case exists in the aforementioned, elegantly engraved first edition of K333 (Vienna: Torricella, 1784), which retains many details of Mozart's notation, but also presents, amongst others, an unusual divergence: the articulation, usually a neglected part of printed editions, is much more detailed in the edition than in the autograph.[66] Since the changes in Torricella are in most instances both consistent and sophisticated, including the correction of some voice-leading and the working out of dynamics in more detail, the existence of a 'performance copy' or an 'engraving copy' is again a possibility; however, the composer's direct involvement in the publishing process cannot be entirely ruled out either, since the additional slurs and

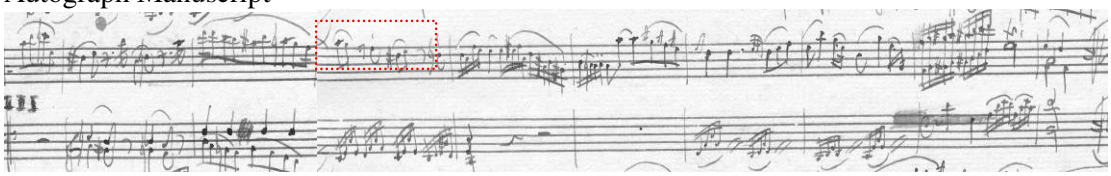
[63] Located at the Jagiellonian Library in Krakow.
[64] See also Bruno Gingras, 'Partimento Fugue in Eighteenth-Century Germany: A Bridge between Thoroughbass Lessons and Fugal Composition', in *Eighteenth Century Music,* 5 (2008): pp. 51-74.
[65] Three imprints were produced by Artaria, with certain variations found between them, mostly in terms of articulation (changes in slurs, staccato dots and wedges). In the comparisons of K330 presented in this thesis, the final (third) impression was used.
[66] A detailed reference to issues of articulation in K333 is available in Irving, *Understanding Mozart's Piano Sonatas*, pp. 62-63.

dynamics could have easily been marked on the plates after proof-reading.[67] In any case, such changes, which undoubtedly contribute towards a more 'user-friendly' text, are most likely considerations of the composer himself (or of an assigned proof-reader).

Similarly, in the case of K284, the larger-scale enrichment of performance directions may be indicative of an effort to provide the broad public with some sort of a 'prescriptive' text that would be clearer and more interesting musically, yet without requiring particular improvisatory skills by the average performer.

EXAMPLE 3.E: Sonata in D major K284, 3rd Movement, Variation XI:iii. *Adagio Cantabile*

Autograph Manuscript



First Edition



[67] See also George Barth, 'Mozart performance in the 19th century' in *Early Music*, pp. 538- 555 (Nov. 1991), p. 541.

Key Point 4: Limitations of the engraving process affect the text's presentation

A thorough comparison of the primary sources leads to an unfolding of additional discrepancies, which to a large extent concern slurring, phrasing and ties. As far as slurring is concerned, it varies in numerous instances between the autographs and the first editions. Interestingly, the majority of these discrepancies appear in the sonatas printed by Torricella rather than in those by Artaria: Torricella's first print of the Sonatas K333, K284 and Artaria's K457 in particular, present several discrepancies compared to the autographs' slurring and phrasing marks in a substantially large number of bars,[68] even in cases where Mozart's handwriting is not at all ambiguous. In most cases slurs are shorter in the editions compared to the manuscript: such changes can be attributed to practical considerations, such as the technical difficulties of the printing process, discussed earlier on.[69]

EXAMPLE 3.F: Sonata in C minor K457, 3rd Movement. Bars: 1-15.

Autograph Manuscript



First Edition



Interestingly, however, an exceptional degree of accuracy is found in K284's variations VIII – X.[70] Yet, such a localized incident could in fact indicate that these numbers were the work of one engraver (while the rest the work of another), since, as we have seen, a single edition was more often than not the work of more than one typesetter and engraver.[71]

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[68] See source comparisons provided in the *Appendix*.
[69] On the process of printing and publishing see Chapter Two.
[70] See *Appendix*.
[71] It would hardly be appropriate to interpret this unusual accuracy as the result of proof-reading, since this incident is extremely localized, only spanning across three variations from the whole sonata, while several discrepancies appear in the rest of the printed text.

Key Point 5: Re-occurring discrepancies may indicate intentional textual alteration

In several instances, the distinct notation of passages was changed for no particular reason in the prints, particularly with respect to ties. The absence of ties in two specific parts of the printed K284 is particularly interesting. Whereas in the whole edition ties are identical in both sources, there exists a sole exception: a tie linking the note E from bar 27 over to bar 28, indicated clearly in the autograph manuscript, has been omitted in the print. This could probably have passed as an accidental omission, were it not reproduced in the exact same manner in the recapitulation, in bars 99-101:

EXAMPLE 3.G: Sonata in D major K284, 1st Movement. Bars: 27-29 and 99-101

Manuscript
Bars 27-29



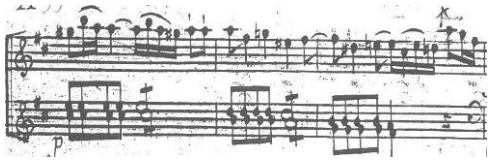
First Edition
Bars 27-29



Bars 99-101



Bars 99-101



Is this merely a coincidental mistake, or could this repeated omission be interpreted as an intentional change by the composer or the proof-reader? Could it be that, since K284 was composed almost ten years prior to its publication by Torricella in 1784, Mozart adapted this and other textual attributes prior to the Sonata's publication, in order to accommodate for performance on the new fortepiano?[72] The only thing that can be said with certainty is that this change, in contrast with the shorter slurring presented previously, cannot be understood as an outcome of technical limitations in printing; moreover, the fact that it appears altered more than once, certainly raises a question mark concerning the nature of similar, repeated changes, their intentionality and their origins.

[72] This argument is also set forth by Irving, *Understanding Mozart's Piano Sonatas*, pp. 55-59 and 132.

Key Point 6: Engraver's carelessness or intentional emendation?

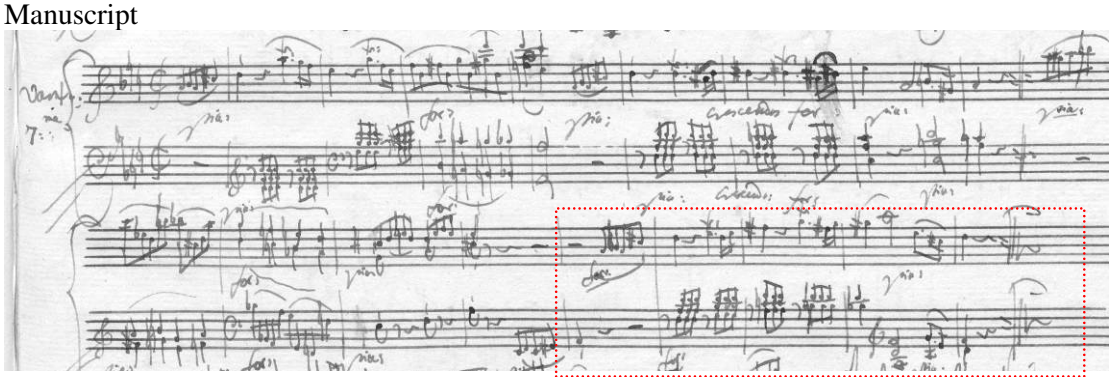
In another comparison between the primary sources of the third movement of K284, the dynamics of the first edition at the end of the seventh variation are entirely contradictory to those of the manuscript.

Closer study allows for the dynamics included in the first edition to be interpreted as an accidental repetition of the autograph manuscript's previous stave, where a similar passage occurs.

Alternatively, however, it could be that the composer eventually decided to imitate the series of dynamics appearing in the variation's opening phrase:

EXAMPLE 3.H: Sonata in D major K284, 3rd Movement, Variation VII. Bars: 13-16

Manuscript



First Edition



Summary – Conclusions

The comparison of the autograph manuscripts and first editions of Mozart's keyboard as well as of other chamber works[73] has allowed for the extraction of the following conclusions and observations:

It has been indicated that eighteenth-century editions were inaccurate in numerous instances due to carelessness and due to the technical limitations and difficulties in the printing process, as outlined in Chapter Two. In certain instances, the accuracy or inaccuracy of certain editions, or even of sonata movements within a single edition, may be explained as the result of the involvement of more than one engraver in the printing process, rather than as a result of proof reading or the lack thereof. Even so, it must be kept in mind that even when proof-reading was on option, only certain corrections could be made on the plates; thus, this could also account for a considerable number of discrepancies which occur in the editions. Yet, whereas the possibility that some of these editions were proof-read cannot be ruled out, the fact that certain discrepancies which could be easily emended remained uncorrected may actually indicate that no proof-reading took place, at least as far as the examined piano sonatas are concerned.

On the other hand, the observation that most first editions are greatly richer in dynamics and articulation marks compared to the respective autograph manuscripts, and particularly at points of structural significance, renders some sort of intervention by the composer or a third hand highly likely. Such additions, along with instances of larger-scale embellishments of the text,[74] the additional passages,[75] and the consequential changes resulting from practical, performance-related considerations,[76] are almost certainly the outcome of a revision made at some point by the composer.[77]

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[73] A list of primary sources (including chamber music works) examined is provided in the *Bibliography*, while the comparisons themselves are presented in the *Appendix*.
[74] As in K284, Variations.
[75] As in K330, slow movement.
[76] As in K457, third movement.
[77] See Wolfgang Plath and Wolfgang Rehm. Foreword to the *Facsimile Edition of the K457 and K475 Autograph* (Salzburg: Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, 1991).

Yet, the fact that several mistakes were left uncorrected, while other parts of the text were in fact enriched with additional elements most probably indicates that these revisions were not made on the plates as an afterthought, but were more likely notated on some manuscript performance-copy, which was handed over to the publishers for the purposes of engraving. Indeed, the existence of such an intervening copy is perhaps the only possibility that accommodates for both the inaccuracies (which, in some severe cases Mozart would probably not have allowed had he proof-read the edition) and for the additions included in the first editions of his piano sonatas, and most particularly in K284 and K457, which were composed several years prior to their publication.

In any case, it must be concluded that, in the case of the piano sonatas, first editions which diverge significantly from the autograph do not necessarily represent the composer's definitive conception of a work, but, rather, they indicate his performance decisions towards the formation of a text suitable for use by amateurs and for wide release through publication. However, even though the printed text may not necessarily represent Mozart's work in its definitive form, it nevertheless stands as the most valuable manifestation of the eighteenth century's performance practice through the medium of publication: the composer's performance suggestions have in many cases been presented in a more elaborate, detailed and in some instances instructional form, clearly addressed towards the cultivated amateur, and reflecting contemporaneous style and performance practice. As Eisen and Wintle have also claimed, such changes may represent additions 'to a source intended for broad, public circulation, unlike the autograph'[78] and, as Irving has set forth, 'neither text is more than a provisional record'.[79]

In this light, Flothius' assertion that 'the printed edition should be considered as *Ausgabe letzter Hand* – the definitive edition'[80] appears limiting: while, from a performance-oriented point of view, the first edition admittedly presents a more

[78] Cliff Eisen and Christopher Wintle, 'Mozart's C minor Fantasy K475: An Editorial Problem and its Analytical and Critical Consequences' in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* Vol. 124 No. 1, pp. 26-52 (1999), p. 27.
[79] Irving, *Understanding Mozart's Piano Sonatas*, p. 88.
[80] Marius Flothius, 'The Neue Mozart-Ausgabe: a Retrospect' in *Early Music,* pp. 533-537 (Nov. 1991), p. 536.

descriptive version than the autograph, it cannot be sanctified as documenting Mozart's ultimate intentions, nor a definitive textual rendering of the work. Instead, first editions should be understood and approached as providing a performance-specific (rather than strictly work-specific) set of tools, through a series of written out suggestions that proclaim context rather than authority.

Yet, until fairly recently, the persistent and widely accepted editorial belief that these first editions in fact represent the composer's ultimate and definitive intentions that are constituent of the work (rather than of its performance), has inevitably had a direct and determining impact on nineteenth- and twentieth-century perceptions of what might be called the composer's 'style' and, consequently, on the formation of the printed text by editors. It therefore comes as no surprise that, to its majority, the printed dissemination of Mozart's piano sonatas during most of the nineteenth century[81] was more often than not based on the first editions' texts.

Of course, this reliance on first editions was also partly due to the fact that, particularly in Mozart's case, autograph manuscripts after his death had become a costly collectors' item, that few could afford – amongst them, the Breitkopf firm (who later produced a collected edition of Mozart's works)[82] and Johann Anton André[83] (whose private interest in the autographs originally led to the production of several editions *d' après le manuscrit original*). As we shall see further on, particularly from the late-nineteenth century onwards, the first efforts in producing Urtext Editions largely involved a return to the autograph manuscripts, perceiving them as being closer to their idea of the *werktreue* concept, and setting first editions aside as sources of secondary importance.

Consequently, a large number of discrepancies found in the printed primary sources (apart from certain 'gross errors') naturally passed on into later editions, which rarely

[81] With some exceptions which will be presented in the next chapter.
[82] The now-called *Alte Mozart Ausgabe*, published from January 1877 to December 1883, with supplements published until 1910. See Wolfgang Rehm, 'Collected Editions' in Robbins Landon (ed.). *The Mozart Compendium* (New York, 1990), p. 427, and Stanley Sadie. *The New Grove Mozart* (Norton: New York, 1983), esp. 'Mozart Work List', pp. 193.
[83] See also Hans Lenneberg, *On the Publishing and Dissemination of Music* (Pendragon: Hillsdale New York, 2003).

used more than the first print as their sole source, or sometimes did not rely on primary sources at all. In turn, later editions often introduced their own errors and misreads, often 'standardizing' and 'regularizing' Mozart's text, according to their preconditioned perceptions of what constituted the composer's style: apart from additions affected by their contemporary performance practice, nineteenth-century editors also 'corrected' instances that diverted from their pattern of perception and their own idea of the composer's 'style', often interpreting them as slips of the pen.[84]

The next chapters will go on to investigate musical perceptions of the nineteenth century and the text's reformation and transmission, the impact of performance practice, the intention / orientation of particular editions and so forth, ultimately extracting conclusions on the evolving nature of Mozart's printed text of the Piano Sonatas and the interrelation of readings from one era to the next.

[84] A detailed discussion and excellent examples of such instances are provided by Cliff Eisen in his article 'The old and new Mozart editions', in *Early Music* Vol. 19 No. 4 (November 1991), pp. 513-531.

– CHAPTER IV –

Music Praxis in the Nineteenth Century

STRUCTURE:

- Introduction: The Rise of German Music Publishing
- Music and Society
- Writing about music
- Conclusions

Introduction: The Rise of German Music Publishing

Already during Mozart's lifetime, Leipzig was rising as a fourth centre of music publishing alongside Vienna, Paris and London.[1] At the end of the eighteenth century, the publishing activities of Breitkopf (who had founded his publishing firm in 1754 in Leipzig and merged with Härtel's in 1795) and the firm's interest in producing a series of complete works, starting off with Mozart's *œuvre*, signalled the emergence of what was to become one of the most important European music publishing houses of the nineteenth century.[2] It was this firm that produced a large number of monumental editions throughout the nineteenth century, beginning with daring attempts to compile the complete works of the most influential composers: Mozart's *Œuvres Complettes* [sic] stand out as the firm's first important attempt in 1798-99, followed by complete editions of the music of Haydn (1802-43), Clementi (1803-1819), Beethoven (1828-1845), Schubert (1835) and Handel (1845-1858), and by original publications of several works by Chopin, Schumann, Liszt and Wagner.[3]

Also in Leipzig, Friedrich Hofmeister founded his publishing firm in 1807, and later acquired the rights to a great collection of German printed music still known by his name. Other smaller firms also appeared, including those of Heinrich Albert Probst,[4] Bartolf Senff,[5] Merseburger,[6] Kahnt,[7] Forberg,[8] and Leuckart,[9] and with the support of the local book-publishing industry, the *Gewandhaus* and the conservatory, Leipzig eventually emerged as the leading centre of the century's growing music publishing industry, acquiring the title of 'Buch-stadt' (city of books). In turn, the city's growing importance as a publishing centre eventually attracted the relocation of several foreign firms, such as Bosworth from England, and Schmidt from Boston, both of which

[1] An excellent introduction to nineteenth-century publishing is provided in John Rink, 'The profession of music', in Jim Samson, *The Cambridge history of nineteenth-century music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 55-117, esp. pp. 78-80.
[2] A detailed account of the firm's history is available at the *International Music Score Library Project*, www.imslp.org, accessed 2 June 2009.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Founded in 1823, and entered a partnership with Carl Friedrich Kistner in 1836.
[5] In operation from 1847 to 1907.
[6] The firm was founded in 1849 and specialized in Lutheran church music.
[7] Active since 1851.
[8] Active since 1862.
[9] See also article by Stanley Boorman, Eleanor Selfridge-Field and Donald Krummel, 'Printing and Publishing of Music' in *Grove Music Online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com, accessed 4 June 2009.

opened branches in Leipzig in 1889.[10] Furthermore, several non-German composers, such as Sibelius, expressed their preference for German publishing firms, and especially those of Leipzig.[11]

At the same time, several newly-founded firms flourished in Vienna: already by 1798, Mollo had left Artaria to set up his own shop while, in 1801, the *Kunst- und Industrie-Comptoir*[12] was founded. In 1803, Alois Senefelder, the inventor of lithography, established his *Chemische Druckerey* in Vienna, competing with already established firms, such as that of Hoffmeister, who had entered a highly successful partnership in 1801 with Ambrosius Kühnel named the *Bureau de Musique*, and which was later acquired by C.F. Peters in 1814. The diversity of firms and of printed matter, which included music, maps and other materials, encouraged experimentation with new technical procedures, encapsulated in the efforts of Weigl,[13] Cappi,[14] Maisch,[15] Paterno[16], Diabelli[17] and Pennauer[18]. The winners of this competitive industry began to emerge more clearly in the third decade of the nineteenth century, and by the 1850s the most successful firms, those of Spina,[19] Mechetti, Haslinger,[20] and later Weinberger[21] and Pazdírek,[22] became increasingly prominent. In the last quarter of the century, the firm of Doblinger, still active today, also became important in the Viennese publishing trade.[23]

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[10] Ibid.
[11] Having been introduced to the publishing manager Oskar von Hase, Jean Sibelius established a long-term collaboration with Breitkopf and Härtel, which not only published most of his works, but also launched the critical JSW edition of his entire *œuvre* after his death. See also Andrew Barnett, *Sibelius* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 117-118.
[12] Also known as the *Bureau des Arts et d' Industrie*.
[13] Thaddäus Weigl's firm was active from 1803 to 1831.
[14] Founded in 1816.
[15] Active from 1810 – 1816.
[16] Active since 1820.
[17] Founded in 1817, and merged with Cappi in 1818.
[18] Active from 1825 to 1834.
[19] S. A. Spina was the partner of Diabelli during 1824-51, and was then succeeded by his nephew, Carl Anton Spina, publishing alone until 1879.
[20] Tobias Haslinger ran the company from 1826 until 1842, and his heirs continued until 1875. Haslinger's catalogues are famous for their broad selection of earlier publisher's titles as well as for their own imaginative projects.
[21] *Musikverlag Josef Weinberger* of Frankfurt, founded in 1885 in Vienna, published mainly operettas by Offenbach, Stolz, Strauss, Lehar, Kalman and others.
[22] The firm later moved in Moravia and published the massive Universal – Handbuch (1904-1910), listing music in print.
[23] The firm's official website, provides a thorough history of the company's activities since its foundation, http://www.doblinger-musikverlag.at , accessed 14 June 2009.

The success of Viennese publishers was mainly indebted to Vienna's musical tradition, which had greatly benefited local publishers since the late-fifteenth century,[24] and which was reinforced in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by resident composers including Mozart, Beethoven and Schubert and later through the efforts of composers devoted to amateur instrumental music in new, increasingly popular genres, such as waltzes, songs and communal dance music.[25] In fact, nineteenth-century music-publishing in the whole of Austria and Germany was greatly indebted to the successful music of famous local composers, as well as to the immense popularity of salon orchestrations, operatic arrangements for keyboard, sentimental songs and instructional pieces.

The flourishing of numerous other firms across Germany is a strong indication of the country's continuing advance to the top of the publishing world. Amongst these firms, André in Offenbach, Schott in Mainz,[26] as well as several firms in Berlin, also challenged the primacy of Leipzig, namely Simrock,[27] Schlesinger,[28] Trautwein,[29] Challier,[30] Bote and Bock,[31] Fürstner[32] and Ries & Erler.[33] Along with them, a plethora of competitive music publishers spread out throughout Germany, the most important of which were located in Augsburg, Munich, Hamburg, Altona, Cologne, Regensburg, Mannheim, Magdeburg, Brunswick and Hanover.[34] These firms not only set the scene for the commercial explosion of printed music within their country's

[24] See, for example, the compositional and publishing activities of Heinrich Isaac (ca. 1450 – 1517), who had been appointed court composer in the Viennese court of Emperor Maximilian in 1496, a title he retained throughout the rest of his life. More on Maximilian's contribution to Vienna's musical tradition in Louise Elvira Cuyler, *The Emperor Maximilian I and Music* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).

[25] See also Derek B. Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis: The nineteenth-century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris and Vienna* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

[26] Founded in 1770 and still exists today. During the nineteenth century, Schott was the publisher of French and Italian operas, and much later, the original publisher of Wagner, Henze, Schoenberg, Orff and Stravinsky.

[27] Simrock, who moved from Bonn to Berlin in 1870, was the original publisher of works by Beethoven, Haydn, Meyerbeer, Weber, Mendelssohn, Schumann and Brahms.

[28] Schlesinger was founded in 1810 and soon became publisher to works of Beethoven, Carl Maria von Weber and Mendelssohn up until its closing in 1864. During its years of operation, a branch of the firm also opened in Paris, and was operated by Schlesinger's son, Maurice, publishing, amongst others, works by Liszt, Berlioz, Halevy and Meyerbeer.

[29] Founded in 1820 and active for approximately 80 years.

[30] Active from 1835 until 1919, the firm was later succeeded by Birnbach.

[31] Active since 1838.

[32] Founded in 1868 and active until 1986, the firm's operatic inventory included many operas by Richard Strauss.

[33] Founded by Erler in 1872, the company merged with Ries from 1874, and has been active since.

[34] See also article by Boorman, Selfridge-Field and Krummel, 'Printing and Publishing of Music'.

borders, but also contributed to the propagation of German music throughout Europe: through the improved quality of print and their scope of producing monumental editions, they gradually succeeded in promoting their titles far beyond national boundaries, so that eventually a considerable number of German editions and of German music, old and new, was reproduced widely in France, England and throughout Europe and the New World. This expansion was particularly important with regards to Mozart's works, since it enhanced their circulation and the composer's reputation throughout the globe.[35]

Interestingly, the fact that German editions were reproduced in other countries raises important questions regarding the texts at hand: could it simply be that the majority of non-German publishers imported German editions and either sold them under a different label or did they produce their own editions, relying solely on those imported sources?[36] To what extent did non-German editors aim to produce 'historical' or 'monumental' editions, and to what extent did such editions (if any) rely on primary sources, rather than on the texts provided by their German predecessors? Though it will be further documented that several non-German editions relied heavily on contemporaneous German editions made available to them, do there also exist initiatives of non-German editors, who wished to produce their own editions by consulting primary rather than secondary sources? And, if so, did regional or other performance-related considerations affect the newly edited text?

The provision of conclusions regarding the methodology, source situation and the intentions of nineteenth-century editors in Germany and in the great European capitals calls for another critically important question to be explored first: namely, did the musical audience, and most especially the amateurs, for whom such editions were intended, actually *demand* for 'historical' editions to be published? Were they concerned with editorial judgment and with the accuracy of the text offered to them?

[35] See also John Daverio, 'Mozart in the Nineteenth Century' in Simon P. Keefe, *The Cambridge Companion to Mozart* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 171-184.
[36] For example, several English editions of Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier* were in fact modelled on the 1801 editions by Simrock, Nägeli and Hoffmeister/Kühnel. An extensive study is presented in Yo Tomita, ''Most ingenious, most learned, and yet practicable work': The English Reception of Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier* in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century seen through the Editions Published in London', in Therese Ellsworth and Susan Wollenberg (eds.), *The piano in nineteenth-century British culture: Instruments, performers and repertoire* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2007), pp. 33-68.

These questions inevitably require an investigation of the education and training available at the time, and most importantly of the contemporaneous philosophical and musical ideas, and the extent to which these affected musical literacy, the demands and the practices of nineteenth-century music lovers.[37] These issues are addressed in the Fourth and Fifth chapters, aiming to establish and grasp the context in which nineteenth-century editions of Mozart's Piano Sonatas were produced, in relation to sociological, philosophical, educational, practical and financial considerations.

[37] An intriguing discussion is presented in Philip Gossett, 'Editorial Theory, Musical Editions, Performance: 19th-century Faultlines from a 21st-century Perspective' in Andreas Giger and Thomas Mathiesen, *Music in the Mirror: Reflections on the history of Music Theory and Literature for the 21st century*, transl. Andreas Giger (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), pp. 217-231.

Music and Society

> In this era of rapid social change, the church and court settings for music were drastically altered, the status of Kapellmeister dissolving in favour of the new position of the touring virtuoso performer and the independent marketing of compositions, by subscription. Such mass-marketing presumes the printing of music, as the printed book had created a new reading public and the possibility of idea-formation on a societal scale. Technology, now jarred from arithmetic to geometrical progression, becomes a facilitating or threshold causal variable, a sine qua non. Music travels through technology… it reaches new listeners; the musician is affected by the new consumption and by fresh consumers of his music.[38]

As epitomized by Carlton, the dawn of the nineteenth century saw the effects of the First Industrial Revolution that had begun after the Napoleonic wars: first in Britain and subsequently spreading throughout Europe, major changes occurred in agriculture, manufacturing, mining and transportation.[39] The mechanization of processes and the increasing use of steam-operated transportation and machinery marked a major turning point in all aspects of society.[40] Most importantly, industrialization led to an increasing urbanization in the great European cities, such as London, Paris, Vienna, Berlin, Rome and Madrid, since large numbers of workers migrated there, searching for employment in the factories.[41] Characteristically, whereas the percentage of urban residents was merely 17% of the European population in 1801, by 1851 the number increased to 35% during the Second Industrial Revolution, marked by the rise of steel, reaching 54% by 1891.[42]

These changes had a direct impact on social structure: the bourgeoisie[43] expanded and gained power, joining the aristocracy in a quest for social recognition and political participation, seeking respectability and often marrying into aristocratic families.[44]

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[38] Richard A. Carlton, 'Changes in Status and Role-Play: The Musician at the End of the Eighteenth Century' in *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (June 2006), pp. 3-16, p. 4.

[39] See also Pat Hudson, *The Industrial Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

[40] An analytical account of the effects of the Industrial Revolution is provided in Lester Russell Brown, *Eco-Economy* (London: Earthscan, 2003) and Phyllis Deane, *The First industrial Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 1979).

[41] See also Eric Hopkins, *Industrialization and Society: A Social History, 1830-1951* (London: Routledge, 2000).

[42] Information as cited in article 'Population' in *Britannica Student Encyclopædia*, http://student.britannica.com, accessed 1 April 2009.

[43] The word 'bourgeois' originated as a title of urban citizenship which implied privileged status.

[44] See also article by Allen Scott, 'Inside the City: On Urbanization, Public Policy and Planning', in *Urban Studies*, Vol. 45 No. 4 (2008), pp. 755-772.

The rise of the middle class which, according to William Weber, is 'a historical fact requiring further investigation as to its origins'[45], consisted of people residing in urban centres, who entered the 'high society' circles without an hereditary title of nobility, but rather, by means of wealth or profession – such as merchants, manufacturers, lawyers, civil servants, clergymen, physicians and intellectuals – and whose interests and culture overlapped with those of the aristocracy.[46] As the capital of certain bourgeois grew, they gradually became more closely associated with the nobility, so that they eventually became known as a 'second aristocracy'.[47] However, as Rosen notes, the line between 'second aristocracy' and the middle class – or even between the 'first' and the 'second' - was not sharply drawn.[48]

The fact that, at the time, involvement in the musical culture was considered a socially prestigious practice, was partly what led to the broadening participation of these newly redefined 'upper classes' of society, which made up a sizable portion of the public at concerts and opera halls, showing particular preference for the genres of opera and chamber music.[49] Both the aristocrats and the bourgeois regarded most musical events as entertainment as well as social meeting opportunities, though the majority could hardly be considered as 'connoisseurs'.[50] In a satirical text concerning their involvement in the musical culture, it is stated that, when someone asked why people attended concerts, the response was 'You have to!' because 'it is a prestige of a sort'.[51] As an outcome, concert programmes, intending a broader social appeal, included heterogeneous genres, in order to attract audiences from different social classes and 'to attain an effect where entertainment shaded into emotion and back again'.[52] Consequently, while it was usually the upper third of society that was

[45] William Weber, 'The Muddle of the Middle Classes' in *Nineteenth-Century Music*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Nov. 1979), pp. 175-185.
[46] Ibid.
[47] See Tia De Nora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius: Musical Politics in Vienna* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), esp. pp. 19-20.
[48] Charles Rosen, *Critical Entertainments: Music Old and New* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), p. 109.
[49] William Weber, *Music and the Middle class*, p. 90.
[50] As indicated in the sections to follow, musical connoisseurship became increasingly grounded on the cultivation of ordinary literacy, as the audience's musical skills were gradually limited.
[51] Julian Chownitz, *Oesterreich und seine Gegner* (Verlag von C. G. Kunze, Mainz: 1846, Digitized Version September 12, 2008), pp. 151-2, as quoted and translated in William Weber, *Music and the Middle Class*, p. 90.
[52] Carl Dahlhaus. *Nineteeth-Century Music*, transl. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p. 51.

involved in the majority of musical activities, half of the audience eventually originated from below the bourgeois elite.

Especially in large centres such as Vienna, musical life underwent radical transformation as a result of 'the professionalization of a practice long associated with talented dilettantes'.[53] In the early decades of the nineteenth century the musical public largely consisted of individuals who enjoyed domestic music-making: in fact, almost half of the chamber music concerts held in Vienna during the season 1845-46 were held in private residences of upper-class amateurs.[54] Particularly in the musical society of the fin de siècle, haute bourgeoisie and professional musicians joined forces as they performed on an equal basis, making it difficult to distinguish between performers and listeners.[55] Therefore, the increase of the concert-going public was vitally interconnected with a higher level of amateurism and a new form of *Gebrauchkunst* (practical art) and supported by the growth of music publishing and of domestic performance.[56]

As the transformation of the musical scene progressed, the second half of the century saw an explosion in the development of amateur clubs, concert societies and musicians' pension funds.[57] While it was the bourgeois, armed with courtesy, conversational eloquence and eclecticism, who undertook strong leadership in establishing this common culture,[58] all members of the upper classes had a central part in the foundation and operation of several musical institutions so that, as the century evolved, the development of concerts, organizations and societies devoted solely to the practice of music and initiated by members of the bourgeoisie became extremely common. In a sense, 'institution' came to signify not simply an organization, but 'a crystallization of social facilities, modes of behavior, and categories of judgment'

[53] John Daverio, 'Fin de Siècle Chamber Music and the Critique of Modernism' in Stephen Heffling, *Nineteenth – Century Chamber Music* (New York: Routledge, 2003), pp. 348 – 382, p. 350.
[54] Weber, *Music and the Middle class*, pp. 66-67 and 90-91.
[55] Daverio. 'Fin de Siècle Chamber Music', p. 351.
[56] Celia Applegate, 'How German Is It? Nationalism and the Idea of Serious Music in the Early Nineteenth Century' in *19th-Century Music*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (Spring, 1998), pp. 274-296, p. 284.
[57] Starting with the founding of the 'Society of the Friends of Music' in Vienna in 1812, musical organizations were soon expanded into three categories: music-making clubs, choral societies (e.g. 'Vienna Men's Choral Society' – 1843, Salzburg 'Liederafel' – 1847) and civic associations which sponsored concerts and aided musicians.
[58] Daverio, 'Fin de Siècle Chamber Music', p. 350.

representative of bourgeois music culture in the nineteenth century.[59] Naturally, the transformation of the musical culture also signified a substantial transformation of patronage which, according to Solomon, had already begun by the late-eighteenth century, when 'new forms of patronage – by the public theatre, by members of the financial nobility, by groups of connoisseurs – had emerged'.[60] Members of the upper classes and the high nobility, though less musically experienced and sophisticated than those of earlier times, responded to the new social and artistic needs, by initiating a 'looser' form of patronage, assisting composers to develop independent careers.[61] At the same time, however, musicians continued to be employed by courts, and commissioned by royal patrons.[62]

The nineteenth century also saw the realization of the first efforts of conservatory education, the aims of which were to accelerate professional musical training and to set the standards of musical education for both amateurs and professionals. Following the example of the Paris conservatory, which was founded in 1795 on the basis of providing free tuition in music for gifted students of any social rank,[63] a number of music conservatories appeared in several European cities, such as Milan (1807), Prague (1811), Vienna (1817), London (1823), Brussels (1832), Leipzig (1843), Cologne (1850) Dresden (1856), Bern (1857), Berlin (1869) and Frankfurt (1878), offering instrumental and conducting instruction, along with courses in theory, harmony and composition.[64]

Trained orchestral musicians were expected to achieve and sustain a certain level of musicianship which would correspond to the increasingly public nature of concertizing, while the stakes were even higher for those aiming towards a career as soloists: along with the higher performance requirements, the career of a virtuoso also

[59] Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music* (1991), p. 51.
[60] Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven* (New York: Schirmer, 2001), pp. 145-146.
[61] Musicians benefiting from such patronage include Haydn, Dittersdorf, Beethoven, and later Weber, Spohr, Liszt and Wagner.
[62] One such example is Johann Strauss the younger, who attained the post of 'Hofballmusikdirektor' in 1863. See also Egon Gartenberg, *Johann Strauss: The End of an Era* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1974).
[63] David J. Golby, *Instrumental Teaching in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), p. 242.
[64] See Karin Pendle (ed.), *Women and Music: A History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), pp. 149-150 and George Odam and Nicholas Bannan (eds.), *The Reflective Conservatoire: Studies in Music Education* (London: Ashgate Publishing, 2005), pp. 15-17.

demanded constant moving, striving, ambition and a certain degree of professional 'aggressiveness'.[65] The growing expectations for higher quality performance and professionalization also meant that, by mid-century, musical training became more demanding, requiring not only an excellent knowledge of musical notation, but also familiarization with reading and writing about music.[66]

Indeed, particularly from the middle of the century onwards, general literacy and musical literacy seemed to grow in parallel: throughout the century, the application of steam power to the industrial processes of printing supported a massive expansion of newspaper and popular book publishing, which in turn reinforced the expansion of literacy and led to a demand for mass political participation.[67] The invention of the high-speed press,[68] coupled with the sale of separate issues (rather than annual subscriptions) and the printing of advertisements, produced a type of newspaper which forced the older form of journalism into the background.[69] According to Dahlhaus, 'the influence of this new type of newspaper on the evolution of music … figures among the basic prerequisites of modern musical culture, which might even be defined as music culture under the conditions of bourgeois publicity'.[70] The possibility of mass circulation of cheap printed materials, combined with the increased urbanization and the rapid growth of the music-hall led to a blooming market of music publishing, far more expanded than its eighteenth-century predecessor.[71]

The advances of technology also meant that industrial production grew larger and less costly. In the music field this technological progress was most prominently evident in the increased production of pianos: manufacturers of the instrument developed better and more affordable methods for building a greater number of pianos than had

[65] Applegate, 'How German Is It?', p. 284.
[66] Leon Botstein, 'Musical Literacy and the Concert Audience' in *Nineteenth Century Music: Music in Its Social Contexts*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Autumn 1992), pp. 129 – 145, p. 135.
[67] See also Asa Briggs, *The Power of Steam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), esp. p. 150.
[68] The steam-powered printing press was the invention of Friedrich Gottlob Koenig (1774 – 1833), which was first presented in London in 1811, and by the 1830s it was adopted by the majority of European publishers. See also article on 'Typography' in *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online*, http://www.britannica.com, accessed 28 May 2009.
[69] See also Sharon Hartin Iorio, *Qualitative Research in Journalism* (New York: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004).
[70] Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, p 117.
[71] See Hans Lenneberg, *On the Publishing and Dissemination of Music, 1500 – 1850* (Hillsdale, New York: Pendragon Press, 2003), esp. Chapter V: 'An Industry in Full Bloom', pp. 94-115.

previously been feasible. The cheap standardized piano was mainly what triggered the massive growth of citizen participation in music, for, due to its user-friendly structure, it encouraged a wide usage at home or in social gatherings. By the 1830s – the so-called 'decade of the piano' – the instrument ceased to be the exclusive province of the wealthy; members of the expanding middle class could also own one for domestic use. The piano became the unrivalled instrument of the bourgeois home: it stood as a universal, all-inclusive medium of musical experience, capable of embodying in itself the symbolic power of contrast.[72] George Bernard Shaw in the late nineteenth century compared the importance of the pianoforte in the transmission of music with the importance of printing in poetry,[73] going on to ask:

> …What is it that stands as the one indispensable external condition of my musical culture? Obviously, the pianoforte. Without it, no harmony, no interweaving of rhythms and motives, no musical structure, and consequently no opera or music drama. But on the other hand, with it nothing else was needed except the printed score and a fore-knowledge of the power of music to bring romance and poetry to any enchanting intimacy of realization.[74]

As the extract indicates, the domination of the piano in nineteenth-century musical practice also brought forward an increase in amateur music-making and in the music written or transcribed for the instrument.[75] Private lessons and music schools providing piano instruction for girls and choral singing for boys became increasingly popular,[76] the demand for sheet music (including transcriptions of orchestral and operatic works) grew considerably, and the concert-going audience increased dramatically, ultimately benefiting not only piano manufacturers but also music publishers, instructors and professional musicians. By the same token, the fact that the

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[72] Jim Samson, 'The Practice of Early-Nineteenth-Century Pianism' in Michael Talbot (ed.). *The Musical Work: Reality or Invention?* (Liverpool: University of Liverpool Press, 2000), p. 127.
[73] George Bernard Shaw, *The Great composers: Reviews and Bombardments*, ed. by Louis Crompton (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978), p. 3.
[74] Ibid. p. 8.
[75] For an analytical account of nineteenth-century transcriptions for piano, see article by Christina Capparelli Gerling 'Franz Schubert and Franz Liszt: A Posthumous Partnership' in David Witten (ed). *Nineteenth-Century Piano Music: Essays in Performance and Analysis* (New York: Routledge, 1997), and Larry Todd, *Nineteenth-Century Piano Music* (2nd Edition, New York: Routledge, 2004).
[76] In Paris and Vienna, but most especially in London, private lessons soon became a prerequisite for every child raised within an upper class household, with singing and piano lessons being the most popular. Singing lessons were sometimes offered in low price for groups of students, while in all three cities, choral singing was soon organized into a great number of amateur choirs. See also Karen Ahlquist, 'Men and Women of the Chorus: Music, Governance and Social Models in Nineteenth-Century German-Speaking Europe' in Karen Ahlquist (ed.) *Chorus and Community* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), pp. 265 – 292, and Carol Harrison, *The Bourgeois Citizen in Nineteenth-century France: Gender, Sociability and the Uses of Emulation* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), esp. pp. 210-213.

mid-nineteenth-century piano was 'a pitch-stable mechanical instrument of a wide register and even sound'[77] meant that the amateur was no longer required to train in producing correct pitches, but rather, to be able to translate musical notations directly into performance through correct fingering and a basic melodic and rhythmic awareness. As Van Orden notes,

> The importance of the piano-vocal score as the disseminator of musical literacy and ideology in the nineteenth century can scarcely be overestimated. It became the primary means by which most amateur musicians came to know, judge and reproduce works they could experience – if they were lucky – only one or two times in live performance.[78]

In that sense, the new piano- and vocal-orientated musical literacy was partly responsible for the eventual democratization of musical culture: for, the expansion of the musical public created a necessity for the 'translation', the 'explanation' of musical works through literary texts, in the form of descriptive literature, program notes and narrations. In a way, then, musical literacy became intertwined with general literacy, as discussions about music became the amateurs' indispensable tool for musical comprehension.[79] Gradually, music-related writing and reading became such an important aspect of the new audience's musical experience that it led to a form of 'dependency' – particularly of instrumental music – on language. This new musical literacy was often negatively viewed as a subordination of instrumental music to language, and was deplored by educated contemporaries and critics: Hanslick was one of the first to 'defend' music in his writings of 1854[80] against this sort of literacy – which, to his eyes, seemed more journalistic than musical – suggesting an initial division between absolute and program music.[81]

Even so, this newly established correlation of the musical and the literary world proved hardly as negative as Hanslick and his contemporaries feared: the fact that the audience was provided with an opportunity to read about works and concerts that took place locally and elsewhere, meant that music as a cultural exchange was promoted,

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[77] Leon Botstein, 'Listening through Reading: Musical Literacy and the Concert Audience' in *19th-Century Music: Music in Its Social Contexts*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Autumn 1992), pp. 129 – 145, p. 136.
[78] See also Kate Van Orden, *Music and the Cultures of Print* (New York: Taylor and Francis, 2000), p. 84.
[79] Leon Botstein, 'Listening through Reading', p. 130.
[80] Eduard Hanslick, *On the Musically Beautiful* (1854), trans. G. Payzant (Indianapolis: Hacket Publishing, 1986).
[81] Botstein, 'Listening through Reading', pp. 143-144.

and that the sales of sheet music for the most widely featured works, old and new, local or foreign, were substantially expanded.[82] For instance, Schlesinger's firm *La Societé pour la Publication à Bon Marché* (1834), which specialized in music for low prices, was advertised as providing 'masterpieces for the masses', including works by famous composers such as Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven at one franc per twenty plates.[83]

Schlesinger's offer illustrates the considerable decrease in the cost of printed music, as well as the undiminished demand for 'older' music in the nineteenth century. Mozart's music, and particularly his keyboard and chamber works, enjoyed great popularity and wide dissemination due to all aforementioned circumstances: his reputation and music were promoted to a great extent through an ever-expanding web of literary texts surrounding his life, his character, his works, and even the conspiracies surrounding his death.[84] The biographies by Nissen and Jahn, the romantic criticism of Mozart's music by E.T.A. Hoffman and Gottfried Weber, and the early musicological approach of his style and work by Franz Brendel, Gustav Jacobsthal, Friedrich Chrysander and Ludwig Köchel, all contributed to the enhancement of his name and of his growing significance as a composer.[85] Furthermore, the fact that discussing about music and attending concerts had become a sine qua non also affected to a great extent the popularity of Mozart's works during the nineteenth century. Most importantly, however, it was the increasing domestic use of pianos that contributed to a considerable degree to the wider dissemination of the composer's chamber works and even of his operas. Yet, it was Mozart's piano sonatas in particular that had acquired an important role in the nineteenth-century amateur repertoire, primarily as domestic and instructional works.

Schultz's late-eighteenth-century definition of the sonata and of its musical and social functions not only stood tall but was further reinforced in the nineteenth century:

[82] The increasing dependence of music on literal descriptions is discussed in the next section.
[83] Hans Lenneberg, 'Music Publishing and Dissemination in the Early Nineteenth Century' in *The Journal of Musicology* Vol. 2 No. 2 (Spring 1983), pp. 174-183, p. 181.
[84] More in the sections 'Writing about Music' (Chapter V) and 'W. A. Mozart: Early Posthumous Publications' (Chapter VI), as well as in Daverio, 'Mozart in the Nineteenth Century'.
[85] A referenced discussion of nineteenth-century Mozart literature is provided in the next section.

> Sonatas are the most common and efficacious practice pieces for performers since there is such a quantity of both easy and difficult pieces for all instruments. They stand in the first rank of chamber repertoire […]. And because they can be played one to a part, they can be performed without too much difficulty by even the smallest chamber ensembles. A single musician can entertain a whole audience with a single harpsichord sonata better and more effectively than the largest concert can.[86]

It was precisely because keyboard sonatas provided the most convenient and economical means of musical entertainment and they were attainable by both 'upper' and 'lower' classes, touching 'the heart and sentiments of any listener with taste and knowledge',[87] that their function assumed greater importance in the nineteenth century.

Not surprisingly, the sonatas of the late-eighteenth century, and particularly those by Mozart, Haydn and later by Beethoven, were recognised as invaluable contributions to the genre.[88] It further follows that, being considered a landmark in the formation of the genre, these sonatas were not only exemplary in the teaching of composition in the nineteenth century, but were also widely disseminated, studied and performed in domestic settings and salon venues. As Stanley observes, from the late-eighteenth century onwards, the utmost significance was attached to the sonata 'as a genre for personal use, to be played by pianists of differing capabilities – hence 'easy' and 'difficult' – who purchase printed music',[89] so that the sonata was established as the principal keyboard genre of the time, and within that genre, Mozart's works occupied a highly esteemed position.

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[86] Extract from J. A. P. Schulz, 'Sonate' in J. G. Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Kunste* (1774), as cited in Nancy Baker and Thomas Christensen (ed.), *Aesthetics and the Art of Musical Composition in the German Enlightenment: Selected Writings of Johann Georg Sulzer and Heinrich Christoph Koch* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 104-5.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Glenn Stanley, 'Genre Aesthetics and Function: Beethoven's Piano Sonatas and their Cultural Context', in Glenn Stanley (ed.), Beethoven Forum, Vol. 6 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), p. 5.
[89] Ibid. p. 6.

Writing about Music

> The newspapers and periodicals occupy an unrivalled position as repositories of information about [...] every imaginable topic. Their growth during the [19th] century was a direct response to demands for information, for discourse, for instruction, for propaganda, for entertainment, for platforms, each demand corresponding to a new facet of national life […]. The nineteenth century is, indeed, the age of the press […]. In fact, the development of musical romanticism […] coincides with the parallel development of musical journalism and the creation of a very large number of periodicals dealing either entirely or in part with musical activities.[90]

Writings about music aimed to provide a narrative of musical history, and at the same time to communicate musical aesthetics in ordinary language. This application of 'ordinary literacy' on music eventually led to the gradual transference of literary aesthetic ideals into musical matters: notions about objective beauty, tradition and canonization became landmarks of music-related discourse.[91] Apart from criticism and aesthetic theory, biographical literature[92] and fiction inspired by the lives and works of musicians,[93] and especially of Mozart,[94] became extraordinarily popular throughout the nineteenth century. Furthermore, an increasing number of periodicals for the musically literate were published, contributing to the evolution of musical criticism, which gradually set the grounds for the musicological writings that appeared later on.[95]

Up to the middle of the nineteenth century, work-descriptive, interpretive and philosophical writings and critiques, such as those by E.T.A. Hoffmann,[96] had set the new romantic standards of writing about music, encouraging later writers to view

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[90] Michael Wolf, John S. North, and Dorothy Deering (eds.), *The Waterloo Directory of Victorian Periodicals 1824-1900, phase I* (Waterloo, Canada, 1976), p. ix, as cited in H. Robert Cohen, 'The Nineteenth-Century French Press and the Music Historian: Archival Sources and Bibliographical Resources' in *19th-Century Music, Vol. 7, No. 2* (Autumn, 1983), pp. 136-142, p. 136.

[91] One of the most prominent examples of such music-related discourse is Hanslick's *On the musically beautiful* (1854).

[92] Such as Anton Schindler's *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven* (1840), Otto Jahn's *W. A. Mozart* (1856-1859) and Philip Spitta's *Johann Sebastian Bach* (1873 and 1880).

[93] For instance, Wackenroder's *Dasmerkwürdige musikalische Leben des Tonkünstlers Joseph Berlinger*, written as early as 1797.

[94] See section titled 'W. A. Mozart: Early Posthumous Publications' (Chapter VI).

[95] Such as Breitkopf and Härtel's *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, and Leipzig's *Signale für musikalische Welt*. For an extensive listing of nineteenth-century periodicals, see article by John Rink. 'The Profession of Music' in Samson (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, pp. 55-86, esp. pp. 81-82.

[96] Most especially in his essay 'The Poet and the Composer' in *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* Vol.15, No. 49 and 50 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, December 1813).

music as 'the most romantic of the arts'[97] and 'the primary art of the emotions',[98] while Goethe, influenced by Schiller, identified romanticism in music by drawing a parallel with comparable tendencies in literature.[99] Particularly in Germany, a national awakening, combined with the emergence of Romanticism, functioned as the motivating force behind the 'rediscovery' of earlier composers and their establishment as symbols of geniuses transcending time:[100] early romantic writers such as Hoffmann, A. B. Marx and Reichardt, categorized Beethoven, Mozart and Haydn as romantic composers, in an effort towards music's integration into the circles of the educated elite.[101] Several decades later, Gustav Jacobsthal, in a discussion of Mozart's early Milan and Vienna quartets, noted that:

> In later years, when a man attains the mental, emotional, and physical maturity requisite for Romantic feeling, Mozart was already so highly developed as an artist, so saturated with organic artistic unity, that in the Romantic years he had already left Romanticism behind him.[102]

The notion behind these efforts, according to Applegate, was that 'if some music could indeed be seen as an integral part of the cultural past, present, and future, then serious people, musically gifted or not, must undertake to acquire a better understanding of it'.[103]

The most significant outcome of the inclusion of these three composers within the romantic 'norms' was that their works eventually became part of a canonic repertory extending from the past into the future: Hoffman's characterization of Mozart's *Requiem* as 'eine romantisch-heilige Musik' in 1813, though essentially falling prey to the mythologizing of Mozart's work, was merely indicative of the gradually yielding concept of 'repeating classics', in other words, of pieces whose publication

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[97] See Ernst Theodor Amadeus Hoffmann and David Charlton, *E. T. A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings*. Transl. Martyn Clarke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
[98] See article by Jim Samson, 'Romanticism' in *Grove Online*, at www.oxfordmusiconline.com, accessed 5 June 2009.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Paul Henry Lang, 'Mozart after 200 Years' in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 13, No. 1/3 [A Musicological Offering to Otto Kinkeldey upon the Occasion of His 80th Anniversary (1960)], pp. 197-205, p. 197.
[101] See also Julian Rushton, *Mozart* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 234.
[102] Lecture given by Jacobsthal during the summer semester 1889, as cited in Peter Sühring, 'Gustav Jacobsthal's Mozart Reception', transl. Nell Zink, in *Mozart in Context: Special Issue of Min-Ad: Israel Studies in Musicology Online*, Vol. 5, Issue 2 (2006), pp. 105-111, p. 106, at www.biu.ac.il, accessed 20 May 2010.
[103] Applegate, 'How German Is It?', p. 288.

'was inextricably linked with the sustainability of a piece' through repeated performance,[104] as well as of the composer's influence on nineteenth-century music.[105] Mozart's impacting influence, particularly on nineteenth-century opera and chamber music, is consciously present in the works of nineteenth-century composers such as Schubert, Weber, Spohr, Cherubini, Rossini, Donizetti and many more.[106] As Bernard Shaw notes:

> Wagner, when not directly expressing his unmitigated contempt for his own disciples, delighted to taunt them by extolling Mozart; and Gounod, standing undazzled before Wagner and Beethoven, has confessed that before Mozart his ambitions turn to despair. Berlioz formed his taste in ignorance of Handel and Mozart, much as a sculptor might form his taste in ignorance of Phidias and Praxiteles; and when he subsequently became acquainted with Mozart in his works, he could not quite forgive him for possessing all of the great qualities of his idol Gluck, and many others of which Gluck was destitute, besides surpassing him in technical skill. Yet Berlioz admitted the greatness of Mozart […].[107]

And whereas at the beginning of the century Carl Friedrich Zelter[108] clearly privileged vocal over instrumental music as the primary form of 'high' art,[109] it was instrumental music that came to be considered the greatest, since it was perceived as the only art-form capable of representing particular emotions and situations solely and 'purely' through 'sound and its ingenious combinations'.[110] In fact, such notions regarding the pure emotional impact of instrumental music actually pre-existed from as early as 1774, when Schulz had written, for the sonata in particular, in an encyclopedia of the arts, that

> There is no form of instrumental music that is more capable of depicting wordless sentiments than the sonata…No form other than the sonata may assume any character and every expression. In a sonata, the composer might

[104] Marcia J. Citron, 'Gender, Professionalism and the Musical Canon' in *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Winter 1990), pp. 103-117, p. 106.
[105] See introductory note 'Toward Mozart' in *19th-Century Music*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Autumn, 1991), p. 93.
[106] Paul Henry Lang, 'Mozart after 200 Years', p. 199.
[107] George Bernard Shaw, 'Mozart: The Marriage of Figaro', in *The Dramatic Review* (6 June 1885), reprinted in Shaw, *The Great composers: Reviews and Bombardments*, p. 163.
[108] Zelter (1758-1832) was a German composer, conductor and teacher of music. Having transmitted his admiration for the music of J. S. Bach to his pupil Felix Mendelssohn, he ignited a re-evaluation and revival of Bach's works in the nineteenth century, marked by Mendelssohn's revival of the St Matthew Passion at the Singakademie under Zelter's auspices in 1829. See also Celia Applegate, *Bach in Berlin: nation and culture in Mendelssohn's revival of the St Matthew Passion* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2005).
[109] See John Edward Toews, *Becoming Historical: Cultural Reformation and Public Memory in Early Nineteenth-Century Berlin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 211.
[110] Edward Lippman, *Musical Aesthetics* (Stuyvesant, New York: Pendragon Press, 1988), p. 266.

> want to express through the music a monologue marked by sadness, misery, pain, or of tenderness, pleasure and joy; using a more animated kind of music, he might want to depict a passionate conversation between similar or complementary characters; or he might wish to depict emotions that are impassioned, stormy, or contrasting, or ones that are light, delicate, flowing, and delightful.[111]

This idea was further explored well into the nineteenth century: Five years after Hoffmann's most influential essay *Der Dichter und der Komponist* (1813), Schopenhauer argued that not only music should and could express ideas, images, emotions and narratives, but also that the art of 'pure music' rests fundamentally in the art of instrumental composition.[112] Taking this notion another step further, Hanslick opened his *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen* in 1854 by stating that

> The course hitherto pursued in musical aesthetics has nearly always been hampered by the false assumption that the object was not so much to inquire into what is beautiful in music as to describe the feelings which music awakens.[113]

Through his writings, Hanslick initiated a new era of musical criticism, taking an 'anti-romantic' stand, emphasizing on the idea of musical autonomy and its basic independence of the other arts, and encouraging a more analytical, less descriptive approach towards criticism. Adorno[114] and Dahlhaus[115] have noted that this rise of aesthetic autonomy brought forward a decline in the potency of genre, in the sense that self-contained works resisted the clarity of meaning conventionally offered by a genre title, becoming consequently blurred within their surrounding world.[116] As the century progressed, these philosophical writings evolved into the controversial concepts of the autonomous work and of Wagner's later definition of 'absolute

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[111] J. A. P. Schulz, 'Sonate' in J. G. Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Kunste* (1774), as cited in Glenn Stanley, 'Genre Aesthetics and Function', p. 4.
[112] *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, (1819) Vol. 1, Book 3 on Aesthetics, 'The world as Will and Idea' published by Paul London and Trench Trübner, at www.archive.org, accessed 3 June 2009.
[113] Hanslick, *On the musically beautiful*, p. 7.
[114] Theodor Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*. Trans. Christian Lenhardt (New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983), pp. 285-289.
[115] Carl Dahlhaus, 'New Music and the Problem of Musical Genre' in Dahlhaus. *Schoenberg and the New Music*, transl. Derrick Puffett and Alfred Clayton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 32-44.
[116] Jim Samson, 'The Practice of Early-Nineteenth-Century Pianism', p. 119

music': as Chua humorously comments, music was 'emancipated from language *by language*'.[117]

This newly established belief that music should not 'hang on the coat-tails of another practice in order to be accorded the dignity and meaningfulness of high art'[118] went hand in hand with the increasing importance of instrumental music, evident not only in writings but also in changes in the structure of concert life, publishing enterprises, pedagogy and even in perceptions of popular culture, that strengthened the work-concept by loosening the threads binding it to genre and social function. In a sense, then, the institution of the work-concept was already apparent at around 1800 in German poetry and philosophy,[119] and, while it is still argued whether terms such as '*Werk*' and '*œuvre*' were used at the time to denote a single musical product,[120] it was in fact then that Breitkopf and Härtel first used these terms in their attempt to publish a collected edition of Mozart's music, the so-called *Œuvres Complettes* [sic].[121]

Though this early collected edition of Mozart's works was far from complete, it nevertheless mirrors two important facets of music publishing at the dawn of the nineteenth-century: First of all, it indicates the impressively high demand for Mozart's music posthumously, having 'clearly earned a kind of status in the German-speaking countries that only Bach and Handel had previously enjoyed'.[122] Even as late as 1891, at Mozart's centenary, Shaw describes how, apart from private performances, every concert-giver would ask the performers to perform some work by Mozart.[123] Secondly, it represents one of the first attempts to produce a monumental edition of works by a single composer: Undoubtedly, the growing and varied literature surrounding the importance of the life and work of Mozart and of other eighteenth-century composers was definitive in the selection of Mozart as the first of a series of composers whose complete output would be published in the nineteenth century.

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[117] Daniel Chua, *Absolute Music and the Constructions of Meaning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 6.
[118] Michael Talbot, 'The Work-Concept and Composer-Centredness' in Talbot (ed.), *The Musical Work: Reality or Invention?*, p. 172.
[119] Carl Dahlhaus, *The Idea of Absolute Music*, Transl. Roger Lustig (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1991), esp. pp. 1 - 41.
[120] Talbot, 'The Work-Concept and Composer-Centredness', p. 171.
[121] *W. A. Mozart: Œuvres Complettes* (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1800).
[122] Lenneberg, *On the Publishing and dissemination of music*, p. 112.
[123] Shaw, 'Mozart: Centenary' in *The Illustrated London News* (12 December 1891), reprinted in Shaw, *The Great composers*, p. 98.

The demand for the publication of such monumental editions, which continued to be produced throughout the nineteenth century, is closely related to contemporary writings about music, the growing notions of music as the highest of art forms, and the rising idea of musical autonomy. As a printed call for the foundation of the so-called 'Society for the Promotion of Music' stated in 1801, one of its aims was for 'a canonic standing be awarded to the musical ideas of the best musicians […] and that this status be elevated to a rule for instruction of all practising musicians'.[124] These evolving notions, along with the technological advances discussed in the next chapter, stand as the two landmarks in the evolution of nineteenth-century music printing in general, naturally affecting the dissemination, presentation and editing of Mozart's *œuvre* in particular.

Conclusions

The large-scale social, technological and philosophical changes that took place in the nineteenth century naturally could not have left the publication and dissemination of music untouched. Germany's rise as the leading publishing country, which was partly indebted to the great reputation of German composers throughout Europe, meant that German music, including the music of Mozart, was disseminated widely both locally and abroad, mostly in the form of reprints, but also through pirated editions. Additionally, the rise of the bourgeoisie and the increased participation of the audience in music-related activities, created an unprecedented demand for keyboard instruments, and consequently an extremely promising market for music for/with keyboard. The great popularity of the sonata in particular, was indebted not only to its attributes as an instructional piece, but also to writings about music, which elevated instrumental music as the highest form of art, and the sonata as one of the most expressive genres of instrumental music available. At the same time, an important literary web regarding Mozart's life, character and work was also constructed, further promoting his posthumous reputation and popularity. As a result, the keyboard sonatas by Mozart remained a central part of the amateur keyboard repertoire in the nineteenth century, as representing gems within the genre.

[124] Gernot Gruber, *Mozart and Posterity*, transl. R. S. Furness (London: Quartet, 1991), p. 62.

– CHAPTER V –

Nineteenth-Century Music Publishing

STRUCTURE:

- Introduction
- Functionality and appearance
- Editorial mindsets
- Summary - Conclusions

Introduction

As already established in the previous chapter, the nineteenth century's social, technological and philosophical changes naturally affected the era's printing and publishing to a great extent, and most particularly music in print. While technological advances created a wide reading public that interacted with contemporary ideas on a societal scale, they also ensured that printed music reached new (and often geographically distant) audiences. In turn, this expansion of production and consumption inevitably affected musicians and publishers alike, calling for innovation both in compositional experimentation as well as for improvements in printing techniques and editorial methods. Issues of presentation and practicality became increasingly important, while music editions began to spring out into categories depending on their functionality: apart from the 'traditional' performing edition, miniature and study scores also made their appearance. Additionally, the expansion of publishing houses and the promotion of a large variety of genres, composers and collections, became the prerequisites that would eventually lead to the production of the most monumental collected editions: editions consciously intended as both practical and scholarly, setting forth the establishment of the so-called *Urtext* edition towards the end of the nineteenth-century.

Mozart was not only amongst the first composers whose complete works were printed in the early nineteenth century, but also amongst those who, later in the nineteenth century, came to be considered as romantics, and whose works were repeatedly published and performed.[1] The categorization of Mozart's music as 'romantic' inevitably raises several valid questions: first of all, what did this categorization mean in terms of the historical performance and editing of Mozart's works in the nineteenth century? How was his style perceived and his notation interpreted? To what extent did the nineteenth-century's interpretation affect the production of newly edited and printed Mozart texts? Which aspects of the text were tampered with? How were the monumental editions of his works produced, with what editorial standards? Did technological advances affect the printed text? These questions will be further investigated here and put to test in the case study of Chapter Six.

[1] See also Chapter Four, 'Writing about music'.

Functionality and appearance

> Modern descriptions of the music trade during the early decades of the nineteenth century describe its hitherto unequalled growth and expansion, due both to technological advances and to increased public demand, which facilitated importation between countries. This new public demand led to the appearance of famous composers' works in numerous cities in close succession…[2]

As international music piracy of popular works, such as those by Mozart, remained widespread in the nineteenth century,[3] publishers from the most important publishing capitals of Europe entered into publishing agreements with each other in an attempt to secure their publishing rights; for, although national copyright did exist in certain countries, no international copyright law applied, [4] until the *Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works*, which was initiated in 1886 and was completed in May 1896 in Paris.[5] Since it was almost impossible for a publisher who produced a literary or musical work to prevent the publication of pirate editions in other countries, the solution rested in an arrangement made in collaboration with foreign firms: Under such a settlement, three or more publishers, each located in a different county or country, published the same work simultaneously, registering it for national copyright on the same day, so that no one else would be able to produce a pirate edition in the locations involved.[6]

For instance, the publisher Johann Anton André, who was located in Offenbach and was one of the first to purchase and print Mozart works '*d' après le manuscrit original*' after the composer's death,[7] had established publishing agreements with

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[2] Sarah Adams, 'International Dissemination of Printed Music During the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century' in Hans Lenneberg (ed). *The Dissemination of music: Studies in the history of music publishing* (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1994), pp. 21-42, p. 22.

[3] See Hans Lenneberg, *On the Publishing and dissemination of music, 1500-1850* (Hillsdale, New York: Pendragon Press, 2003), esp. Chapter 'An Industry in Full Bloom', pp. 94-126.

[4] A detailed history of music copyright is provided by Dave Laing, 'Copyright' in John Shepherd, David Horn, Dave Laing, Paul Oliver and Peter Wicke (eds.), *Continuum Encyclopaedia of Popular Music of the World, Vol. 1: Media, Industry and Society* (London and New York: Continuum Publishing, 2003), pp. 481-488.

[5] The Treaty underwent numerous revisions in the twentieth century. All versions of the Articles are available online as part of the *World International Property Organization* website, at www.wipo.int, accessed 10 July 2010.

[6] Such was the case with the publication of Chopin's work in France, which was arranged to coincide with simultaneous editions in England, Germany and Austria.

[7] More on André's editions of Mozart's works in Chapter Six: 'Nineteenth century: Mozart's Keyboard Sonatas in Print'.

Götz in Mannheim, Schott in Mainz and later with Simrock in Bonn and in Berlin.[8] Despite such efforts, however, publishers often sued one another over illegal reprints of all kinds of works, ranging from individual compositions to complete editions. This was the case with Breitkopf and Härtel, who openly accused Spehr of Braunschweig of piracy in reprinting Haydn's *Seasons* in 1801: interestingly, the accusation appeared shortly after Spehr's announcement of his intention to publish the complete piano works of Mozart, at a time when Breitkopf had also set off to publish the complete works of the composer.[9]

Another important measure adopted in the nineteenth century regarded the reliable transmission of works under the name of their rightful composers, since correct attribution became equally important as copyright: whereas prior to the nineteenth century it was often the case that pieces could be misattributed,[10] the rise of effective national copyright protection ensured that almost every work was handed down with the composer's name written on the score, so that copyists and publishers would transmit this information reliably.[11]

As an extension of these developments, the functionality of the musical document underwent significant change, particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century. Up to about 1860, music was issued mainly for the use of performers and was sold by shops specializing in music equipment rather than by bookshops. The second half of the century, however, saw the appearance of printed music designed for study purposes: on the one hand, the miniature score, which was closely bound to the rise of the public concert, became extremely popular,[12] especially through Albert Payne's series *Kleine Kammermusik Partiturausgabe* (1886), which was later taken over by Eulenburg and imitated by almost every publisher issuing 'study scores' or 'pocket scores' since. On the other hand, the gradual emergence of the academic study of music brought forward an interest in the production of historical and critical

[8] Lenneberg, *On the publishing and dissemination of music*, p. 110.
[9] See also Gernot Gruber, *Mozart and Posterity*, transl. R. S. Furness (London: Quartet, 1991), p. 62.
[10] Such as the Six Quartets Op. 3, which were attributed to Haydn but which in reality were the compositions of Romanus Hofstetter.
[11] See also Michael Talbot, 'The Work-Concept and Composer-Centredness' in Michael Talbot (ed.). *The Musical Work: Reality or Invention?* (Liverpool: University of Liverpool Press, 2000), p. 179.
[12] Originally issued by firms such as Heckel (Mannheim) and Guidi (Florence).

editions, even though – as discussed later on – in the case of Collected Editions, completeness often seemed to be a greater priority than textual accuracy.

Naturally, the technological advances in the area of printing and publishing were extended and applied to the printing and publishing of music: as a result, printed music in the nineteenth century was greatly improved in appearance, while its graphic character became increasingly standardized. By and large, the advances in music printing originated from Breitkopf's firm in Leipzig: having experimented with different printing methods, including lithography, the firm eventually settled with engraving in around 1811, employing lithography only for printing music-book covers. The firm's improved printing method, the so-called 'mosaic type', produced more refined results compared to preceding processes, so that it was eventually applied by the majority of publishing firms throughout Germany. And, in spite of the fact that the centre of musical publishing had moved from Vienna to Leipzig, several Viennese editions kept up with the new printing methods, featuring a considerably improved appearance.

According to the writings of Täubel, a famous Leipzig printer, mosaic-printed music required of the compositor to exercise cool judgment and to have an in-depth knowledge of his cases, types and fonts, since the technique demanded the extremely accurate fitting of hundreds of different characters, so that the music would be set in blocks across the staff systems.[13] Though a painstaking method, it enabled publishers to represent the most complex of notations: lines became finer in their execution,[14] and the visual contrast between thin and thick lines could now be emphasized – for instance, between the endings and the middle of a tie or slur, or between the verticals and the diagonals attached to note-heads or, most notably, in sharp signs. A catalogue, compiled by the nineteenth-century printer Vincent Figgins of London, refers to 460 different symbols and elements employed in music printing, which include variable lengths of particular performance or technique symbols and different type sizes, thus creating an incredibly complex inventory.[15] This number gradually increased, as the

[13] The problems faced during the application of the mosaic technique have been outlined by Christian Gottlob Täubel in his *Praktisches Handbuch der Buchdurckerkunst für Anfänger* (Leipzig: Müller, 1791).
[14] Presumably due to the use of harder pewter plates with less lead in its alloy.
[15] Vincent Figgins, *Specimens of Type* (London: Centenary Edition, 1897).

standard appearance of musical signs changed in subtle ways over the years: the G clef, for instance, which was rounded at the top at around 1800, became pointed by 1850. Overall, the nineteenth-century musical page seemed to have acquired a 'cleaner' and more 'artistic' appearance.

The improvements in the appearance of printed music were consequently matched by a gradual standardization of the craft of music engraving, once Breitkopf's system of punches and pewter plates had been extensively adopted by firms across Europe. Täubel cautioned against hasty work, emphasizing that music typesetting demanded extraordinary patience and care by the compositor, for the reproduction of the author's music also involved the careful consideration of visually and musically even spacing and of convenient turn-over page breaks.[16] It was often the case that, despite the overall standardization in the appearance of printed music, engravers disagreed over their perceptions of the ideal layout and placement on the page for optimum legibility. As a result, distinctive engraving house styles gradually replaced the style of the individual craftsman, enabling the workmanship of particular firms to be identified, whether by contemporary persons in the trade (which was very useful as evidence of piracy in litigation) or by later scholars (as evidence of the date and source).[17]

Additionally, from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, new advances in the music printing process were introduced, which contributed largely to the mass production of printed music, rather than to the text's presentation. More specifically, C. G. Röder introduced a lithographic steam press as early as 1863, and by 1867 the firm was engraving and printing music for several publishers in Leipzig and throughout Europe.[18] In time, this new, faster, and more efficient printing technology brought forward a vast increase in the amount of printed music, which continued well into the twentieth century.

As already mentioned, the first few decades of the nineteenth century are marked by the growing efforts to produce collected editions of the entire *œuvre* of the audience's favourite composers, such as Mozart, Handel, Haydn, Clementi, Beethoven and

[16] Täubel, *Praktisches Handbuch* (1791).
[17] See also William Gamble, *Music Engraving and Printing: Historical and Technical Treatise* (North Stratford: Ayer Publishing, 1979).
[18] Steven Lehrer, *Wannsee House and the Holocaust* (Jefferson, N. Carolina: McFarland, 2000), p. 45.

Schubert.[19] At first, the central vision of this effort was simply to compile the composers' works in order to render them accessible and, more often than not, attempts at such complete editions were unsuccessful, usually relying heavily on music for keyboard, lacking a considerable number of works, or including misattributions.[20] For instance, the 17-volume compilation of Mozart's *Œuvres Complettes* [sic] and the 12-volume compilation of Haydn's works, which were amongst the first attempts made by Breitkopf and Härtel to publish such collections, were far from complete.[21]

TABLE 5.A: LARGE-SCALE EDITIONS c. 1800-1850

LARGE-SCALE EDITIONS
c. 1800-1850

First attempts to produce Complete Editions of individual composers:

- Mozart, 17 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1798-99, 1798 - 1806)
- Haydn, 12 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1800-06)
- Clementi, 13 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel,1803-19)
- Beethoven, 11 ser. (Vienna: Haslinger, 1828-45)
- Schubert, 6 vols. (Paris: c.1835)
- Handel, 14 vols. (London: Cramer, Beale, 1844-58)

Anthologies were another important means of re-introducing the works of past composers to nineteenth-century music lovers:[22] while most of the larger editions of older music reproduced vocal polyphony dating back to the sixteenth century (such as Latrobe's *Selection of Sacred Music*,[23] and a monumental edition of sixteen volumes under the auspices of the *Königliche Akademie der Künste* in Berlin[24]), collections of solo keyboard music or of music with keyboard were also popular. These anthologies

[19] An extensive list of such editions is provided in George Hill and Steven Norris, *Collected Editions, Historical Series & Sets & Monuments of Music*. (Berkeley, CA: Fallen Leaf Press, 1997).
[20] Harold E. Samuel, 'Editions, historical' in Don Michael Randel (ed.), *The Harvard Dictionary of Music*, 4th Edition (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), pp. 280-283.
[21] See also Cliff Eisen, 'The old and new Mozart editions' in *Early Music*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (Nov. 1991), pp. 513-532, Robbins Landon (ed.), *The Mozart Compendium: A guide to Mozart's Life and Music* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1990), p.184.
[22] See also Sydney Robinson, Charles Hill, George Hill, Steven Norris and Julie Woodward, 'Editions, historical' in *Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com, accessed 4 September 2009.
[23] C. I. Latrobe, *Selection of Sacred Music from the Works of Some of the Most Eminent Composers of Germany and Italy* (London: Robert Birchall, 1806). Details concerning the making of the collection in Fiona Palmer, *Vincent Novello (1781-1861): Music for the Masses* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2006), pp. 149-150.
[24] *Auswahl Vorzuglicher Musik-Werke in gebundener Schreibart von Meistern alter und neuer Zeit* (Berlin: Trautwein, 1839)

paved the way towards the publication of larger-scale collections at the second half of the century, such as *Le trésor des pianistes*,[25] which appeared in 23 volumes from 1861-1872 in Paris and included music for piano and harpsichord from the previous three centuries.

TABLE 5.B: 19TH-CENTURY ANTHOLOGIES OF OLDER MUSIC

Successful Nineteenth-Century Anthologies of older music:

Vocal

- C. I. Latrobe (ed.), *Selection of Sacred Music from the Works of Some of the Most Eminent Composers of Germany & Italy*, 6 vols. (London: Lonsdale, 1806–25.) Almost entirely reproduced in 1831 by J. A. Latrobe as *The Music of the Church considered in its Various Branches*.
- Königliche Akademie der Künste (eds.), *Auswahl vorzüglicher Musik-Werke in gebundener Schreibart von Meistern alter und neuer Zeit* [vocal works, 17th–19th centuries], 16 vols. (Berlin: Trautwein, 1835–41; 2nd ser. 1842).

Keyboard

- Farrenc, Aristide and Louise (eds.), *Le Trésor des Pianistes,* 23 vols. (Paris: Prilipp, 1861-72).
- J. A. Fuller Maitland and W. Barclay Squire (eds.), *The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1899).
- Guilmant, Alexander (ed.), *Archives des maîtres d'orgue des 16e-18e siècles*, 10 vols. (Mainz: Schott, 1898-1907).

Along with the increase of music in print and its improved appearance, one would reasonably expect that the technological advances in printing and publishing would also bring forth an analogous change of attitude on behalf of editors and publishers: for, now that the process allowed for a more elaborate approach, no longer confined by technical limitations, it would have been reasonable for the text of editions to be closer to the text of the sources used. And, whereas in the eighteenth century proof reading was a luxury – and even when it took place, extensive changes could not be made to the plates[26] – the improved technology now made it possible to emend the text to be printed without much difficulty or cost, therefore ensuring that its contents were correct and accurate. So, the ultimate decision as to the printed text now rested with the editors, their approach of the musical works and styles in question, and the sources they used for the preparation of their editions.

[25] Farrenc, Aristide and Louise, *Le Trésor des Pianistes,* 23 vols. (Paris: Prilipp, 1861-72, Repr. New York: Da Capo Press, 1977). See review in *The Musical Quarterly* Vol. 66 No. 1 (1980), pp. 140-146.
[26] The issue of proof-reading in the eighteenth century is discussed in Chapter Two.

Editorial mindsets

From the very first decades of the nineteenth century more and more publishers became interested in the revival of old music, producing, distributing and re-issuing anthologies and complete editions.[27] The increasing publishing activities related to the revival of old music were inevitably interconnected with the circulation of a considerable number of methods and guide books specifically dealing with historical styles and issues of performance, most particularly regarding keyboard music.[28]

Amongst the first to address the subject of performing older repertories was Louis Adam in his *Méthode de piano du conservatoire* of 1805,[29] the last chapter of which emphasized the importance of employing different styles of performance for the music of each era,[30] pointing out that 'Bach and Handel each had a unique style of performance', and that 'any pianist who plays the music of Clementi, Mozart, Dussek and Haydn in the same way will destroy the music's effect'.[31] Some thirty five years later, Czerny provided a more detailed exploration of the subject in a chapter of his Op. 500, titled *On the peculiar style of execution most suitable to different composers and their works*.[32] Although his division of pianistic styles in 'schools', identified by a unique set of performance principles, was not particularly meticulous, it nevertheless drew an overview of stylistic peculiarities, indicating clearly that early keyboard music should be viewed and performed with an awareness and understanding of its distinct set of stylistic tools.

Despite their novel character, these early-nineteenth-century attempts to preserve or revive older performance traditions were inevitably conditioned by the extensive transformation of the piano, its mechanism, action and sound quality: the efforts to acknowledge and apply past performance styles were moderated by a preference for

[27] In several instances, publishing firms, rather than spending more to produce their own editions from scratch, simply imported or reproduced other available recent editions, selling them under their own label. See also previous section.
[28] A comprehensive listing and description of similar nineteenth-century methods is provided in David Rowland, *Early Keyboard Instruments – A practical guide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), esp. Chapter 1: 'Stylistic awareness and keyboard music', pp. 1-8.
[29] Louis Adam, *Méthode de piano du conservatoire* (Paris: 1805 / reprint Geneva: Minkoff, 1974).
[30] See also Ian Bent (ed.), *Music theory in the age of Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 10-13.
[31] David Rowland, *Early Keyboard Instruments*, p. 1.
[32] Carl Czerny, *Vollstandige theoretisch-practische Pianoforte Schule*, Op. 500 (Vienna: 1839; 2nd ed. 1846; facsimile of 2nd ed. Wiesbaden: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1991).

the nineteenth-century piano as an improved version of the instrument, so that ultimately performance directions of the pianistic works of the past were 'updated' to accommodate for the extended qualities of the modern piano. As a result, in most cases, instructions on how to perform older music were in fact instructions on how to modify it to suit contemporary taste and instruments.

Consequently, these elements found their way into the newly edited editions of older music, since the decisive role in the formation of the printed text lay, of course, with the editor. In accordance with nineteenth-century performance practices, editors often took the initiative of 'modernizing' or 'simplifying' aspects of the older notation: for instance, having made an agreeable piano accompaniment from a figured bass line, the editor would then exclude the figuration, treating it as an unnecessary burden to the edition,[33] as in the case of Bach's six sonatas BWV 1014-1019.[34] Also, a vast addition of dynamics, articulation and pedal marks, as well as occasional expansions of the pitch-range through the employment of the recently available bass or treble octaves, appeared in several early nineteenth-century editions of older keyboard works, indicating this intentional exploitation of the capabilities of the new instrument.[35]

As the following extract indicates, such editorial alterations of the text, similarly to performing manuals, were largely targeted towards the large percentage of amateur instrumentalists, who would perform the published music with or without the guidance of a professor. This implementation of added, altered or 'written out' performance directions, as well as the large circulation of such editions throughout the nineteenth century, is evident in a late-nineteenth-century review of Riemann's edition of Mozart's piano sonatas:

> This is an interesting addition to the many existing editions of the great master's pianoforte Sonatas. Its distinguishing characteristics consist in a number of ingeniously devised signs interspersed in the text, by the due observance of which the pupil cannot go far wrong in interpreting these gems of classical musical literature much as they were presumably intended to be

[33] See also Victoria Cooper, *The House of Novello: Practice and policy of a Victorian music publisher* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 67-68

[34] This was still the case in several editions of the twentieth century, where the keyboard part had been written out, such as that edited by Franz Stock and Hans Christian Müller (Vienna: Wiener Urtext, 1973).

[35] This will be illustrated in the case study of Chapter Six. See also R. Larry Todd (ed.), *Nineteenth-century piano music* (2nd edition, New York: Routledge, 2004).

> rendered by their composer….There are marks here for absolute expression, as well as for the mere mechanical aids to it, such as *staccato*, *mezzo-staccato*, *tenuto*, &c [sic]. But what pleases us most in Dr. Riemann's system is the careful phrasing, or grouping, of the composer's ideas (his *motive*, as the Germans say), which is effected by means of curved lines, enabling the intelligent pupil to comprehend at a glance the whole structure of the miniature art-work before him, and which, moreover, should be an invaluable assistance to the teacher […] there can be no doubt that Dr. Riemann's "Phrasing Edition" of Mozart's Sonatas […] will prove a great boon to those teachers of the instruments who take a higher view of their art than that of merely reproducing the notes as they are placed before them; and to them we confidently recommend it.[36]

That granted, publishers who aimed to 'satisfy the market' and profit on public demand[37] may have encouraged editors to provide detailed performance instructions such as tempo markings, dynamics, fingering, articulation and pedalling, so that their editions would be more appealing, user-friendly and up-to-date, in accordance with the needs and expectations of their users and the performance practice of the time. Hence in 1806, Breitkopf and Härtel advertised a publication of older keyboard sonatas noting that twelve of these 'are originally by Scarlatti but have been touched up by Clementi for the modern taste'.[38] Similarly, it was often the case that publishers selected famous performers of the time to act as editors of older music, at times rewriting the piece to conform to contemporary or personal taste – a habit that continued well into the twentieth century, particularly in the editorial work of Leonard Rose.[39]

Since little effort was made at the time to distinguish additional editorial marks from those of the original source, there was no way for users to know the difference, as a series of characteristic examples reveals: starting with Griepenkerl's editions of J. S. Bach's *Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue in D minor* for harpsichord (BWV 903, published 1819),[40], whose revision of Bach's text to suit nineteenth-century musical fashion is evident in the addition of ornaments, embellishments, dynamics and

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[36] Anonymous, 'Review: Mozart's Klavier Sonaten. Phrasirungs-Ausgabe von Dr. Hugo Riemann [Berlin: N. Simrock.]' in *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, Vol. 25, No. 499 (Sep. 1, 1884), pp. 530-531.

[37] Cooper, *The House of Novello*, p. 88.

[38] Cited and translated in Richard Burnett and William Dow, *Company of pianos* (London: Third Millenium Publishing/Finchcocks Press, 2004), p. 223.

[39] See also James Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music*, esp. pp. 151-2 and Chapter Seven of this thesis titled 'Twentieth-Century Music Publishing'.

[40] A listing of free downloadable nineteenth-century editions of BWV 903 is provided by the *Petrucci Library Online*, as part of the *International Music Score Library Project*, available at http://imslp.org/, accessed 5 September 2009.

articulation marks, this fashion was later taken on by Bülow in his transcription of the same work,[41] producing what the musicologist David Schulenberg later described as a 'notoriously romanticized piano edition'.[42]

Apparently, such unacknowledged additions were a *sine qua non*, even in instances where editors such as Clementi and Czerny did restrain themselves in accordance with stylistic awareness – at least compared to the level of additions found in other editions of the same period. For instance, Czerny's approach in his editions of Bach was one of relative restraint compared to the practices of his fellow editors, who seemed to produce arrangements and adaptations rather than editions of older music, often re-writing passages and even transposing the music into other keys: Czerny's 1837 edition of the *Well-Tempered Clavier*[43] includes dynamics, articulation and phrasing marks, as well as certain filling-out of textures but, at the same time, considerable care was taken towards sustaining those performance characteristics that were perceived at the time – or by Czerny himself – as representative of the 'baroque style'. His editorial practice can be associated with the 1830s' emerging research and attempts towards 'historical performance', which was realized through a series of performances in Paris and London, such as those by Fétis (1832-3) and Moscheles (1837-8) and their joint publication of the *Méthode des Méthodes de Piano* (Paris, 1840).[44] Some of these performances employed early instruments, while others aimed at juxtaposing the variety of keyboard styles of the past and the present and at emphasizing the differences in ornamentation, phrasing and articulation.

[41] Hans von Bülow (ed.), *Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue BWV 903* – Transcription for Piano (Berlin: Bote &Bock, 1863), plate 5995. Currently re-issued by Schirmer.
[42] See case study in David Schulenberg, *The Keyboard Music of J. S. Bach*. 2nd Edition (New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 147.
[43] The edition was part of C. F. Peters' second attempt to publish Bach's complete keyboard works, and included a one-page preface concerning the care with which the text had been prepared, and how one should practice. See also Yo Tomita, ''Most ingenious, most learned, and yet practicable work': The English Reception of Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier* in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century seen through the Editions Published in London', in Therese Ellsworth and Susan Wollenberg (eds.), *The piano in nineteenth-century British culture: Instruments, performers and repertoire* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2007), pp. 33-68.
[44] *Méthode des méthodes de piano par François Joseph Fétis et Ignaz Moscheles* (Paris: Schlesinger, 1840 / English edition 1841). The book presents an analysis and comparison of selected piano methods with new material to ensure contemporary relevance. See also Kenneth Hamilton, *After the Golden Age: Romantic Pianism and Modern Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 158.

As the interest in historical performance grew, it went hand in hand with private and institutional initiatives to collecting old instruments, editions, and treatises.[45] Along with these, a parallel historical approach to editing compositions of the past was also initiated: while, up to that time, most editors introduced textual changes without feeling obliged to acknowledge them to the reader, the emerging interest in historical performance led to the production of a number of editions which provided at the very least a foreword with an overview of the editor's reasoning behind any textual emendations. For instance, a review of an edition of Mozart's piano sonatas states that:

> The editress, like a true artist, approaches her task with reverence; and in her Preface, therefore, gives her reasons for altering or inserting anything which might offend those who rigidly demand the text of Mozart. The little she has done in this way, however, needs but small apology, for the slurs (some of which are added and others lengthened) accurately define, as she says, 'the phrasing and the musical sense of the different passages': these will doubtless be felt as a valuable guide to those who study without a master, and cannot but help even the professor, who has often to supply by explanation to his pupil what should be in all cases clearly shown upon the paper.[46]

Particularly from the second half of the century onwards, a new phase in the development of historical editions may be said to have started, that was characterized by the publication of large collected editions, in which completeness became the rule rather than the exception: these efforts were in fact the first systematic attempt towards a 'creation of a canon, a central core of repertory, whose texts carried an equal philological weight as their counterparts in literature and political history'.[47] As Grier notes,

> These editions were meant to constitute a statement of the seriousness and worthiness of the new music discipline within the academy. Even their presentation, in imposing folio volumes, reflects the gravity of their intent. [48]

When the first volume of a critical edition of Bach's complete works was issued in 1851,[49] an era of vigorous activity in complete editions that lasted until the First

[45] See, for instance, a list of nineteenth-century institutions' collections in David H. Stam (ed.), *International Dictionary of library histories*, Vol. 1 (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2001), esp. section titled 'Performing Arts Libraries', p. 128.
[46] Anonymous, 'Review: Sonatas for the Pianoforte. Composed by W. A. Mozart. Edited and fingered by Agnes Zimmermann. (Novello, Ewer and Co.)' in *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, Vol. 17, No. 405 (Nov. 1, 1876), p. 666.
[47] James Grier, 'Edition' in *Grove Music Online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com, accessed 14 June 2009.
[48] Ibid.
[49] J. S. Bach, *Werke*, ed. Bach-Gesellschaft, 61 volumes (Leipzig: 1851-1926).

World War began: the collected publications of the works of Handel,[50] Palestrina,[51] Beethoven[52] and later of Mozart (Breitkopf and Härtel's second attempt after the *Œuvres Complettes* [sic]),[53] Mendelssohn,[54] Chopin,[55] Schubert,[56] Schutz[57] and others, are indicative not only of the warm reception of this effort, but also of the demand and the eagerness of the German academic community to sustain and promote its cultural heritage. The majority of these attempts were undertaken by Breitkopf and Härtel in Leipzig and, though a small number of series still failed to attain their goal of completeness, most were at least reasonably complete. In fact, many stand as the most important ancestors of present-day editions, or, in some cases, they remain the standard reference editions even today.

TABLE 5.C: Breitkopf and Härtel's COMPLETE EDITIONS c. 1850 – 1900

Breitkopf and Härtel :COMPLETE EDITIONS c. 1850 – 1900

Complete:		**Incomplete:**	
• J. S. Bach	1851	H. Purcel	1878
• F. Handel	1858	J. P. Sweelinck	1894
• Palestrina	1862	J. P. Rameau	1895
• L. v. Beethoven	1862		
• F. Mendelssohn	1874		
• W. A. Mozart	1877		
• F. Chopin	1878		
• R. Schumann	1880		
• A. Grétry	1884		
• F. Schubert	1884		
• H. Schütz	1885		
• O. d. Lassus	1894		
• H. Berlioz	1899		

The philological enthusiasm which manifested itself in music through these initial efforts towards monumental publications, naturally inaugurated the production of

[50] G. F. Handel, *Werke*, ed. F. W. Chrysander, *Deutsche Händelgesellschaft*, 93 volumes (1859-1903).
[51] G. P. Da Palestrina, *Werke*, ed. F. X. Haberl and others, 33 volumes (1862 – 1907).
[52] Ludwig van Beethoven, *Werke: Vollständige kritisch durchgesehene überall berectigte Ausgabe*, 25 ser. (1862 -90).
[53] W. A. Mozart, *Werke: Kritisch durchgesehene Gesammtausgabe*, ed. L. Von Kochel and others, 24 vols. (1877 – 1905).
[54] F. Mendelssohn, *Werke: Kritisch durchgesehene Ausgabe*, ed. J. Rietz, 19 ser. (1874 – 80).
[55] F. Chopin, *Werke: Erste Kritische durchgesehene Gesammtausgabe*, ed. W. Bargiel, J. Brahms, A. Fronchomme, F. Liszt, C. Reinecke and E. Rudorff, 14 vols, (1878 – 93).
[56] F. Schubert, *Werke: Kritisch durchgesehene Gesammtausgabe*, ed. E. Manyczewsky, J. Brahms and others, 21 ser. (1884-97, repr. 1965 – 9).
[57] Heinrich Schutz, *Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. Philipp Spitta and others, 18 vols. (1885-1927).

collected editions of other kinds: Karl Friedrich Chrysander's *Denkmäler der Tonkunst* (1869-71) stands as one of the most important editions not sponsored by either a commercial publisher or government patronage. Additionally, his edition was exemplary for the use of different editors for individual volumes, co-ordinated by a general editor, and for the introduction of sub-series, a feature that was later adopted in several large-scale music publications.[58] Along with the complete-works series and other kinds of collected editions, the older anthology type, and particularly the extended anthology of five or more volumes, continued to appear. Other informal assemblages of enthusiasts who published distinguished editions included the *Musical Antiquarian Society* in the mid-nineteenth century, and the *Plainsong & Mediaeval Music Society*, founded in 1888, both in London.

While these editions constituted the first substantial effort towards historical editing, editorial criteria as perceived today were still in their infancy: although editors sometimes searched out for primary sources in order to produce 'authentic readings' and to present the music of the past accurately, they were also likely to accept a single source as authoritative, rarely seeking out alternative sources, and hardly ever applying any method for indicating their editorial additions.[59] Chrysander, for instance, while preparing his complete edition of works by Handel,[60] often used only the non-autograph conducting scores in his possession, even though he had access to the composer's autographs, then part of the collection of the British Royal family.[61]

Ultimately, each editor followed personal judgment – as is the case today – but did so without having conformed to any sort of alleged editorial criteria and often disregarding important steps of source assessment, necessary for establishing the number of sources available or the importance and validity of each source. In other words, the edited text was often determined by an assumption that even if a source's

[58] Such as the editions by Chrysander's colleagues Robert Eitner (1832-1905), Philipp Spitta (1841-1894) and Guido Adler (1855-1941).
[59] See also Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music*, esp. pp. 8-9.
[60] Chrysander's *G. F. Handel, Werke - Deutsche Händelgesellschaft*, in 93 volumes (Leipzig: 1859-1903) is available online from the *Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum* (the Munich Digitisation Centre) of the Digital Library Department of the Bavarian State Library, at http://mdz10.bib-bvb.de/~db/ausgaben/, accessed 4 September 2009.
[61] This can only be justified to a certain extent, considering the several difficulties that Chrysander was faced with while working on the edition. These are described extensively in the obituary which appeared in *The Musical Times* (October 1901).

origins were dubious, the editors' musical knowledge would enable them to produce authoritative results.[62]

Towards the end of the century, slowly but steadily, editing techniques became more sophisticated, due to the emerging perception that an edition should mirror the composer's intentions with respect to the era of composition, rather than to the era of the editor. This growing priority is confirmed by numerous written sources, such as Chysander's obituary of 1901, which noted of him that

> …from the beginning he assumed the role of an historian in rigorously defending the right and claims of musical masterpieces of a distant past to a legitimate and faithful reproduction, i.e., without modernising, and without instrumental or vocal additions. [63]

The impact of this notion is further evident in the 'scholarly performing edition', which was prepared by late-nineteenth-century editors with an increased concern for accuracy and with respect for the composer's intentions, as editors perceived them. Although the individualistic and intuitive approach still applied, editors increasingly felt it was important to distinguish original notation, note editorial changes, and compare and evaluate sources. The firm of Steingräber[64] was of monumental importance in the field of such 'scholarly performing editions', with its contribution of an edition of Bach's keyboard music, prepared by Hans Bischoff and still available today through the reprints by Kalmus.[65] As a result, towards the end of the century the *Königliche Akademie der Künste* in Berlin, reacting actively against 'modernising' editorial intervention, began issuing editions claiming to be free of emendations and additions, and to reproduce the *urtext* – 'the original text'.

The fact that the roots of the word *urtext* lay in the German prefix *Ur* (original, basic), indicates that the editors who first employed the term wished to distinguish themselves from their predecessors' work, which was often judged as terribly

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[62] See also Samuel, 'Editions, historical'.

[63] The obituary, which appeared in *The Musical Times* (October 1901), is available on the online *Musical Times Archive* at http://www.musicaltimes.co.uk/archive/misc/chrysander.html, accessed 27 February 2009. In practice, however, Chrysander did not always live up to the ideals expressed in this declaration, often sacrificing generally accepted editorial standards to a desire for completion or even to convenience, as already mentioned earlier in the chapter.

[64] Founded in 1878 and still active today. Originally located in Hanover and later moved to Leipzig.

[65] J. S. Bach, *The well-tempered clavier,* edited by Hans Bischoff (1885, reprint by Van Nuis, California: Kalmus / Alfred Publishing, 1985). Segments of the edition are available online at http://books.google.com, accessed 24 June 2010.

inaccurate and as distorting the original authors' intention. That the term first appeared in Germany is not surprising, considering that the greatest progress was made there in the techniques of palaeography and textual criticism, particularly with regard to biblical and classical texts, early in the nineteenth century.[66] The method of restoring a text from multiple sources is still associated with the name of Karl Lachmann (1793-1851) and his edition of the New Testament in 1831 through the method of stemmatic filiation.[67] However, these developments in palaeography were hardly applied to music editing in the nineteenth century since, despite certain editors' desire to produce a text reflective of the composer's 'intentions', their ways of retrieving those intentions were for the most part largely limited by the lack of agreed standards and methods,[68] while other editors simply chose to ignore or bypass any ideal standards due to cost and convenience.

As further discussed in Chapter Six, the first music edition to actually employ the term *urtext* was Breitkopf and Härtel's revised edition of Mozart's piano works under the title *Akademische Ausgabe*, which appeared in 1895 under the editorship of Ernst Rudorff.[69] The basic purpose of its creation was to counteract the alterations and inaccuracies typical of most editions of the time, which the Academy called a progressive 'muddying of the sources', and which was evident even in the monumental editions by Breitkopf and Härtel.[70] This was the original conception behind the project: to provide texts that would allegedly allow the composer's notation to 'speak for itself', enabling performers to form their own interpretation of the piece based on – what editors perceived of as – the original text. These were the seeds of the *urtext* ideal that was to become one of the most commercially exploited concepts of the twentieth century. However, despite the Academy's decisive stand against editorial liberties and its proud claims of authentic texts, the alleged editorial standards were still not constantly applied. Editors continued to consult dubious sources, while their editorial approach of the text was inconsistent to a unified set of

[66] On the development of criticism and the evolution of philosophical concepts concerning art, see Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).
[67] See Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music*, esp. pp. 39-61
[68] See article by Philip Brett, 'Text, Context and the Early Music Editor', in Nicholas Kenyon, ed. *Authenticity and Early Music,* esp. pp. 87 ff.
[69] More on the edition in George Barth, 'Mozart Performance in the 19th century' in *Early Music* Vol. 19, No. 4 (1991), pp. 538-556.
[70] A comparison of the 'Alte Mozart-Ausgabe' and the *Akademische Ausgabe* is provided in the next chapter.

criteria: apart from the case of late-nineteenth-century editions of Mozart's piano sonatas, which will be examined later on, another example of editorial inconsistency is provided by the *Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe*'s rendition of BWV 903 (1890),[71] which included a substantial number of articulation and dynamic markings of questionable authenticity.[72]

Summary - Conclusions

The flourishing of music publishing in the nineteenth century, enhanced by the advances in the typesetting and printing process, the establishment of local copyright, as well as the increasing participation of the middle classes in music making and the availability of keyboard instruments in households, enhanced the production of editions of unprecedented proportions and scope: anthologies of older works and collected editions of works by composers of the past were produced, particularly in Germany, in a conscious attempt to establish a series of canonic works of monumental importance, equivalent to those of the philosophical and literary disciplines of the time.

Even though in most of these early-nineteenth-century editions completeness was the exception rather than the rule, and editorial criteria did not really apply, they nevertheless signify the ignition of an interest in the revival of old music and in the historical reproduction of works, both in print and in performance. At first, this interest was expressed through a series of treatises regarding the performance of older works depending on the composer and the period which, at least in the case of keyboard works, often adjusted certain features of performance to the new capabilities of the instrument and to contemporary taste. Gradually, from the mid-century onwards, and as the rise of source studies emerged in a number of disciplines, a series of monumental editions of older music – aiming to be free from the editorial liberties accustomed at the time – was produced. But, while these editions constituted the first substantial efforts towards historical editing, agreed editorial criteria as perceived today were still in their infancy, and certain localized standards were only occasionally or inconsistently applied. This was the case even towards the end of the

[71] The case of BWV 903 is also discussed in the previous pages.
[72] Ernst Naumann (ed.), *Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe* 1851-1890, Vol. 36 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1890).

century, when the first Urtext Editions appeared, as a result of the evolution of historical editing and the increasing reaction of both the academic and the amateur community against 'interpretive' editions of older music.

Naturally, such varied editorial approaches of the nineteenth century also characterized the publication of Mozart's *œuvre*: apart from Johann Anton André, who had purchased a large number of autograph manuscripts and, in some instances, produced editions after the original manuscript, other nineteenth-century publishers did not approach the reproduction of older music in the same fashion: Mozart's piano sonatas in particular, being extremely popular amongst amateurs, underwent all sorts of transformations and manifestations throughout the nineteenth century. As 'a staple of the pianist's repertoire' since the early nineteenth century,[73] the sonatas have survived in a considerable and variable quantity of nineteenth-century prints, including arrangements for various combinations of instruments.[74]

These nineteenth-century prints exhibit editorial approaches ranging from mere attempts to produce a complete collection of Mozart's music, such as the *Œuvres Complettes* (1798-1806)[75], to highly elaborated romantic readings including a vast addition of performance directions and pedalling, such as those by Bülow (1877)[76] and Grieg (1890)[77] and to the first attempts towards historical editions, such as the so-called 'Alte-Mozart Ausgabe' (1877-1883)[78] and the *Akademische-Ausgabe* (1895) of Ernst Rudorff.[79] It is precisely these characteristics of the historical editions and their editorial approach of the text of Mozart's piano sonatas that will be further explored in the next chapter.[80]

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[73] John Irving, *Mozart's Piano Sonatas*, 'Preface', p. xvi.
[74] A listing of nineteenth-century editions of Mozart's Piano Sonatas is available in Karlheinz Schlager (ed.), *Rèpertoire Internationale des Sources Musicales A/I*, in the offprint 'Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Verzeichnis von Erst- und Frühdrucken bis etwa 1800' (Kassel; Basel; Tours: Bärenreiter, 1978).
[75] *Œuvres Complettes de Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1798-1806).
[76] As part of the collection *Aus den Concertprogrammen von Hans von Bülow* (Munich: Aibl, c. 1877).
[77] See, for example, W. A. Mozart, *Fantasia in C minor*, ed. E. Grieg (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1890).
[78] W. A. Mozart, *Werke. Kritisch durchgesehene Gesammtausgabe*, ed. L. Köchel, J. Brahms, P. Spitta, G. Nottebohm, C. Reinecke, J. Joachim, J. Rietz and others (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1877–1883 with supplements up to 1910), 24 ser.; critical commentary published separately.
[79] W. A. Mozart, *Sonaten und Phantasien für Klavier*. Ed. by Ernst Rudorff, (Urtext edition, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1895).
[80] While it is historical editions that form the thesis' core of attention, the *Œuvres Complettes* are also part of the case study, representing the first attempt towards a collected edition of Mozart's works.

– CHAPTER VI –

Nineteenth Century:
Mozart's Keyboard Sonatas in Print

STRUCTURE:

- Introduction
- W. A. Mozart: Early Posthumous Publications
- Later criticism, scholarship and the *Alte Mozart Ausgabe*
- Case Study - Part One: Editions based on primary sources
- Case Study - Part Two: Other 'historically aware' editions
- Conclusions

Introduction

> Much of the Mozart myth, including his alleged poverty and neglect in Vienna, as well as the jealousy of rival composers, was in place by 1800 […] Contradictory as the numerous biographical tropes surrounding the composer's life may at first seem, they nevertheless add up to a remarkably consistent picture of Mozart as an artist and personality distinctly outside the 'norm'. And it was this notion of Mozart's lack of connection to the real world that set a course for Mozart scholarship – whether biographical, analytical or editorial – up to the end of the 20th century.[1]

As Eisen and Sadie suggest here, the early nineteenth century was a landmark in the reception of Mozart and his music: the vast production of editions featuring his works was greatly supported by the appearance of biographies, anecdotes, analyses, as well as by the first scholarly attempts to document the composer's life and catalogue his works, so that Mozart soon became a central figure in the German musical tradition; it therefore comes as no surprise that he was one of the first composers whose complete works were published early in the nineteenth century and continued to be edited and published widely since.

Mozart's piano sonatas in particular enjoyed great popularity as instructional works, and were often subjected to heavy editorial emendations, in order to comply with nineteenth-century notation, performance practice, and the new capabilities of keyboard instruments.[2] This is not to say, however, that historical editions – meaning editions which purported to be based on original sources and to reproduce them faithfully – were not produced: Particularly in Germany from mid-century onwards, when a new wave of scholarly editions appeared, Mozart's works were amongst the first of an important series of complete historical editions initiated by the Breitkopf and Härtel firm.[3] At the same time, other European countries also distributed scholarly editions, which were either reprints of recent German editions or, more rarely, newly-edited scholarly editions, mostly in the form of anthologies of vocal and instrumental works by various composers, including the piano sonatas by Mozart.[4]

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[1] Cliff Eisen and Stanley Sadie, 'Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus: Aftermath: Reception and Scholarship' in *Grove Music Online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com, accessed 10 September 2009.
[2] These factors have been discussed in Chapters Four and Five.
[3] More on the Mozart editions by Breitkopf and Härtel will be presented in the sections to follow.
[4] More on European editions of Mozart's piano sonatas and their connection with other nineteenth-century editions and with the primary sources will be presented as part of the case study later on.

The case study presented later in this chapter examines representative examples of these nineteenth-century historical editions of Mozart's piano sonatas and consists of a twofold juxtaposition. In the first part, a comparison is made between the primary sources (originally presented in the case study of Chapter Three) and the nineteenth-century editions claiming that their text has been prepared after Mozart's autograph manuscript: namely, the two important editions by the Breitkopf and Härtel firm, their *Œuvres Complettes* (completed 1806) and *Mozart's Sämtliche Werke – Kritisch Durchgesehene Gesamtausgabe* (1877 - 1883), known as the *Alte Mozart Ausgabe*; also presented is the 1801 edition of K475/457 by the firm of Johann Anton André in Offenbach – who had purchased a large quantity of Mozart's autographs by Constanze and who advertised his editions as 'after the original manuscript' – and Ernst Rudorff's revised edition of the piano sonatas, advertised as *Akademische Ausgabe*, appearing in 1895.[5] The comparison intends to investigate the extent to which these editions relied on the primary sources and most importantly, to provide an insight into the nineteenth century's perception of Mozart's style and its written codification, through the identification of textual emendations on behalf of nineteenth-century historical editors.

The second part of the case study presents a number of editions which, despite their lack of access to Mozart's manuscripts, appear to have relied on early sources and to have aimed at producing a type of 'historically aware' edition: these editions do not claim to offer an *Urtext*; rather, through admitted editorial interference and additional interpretational aids, they reconstruct a textual rendition that is thought to enhance historically informed performance. Extracts from nineteenth-century collected editions of Mozart's piano sonatas by the following publishers/editors will be presented: Magasin de l' imprimerie chimique (c. 1810),[6] Pleyel (c. 1795 - 1824),[7] Moscheles (c. 1858),[8] Lavignée (c. 1854-1863)[9] and Farrenc (1869).[10] These will

[5] W. A. Mozart, *Sonaten und Phantasien für Klavier*. Ed. by Ernst Rudorff, (Urtext edition, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1895)
[6] *Œuvres de Mozart / au Magasin de l'imprimerie chimique / J. R. priv sur le Graben* (Vienna: Magasin de l'imprimerie chimique, 1810).
[7] *Collection Complette des Œuvres de Piano par W. A. Mozart* (Paris: Pleyel, c. 1795 – 1824).
[8] *Hallberger's Pracht-Ausgabender Classiker Beethoven, Clementi, Haydn, Mozart, in ihren Werken für das Pianoforte allein / Neu herausgegeben mit Bezeichnung des Zeitmasses und Fingersatzes von I. Moscheles / Professor am Conservatorium in Leipzig* (Stuttgart: Eduard Hallberger, c. 1858).
[9] *Nouvelle Editions des Œuvres de Mozart*, Cahiers 1 and 3. (Paris: Lavignée, c. 1854 -1863).

provide further insight not only on contemporaneous historical interpretation and editorial representation of Mozart's piano sonatas, but also on their possible interrelationship with other historical editions of the time.

As a whole, the editions featured in the case study have also been selected by taking into account their publication date: at the two ends of the chronological spectrum stand the two editions by Breitkopf and Härtel – first is the *Œuvres Complettes,* produced at the dawn of the nineteenth century, and last is Ernst Rudorff's edition, produced during the final decade of the century. The publication dates of the remaining editions are spread throughout the intervening time-span between the two Breitkopf editions, with a maximum distance of two decades from one edition to the next.

It must be noted here that editions solely created for instructional purposes of performance, such as those by Simrock,[11] Lebert,[12] Bülow,[13] Cramer[14] and Grieg[15], have been excluded from the case study: featuring extensive editorial emendations and advertised as revised (rather than edited) by well known nineteenth-century performers, these editions acknowledged that they were not intended as scholarly nor as historical publications. Additionally, editions acknowledging that their text was solely based on other late-nineteenth-century prints rather than on any primary sources or early editions have also been excluded: for instance, the edition of the Mozart Piano Sonatas prepared in 1893[16] by William Scharfenberg (1819-1895), which states that it was based on the aforementioned edition by Lebert, and Cipriani Potter's[17] 1848 complete edition,[18] which was an extended version of his 1834 *Chefs*

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[10] As part of the monumental edition *Le trésor des pianistes*, *17ème volume: XVIIIè siecle, 2è periode, W. Amédée Mozart / 16 Sonates et une Romance* (Paris: Prillip, 1869)
[11] W. A. Mozart, *Sonatas for piano* (Bonn: Simrock, 1803).
[12] *Instructive Ausgabe – Ausgewälte Sonaten und andere Stücke von W. A. Mozart* (Stuttgart: Verlag der J.G. Gottaschen Buchhandlung, 1871).
[13] As part of the collection *Aus den Concertprogrammen von Hans von Bülow* (Munich: Jos. Aibl, c.1877).
[14] Cramer's edition of the Sonata in A minor K310 was the seventh of his series *Morceaux characteristiques et brillantes*, under the title '*Sonate sentimentale pour le piano-forte*, revisé par J. B. Cramer' (London: Cramer and Co., c. 1860).
[15] W. A. Mozart, *Fantasia in C minor*, ed. E. Grieg (Leipzig: C.F. Peters, 1890).
[16] W. A. Mozart, *Nineteen Sonatas for the Piano*, ed. by William Scharfenberg (1819-1895), based on the edition by Sigmund Lebert (1821-1884), (New York: Schirmer, 1893), Plate Nos. 11134-11152. The edition is also available online at http://imslp.org, accessed 20 July 2010.
[17] Having studied with Attwood, Crotch and Wölfl, Philip Cipriani Hambly Potter (1792-1871) went to Vienna, where Beethoven encouraged him to study with Aloys Förster. Returning to England, Potter

d' œuvre de Mozart[19] and of which the source situation is unclear. However, special reference should be made here to the Preface of Potter's edition, as it reveals not only the great demand for Mozart's keyboard works towards the mid-nineteenth century, but also the growing importance of 'correct notation':

> The original intention was to offer to the Public the Chefs d' Oeuvre of Mozart only, but from the great demand for each number as it appeared, and the universal desire expressed for the whole of the Piano Forte Works of this great Master, the Editor and Publisher decided on completing the Edition.
>
> Independent of the usual inaccuracies of the Music Engraver, there exists sometimes a deficiency of marks of expression, though Modern Composers are frequently too exuberant on this point, nevertheless the correct notation is absolutely necessary to enable a performer to give the true effect to works of this magnitude.[20]

Interestingly, it is evident in this edition, which was primarily intended as an instructional tool, that Potter's rendition of a 'correct notation' includes not only additional interpretation marks (such as longer slurs, added dynamics and articulation marks) but also metronome indications – some of which are considerably slower than Mozart would have intended, possibly in order to accommodate for the heavy and deep touch of English pianos in the 1840s, as Irving has suggested.[21]

Thus, while editions such as Potter's and Scharfenberg's are important in that they provide a valuable record of nineteenth-century performance practice, they have been excluded from the case study, since their source situation renders them questionable as specimens of the nineteenth century's historical editing of Mozart and his music, which is primarily what this thesis aims to investigate.

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became a central figure in London's concert life as a pianist, conductor and composer, and as the Director of the Royal Academy of Music (1832-1859). Soon, Potter increasingly focused on educational and editorial work, preparing editions of Mozart's and Beethoven's music for keyboard. See also Philip H. Peter and Julian Rushton, '(Philip) Cipriani (Hambly) [Hambley] Potter' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* ed. Stanley Sadie, (New York: Grove's Dictionaries, 2001), volume 20, pp. 221-223.

[18] *Mozart. An Entirely New and Complete Edition of the Piano Forte Works,* Ed. by Cipriani Potter. (London: Coventry and Collier, 1848). A copy of the edition is available at the British Library in London.

[19] *Chefs d' œuvre de Mozart, a New and Correct Edition of the Piano Forte works,* Ed. by Cipriani Potter (London: Coventry and Collier, 1834?).

[20] *Mozart. An Entirely New and Complete Edition of the Piano Forte Works*, Preface.

[21] Irving, *Understanding Mozart's Piano Sonatas*, p. 67.

W. A. Mozart: Early Posthumous Publications

The popularity of Mozart's operas, chamber works and piano sonatas in the early nineteenth century went hand in hand with publications regarding the composer's life and work and his allegedly idealistic compositional process,[22] so that eventually he ranked amongst the composers who remained permanently lodged in the minds not only of professional musicians but also of the musical public. To a considerable extent, nineteenth-century notions of Mozart's life, character and work (such as his reputation of an 'eternal child',[23] the thrilling stories of the commission of the *Requiem* and Salieri's alleged involvement in Mozart's death) were embellished in the majority of early biographical accounts.[24] Along with the eventual crystallization of such perceptions, criticism of Mozart's music was also transformed during the first few decades of the century; whereas reviews before the 1800s sometimes claimed that Mozart was not a particularly tasteful composer and that his music was too difficult,[25] the enthusiastic and increasingly romantic references in the early-nineteenth-century articles of Rochlitz, Reihardt, E.T.A. Hoffmann and J.B. Schaul gradually changed the perceptions of Mozart and his works.[26]

Consequently, the public and the music publishers' interest in Mozart's music was greatly enhanced by such writings, which began appearing shortly after his death in December 1791:[27] from as early as the spring of 1792, Friedrich Schlichtegroll set out to write the composer's *Nekrolog*, published in 1793.[28] The biographical information included in this obituary was summoned with the aid of Mozart's family friend Albert

[22] Rochlitz was one of the first writers to promote an idealistic portrait of Mozart, his talent and his genius, backed up by a 'letter from Mozart to Baron…' (AMZ 17: 1815, pp. 561-566), which described his compositional process and which Rochlitz claimed was authentic. See also Cliff Eisen, Simon P. Keefe (eds.). *The Cambridge Mozart Encyclopedia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 101-2.

[23] Maynard Solomon, 'Mozart: the myth of the eternal child' in *19th-century Music*, Vol. 15 (1991-92), pp. 95-106.

[24] See also Christina Bashford, 'Varieties of childhood: John Ella and the construction of a Victorian Mozart' in Stanley Sadie, Dorothea Link, Judith Nagley (eds), *Words about Mozart* (Rochester, NY: Boydell, 2005), pp. 193-210.

[25] Max Graf, *Composer and Critic: Two Hundred Years of Music Criticism* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1947), p. 137.

[26] Ibid, pp. 135-140.

[27] An extensive list is provided by John Daverio, 'Reception' in Simon Keefe (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Mozart* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) p. 172, Table 13.1: Milestones in Nineteenth-century Mozart Reception.

[28] F. Schlichtegroll, 'Johannes Chrysostomus Wolfgang Gottlieb Mozart' in *Nekrolog auf das Jahr 1791* (Gotha: J. Perthes, 1793). Reprinted and edited by L. Landshoff (Munich: Drei Masken Verlag, 1924).

von Mölk, who acted as an intermediary between Schlichtegroll and Mozart's sister, Nannerl.[29] But, even though Nannerl took great care to present only the positive traits of Mozart's life and character, a series of misunderstandings in the exchange of written material between her, Mölk and Schlichtegroll led to a misinterpretation of her words, so that eventually the obituary contained damaging criticisms both of Wolfgang and of his wife, Constanze.[30]

Five years later, in 1798, a new biography, written by Niemetschek, appeared.[31] The biography drew material from Schlichtegroll's *Nekrolog* concerning Mozart's early years, combining it with material provided by Constanze for the Viennese period and with anecdotes by people who knew the composer, including Niemetschek himself.[32] Here Mozart appears as an extraordinarily talented, ingenious artist, who was struck by misfortunes and the careless handling of his financial affairs, while Constanze is portrayed as a model wife and mother, now dedicated to supporting her family through her pension and through honorary concerts organized for her benefit.[33] Most importantly, however, Niemetschek's biography gives flesh and bones to the story of the *Requiem*'s mysterious commission and to the conviction that Mozart had been poisoned,[34] thus contributing extensively to the dramatic (and often exaggerated) posthumous speculations surrounding the composer's life and death,[35] which in turn elevated the public's enthusiastic interest in his life and work.

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[29] A detailed account of the biography's production and Nannerl's contribution is provided by Ruth Halliwell, *The Mozart Family: Four Lives in a Social Context* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), esp. Chapter 33: 'The Women and the Publishers (I): Schlichtegroll's Nekrolog', pp. 581-589.

[30] The obituary, as well as an extensive collection of early Mozart biographies is available online (in PDF format) from the Mozart Society of America at http://mozartsocietyofamerica.org/, accessed 6 September 2009.

[31] F. X. Niemetschek, *Leben des k. k. Kapellmeisters Wolfgang Gottlieb Mozart nach Originalquellen beschrieben* (Prague: 1798) trans. H. Mautner as *Life of Mozart*, with introduction by A. H. King (London: L. Hyman, 1956) and reprinted as *Mozart: The First Biography*, with introduction by Cliff Eisen (New York and London: Berghann Books, 2006).

[32] See also Halliwell, *The Mozart Family,* pp. 590-91.

[33] See digitized version of Niemetschek's biography provided by the Mozart Society of America at http://mozartsocietyofamerica.org/, accessed 6 September 2009.

[34] Concerning the early reception of the Requiem and related scholarly controversy see Christoph Wolff, *Mozart's Requiem: Historical and Analytical Studies, Documents, Score* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998).

[35] A thorough discussion of the fabrications involving Mozart is provided by William Stafford, *The Mozart Myths: A Critical Reassessment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991).

Also in 1798, Friedrich Rochlitz, the editor of the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (a music journal published by Breitkopf and Härtel),[36] printed a series of vivid and often entertaining anecdotes about Mozart – many of which were contaminated with fictional additions or were proven unreliable from as soon as they appeared:[37] during the publication of the series, Niemetschek had already pointed out errors in some of the anecdotes, though his observations never found their way into the *AmZ*.[38] Essentially, however, Rochlitz's anecdotes were to some extent intended to serve as publicity for the upcoming edition of Mozart's works by Breitkopf and Härtel, who had already approached Constanze and Nannerl in search of biographical information and autographs.[39] The firm's intention was to produce a complete edition of Mozart's works, which would be published in a series of volumes, defined by genre and accompanied by the composer's biography. Counting on the attractive subscription schemes that they offered and supported by regular advertising through their very own *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, Breitkopf pressed on the production of Mozart's *Œuvres Complettes* [sic],[40] aware that other competitive firms in Brunswick[41] and Vienna were already advertising editions of his collected works in specific genres, mainly in solo keyboard and chamber music, that was in great demand at the time.[42]

However, Breitkopf's negotiations with Constanze did not turn out as expected: for, Mozart's widow, aware of the value of manuscripts and documents in her possession, was suspicious of the firm's proposals and of their attempts to purchase the material at the lowest possible price. After a time-consuming and intense haggle, Breitkopf eventually purchased only 40 autographs, having declined Constanze's offer for purchasing the entire collection, convinced that she was bluffing and confident that

[36] See Murray Barbour, 'Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung' in *Notes* [Second Series], Vol. 5, No. 3 (June, 1948), pp. 325-337.
[37] See Maynard Solomon, 'The Rochlitz Anecdotes' in Cliff Eisen (ed.), *Mozart Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 1-59.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Halliwell, *The Mozart Family*, esp. chapter 'The Women and the Publishers (II): The Breikopf and Härtel Affair', pp. 590 – 612.
[40] *Œuvres Complettes de Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart*, 17 Vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1798 – 1806).
[41] W. A. Mozart, *Collection complette*, 30 nos. (Brunswick: Höhe, Spehr, 1798–9).
[42] A listing of early posthumous Mozart editions is provided by Karlheinz Schlager (ed.), 'Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Verzeichnis von Erst- und Frühdrucken bis etwa 1800' issued separately in 1978 as part of the *Repertoire Internationale des Sources Musicales* (Kassel, Basel, Tours, London: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1978).

she would eventually settle for a lower price.[43] But, once again, the firm had miscalculated the widow's reaction: for, in November 1799, Constanze sold the majority of Mozart's autographs to Johann Anton André,[44] a composer and music publisher from Offenbach, who was already negotiating with her and was interested in purchasing them for private use.[45] More specifically, André purchased a collection of 15 packets, which included over 270 autographs; and even though his original interest was of a scholarly nature, he eventually issued a small number of highly respected editions based on the autographs, several of them featuring works which had never been published before.[46]

Consequently, Breitkopf could only base a small fragment of the firm's editions on original manuscripts supplied by Constanze or by other sources[47] – including the manuscripts for at least two piano sonatas[48] – while André, who had no intention of producing a systematic complete edition, had become 'the sole legal possessor […] of an almost complete collection of absolutely accurate and absolutely authentic works in original manuscript from Mozart's earliest youth until his death', according to Constanze's published statement regarding the sale of the manuscripts.[49] And while André advertised his editions as 'after the original manuscript', Breitkopf and Härtel, in an attempt to promote the importance of their upcoming edition, counter-attacked with an announcement of their own, stating, amongst other things, that André's purchase was mostly of manuscripts of already well-known works, or of less important works, which the composer never intended to publish; and in certain cases, the firm went as far as doubting the authenticity of some of the works printed by André.[50]

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[43] Halliwell, *The Mozart Family*, pp. 590-612.
[44] The contract between Constanze and André bears the date of 8 November 1799 and is reproduced in Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart: A Documentary Biography*, trans. Eric Blom, Peter Branscombe and Jeremy Noble (3rd Edition, London: Simon and Schuster 1990), pp. 491-92.
[45] André's close study of the manuscripts also included the compilation of a catalogue of works, complementary to that by the composer, which was posthumously placed at Köchel's disposal. See also C. B. Oldman, 'J. A. André on Mozart's Manuscripts' in *Music and Letters*, Vol. 2 (1924), pp. 169-176.
[46] A list of André's publications of Mozart works is provided as part of Table 6.A.
[47] The firm compiled a list of manuscripts in their possession, organized by genre and including the source from which they were obtained. A detailed description of the Breitkopf and Härtel Manuscript Catalogue is provided in Neal Zaslaw, *Mozart Symphonies: Context, Performance Practice, Reception* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), esp. Chapter 2 and pp. 128-130 and 268-274.
[48] See also John Irving, *Mozart's Piano Sonatas* and fn. 54 in the next page.
[49] Deutsch, *Mozart: A Documentary Biography*, p. 495.
[50] See Eisen, 'The Old and New Mozart Editions', pp. 513-532, p. 526.

Breitkopf's bold enterprise of publishing Mozart's entire output under the title *Œuvres Complettes* [sic] was accomplished by 1806, but the collection proved to be far from complete, initially racing against the 'authentic' publications advertised by André – who eventually became more interested in studying the autographs and establishing a chronology of the works, rather than in publishing them. Breitkopf's collection consisted of seventeen volumes of works for solo keyboard, chamber music with keyboard, the solo songs, the *Requiem*, *Don Giovanni*, the masses K257 and K317, twelve quartets, twenty concertos and a number of arias.[51] On the other end, the editions produced by André included the concertos K246, 365, 482, 488 and 491, as well as the quartets K168-73, and they are now valued as important early sources, especially in those cases where Mozart's originals have in whole or in part been subsequently lost. As far as the autograph manuscripts of the piano sonatas are concerned, these seem not to have been in André's possession, except for the *Fantasia and Sonata in C minor,* K. 457/475, which he published in 1802.[52] It is highly likely that some of the autographs of the sonatas were already in Breitkopf's hands before 1800, since the firm had published all of the piano sonatas by that date.[53] What is certain at this point is that Breitkopf possessed at least two of the sonata autographs, as a statement by Constanze – describing parts of her dealings with the firm and with André – confirms.[54]

But how did these two firms handle the issue of source authority and to what end? Clearly, from a commercial perspective, Breitkopf wished to make the edition more attractive by advertising that it was based on the composer's autograph manuscripts. On the other hand, André, whose primary concern was to study the autographs and only later decided to prepare editions '*d' après le manuscrit original*' for certain works, relied heavily on the autograph manuscripts in his editorial work, doing more justice to the advertised textual authority of his editions: for instance, a quick reference to the *Sonata and Fantasia in C minor* K475 and 457 indicates that André's

[51] *Œuvres Complettes de Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart*, 17 Vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1798 – 1806).
[52] W. A. Mozart, *La Fantaisie and Sonate pour le pianoforte* (Offenbach: J. André, No. 1525, 1801).
[53] The *Fantasia and Sonata* K475 / 457 is part of cahier VI of the *Œuvres Complettes* (1799), while the rest of the solo piano sonatas are part of cahier I [K330-333, 284, 310, 311] and cahier III [K309, 279-283, 533 & 494].
[54] The statement, dated 13 March 1800, appears in Deutsch, *Documentary Biography*, p. 495.

text,[55] while curiously carrying certain additions found in the first edition, follows Mozart's autograph manuscript notation more closely than most of the sonatas published by Breitkopf.[56]

TABLE 6.A: EARLY MOZART EDITIONS

BREITKOPF AND HÄRTEL *ŒUVRES COMPLETTES*
(17 vols, 1798-1806)

This edition was far from complete, and included:

- works for solo keyboard (some possibly based on autographs)
- chamber music with keyboard
- solo songs
- Requiem
- Don Giovanni
- Masses K257 and K317
- 12 quartets
- 20 concertos
- selected arias

J. A. ANDRÉ 'AUTHENTIC' EDITIONS

(not intended as a complete series, but prepared 'after the original manuscript')

- Concertos K246, 365, 482, 488 and 491
- Quartets K168 - 73.
- Sonata and Fantasia for Keyboard K475/457

As for other early posthumous attempts to collected editions, which survive in considerable quantity,[57] most of these relied heavily on circulating manuscript copies of dubious origins and/or on first editions (in cases where the works in question had already been made available through publication) and often included new arrangements for chamber ensembles.[58] At the same time, reprints of works published

[55] *La Fantaisie et Sonate pour le Piano-forte de W. A. Mozart, No. 1525, Edition faite d' aprés le Manuscrit Original de l' auteur, A Offenbach s/m, chez J. André* (1801). A copy of this Edition can be found in the Music Collection of the British Library in London.

[56] The textual discrepancies in editions of the *Fantasia K475* from the eighteenth century up to 2000 were the subject of my postgraduate dissertation titled *The Urtext Ideal: A discussion of Urtext Editions with reference to Mozart's Fantasia in C minor*, submitted to City University London in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of 'Master of Art'. An excellent discussion is provided by Cliff Eisen and Christopher Wintle, 'Mozart's C minor Fantasy, K.475: An Editorial 'Problem' and its analytical and Critical Consequences' in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, Vol. 124, No.1 (1999), pp. 26-52.

[57] See Schlager (ed.), 'Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Verzeichnis von Erst - und Frühdrucken bis etwa 1800'.

[58] See also Wolfgang Rehm, 'Collected Editions' in H.C. Robbins Landon (ed.), *The Mozart Compendium: A Guide to Mozart's Life and Music* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1990), p. 427.

during Mozart's lifetime also continued to appear, some of them reproduced from the exact same plates as the first editions, others from improved plates, while others as arrangements for chamber settings. The most notable of these editions appeared in Berlin, Brunswick,[59] Frankfurt am Main, Hamburg, Leipzig, London,[60] Mainz, Paris, Stuttgart and Vienna[61].

Overall, none of these editions was even remotely complete, and none had – or aspired to have – much claim to authority: for, contrary to Breitkopf and André, who had struggled for the exclusive privilege of ownership of authoritative sources, other editions were by and large produced without much concern for source evaluation. Since Mozart's reputation had grown substantially in the first few decades after his death, being considerably enhanced by the growing biographical output regarding his life and work, it made perfect sense to most publishers to satisfy public demand for his compositions for profit, disregarding, more often than not, any concerns for authoritative prints.

[59] The most noteworthy of early posthumous Mozart publications of Brunswick is Spehr's complete edition, published in 1798-99.
[60] Mainly represented by Storace.
[61] Mainly represented by the Artaria firm.

Later criticism, scholarship and the *Alte Mozart Ausgabe*

Almost forty years after Mozart's death and as writing about music gradually took on a more scholarly approach, a series of important works regarding the composer and his *œuvre* made their appearance. Whether biographical works, catalogues, critiques, work analyses or other musicological writings, they all contributed to the systematic study of Mozart's works and the establishment of their accurate chronology. And while Beethoven's keyboard works, which were also becoming increasingly popular at the time, were reputed as of a higher level of difficulty and dramatic effect than the respective works by Mozart,[62] Mozart's piano sonatas still held an important place within the amateur repertoire: the large number of nineteenth-century editions of Mozart's piano sonatas are in themselves evidence of these works' persistent popularity, despite the gradual transformation of keyboard repertoire. Moreover, Mozart's sonatas continued to inspire and influence nineteenth-century composers, such as Schubert, whose three works published under the title *Sonatina for violin and piano*[63] 'are intimately scaled heirs to the Mozart sonata tradition'.[64] Schubert's admiration and perhaps, as an extension, a reflection of the nineteenth century's appreciation of Mozart's music, is evident in the former's writings:

> As from afar the magic notes of Mozart's music still gently haunt me… thus does our soul retain these fair impressions, which no time, no circumstances can efface, and they lighten our existence. They show us in the darkness of this life a bright, clear, lovely distance, for which we hope with confidence. O Mozart, immortal Mozart, how many, oh how endlessly many such comforting perceptions of a brighter and better life hast thou brought to our souls![65]

Evidently, interest in the life and work of Mozart was continuously cultivated, and soon the first, more systematic approach towards a Mozart biography was attempted by Georg Nikolaus von Nissen, Constanze's second husband since 1809, who began compiling relevant material in the early 1820s. His task was supported by a considerable number of documents and correspondence still in his wife's

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[62] See Charles Rosen, *Critical Entertainments: Music Old and New* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001), p. 89.
[63] D. 384 in D major, D. 385 in A minor and D. 408 in G minor.
[64] Brian Newbould, *Schubert: The Music and the Man* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), p. 60.
[65] Entry of 13 June 1816 in Schubert's Diary, as reproduced in Newbould, *Schubert*, pp. 60 and 236.

possession,[66] as well as by Nannerl's collection of about 400 family letters, which she eventually entrusted to the couple.[67] Unfortunately, however, Nissen's assembly of material, which included interviews with people who had known the composer, was interrupted by his death in 1826, leaving behind only an incomplete Preface.[68] The completion of the biography, which was eventually published in 1828,[69] was thus taken over by Johann Heinrich Feuerstein.[70] Despite the fact that the end product has been identified in recent years as problematic in terms of quality and reliability,[71] it nevertheless represented at the time the most 'authoritative' biography, and it is still appreciated today as the most important early effort to collect all documents and information concerning Mozart, his life and his work.[72]

At the same time, Nissen collaborated with Abbe Maximilian Stadler in an attempt to compile a catalogue of Mozart's works from as early as 1798-99, which was eventually printed as part of the appendix of the biography of 1828.[73] When Johann Anton André purchased the majority of Mozart's manuscripts from Constanze in 1799, he furthered the attempt to compile his catalogue, while Breitkopf and Härtel were also compiling their own catalogue of Mozart manuscripts, listing titles and musical incipits of all works attributed to the composer, organized by genre.[74] However, none of these early attempts was even remotely complete, partly due to the

[66] See also Hermann Abert, *W. A. Mozart*, edited by Cliff Eisen, trans. Stewart Spencer (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), p. viii.
[67] See also William Stafford, 'The Evolution of Mozartian Biography' in Keefe (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Mozart*, pp. 200-211, p. 200.
[68] See Halliwell, 'The Women and the Publishers (III): Nissen's Biography of Mozart' in *The Mozart Family*, pp. 613-628.
[69] Georg Nikolaus von Nissen, *Biographie W. A. Mozart's. Nach Originalbriefen, Sammlungen alles über ihn Geschriebenen, mit vielen neuen Beylagen, Steindrücken, Musikblättern und einem Facsimile* (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1828).
[70] (1791-1850) Medical doctor and Mozart enthusiast, residing in Pirna.
[71] Extensive critiques of Nissen's biography are provided in Rulolph Angermüller and William Stafford, 'Nissen, Georg Nikolaus' in *Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com, accessed 7 September 2009, and in Halliwell, *The Mozart Family*, esp. pp. 619-623.
[72] The gravity of Nissen's biography is indicated by the fact that several later writers relied heavily on it for constructing their own accounts, such as Oulibichev (1843) and Holmes (1845). See Eisen and Sadie, 'Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus: Aftermath: Reception and Scholarship'.
[73] The catalogue appears as 'Verzeichnis der in Mozarts Verlassenschaft gefundenen musicalischen Fragmente und Entwürfe, wie es grösstenteils von Abbé Maximilian Stadler verfasst worden' [List of the musical Fragments and Sketches found in Mozart's Estate, largely compiled by Abbé Maximilian Stadler], and also as 'Verzeichnis derjenigen Compositionen, welche Mozart ausser den hier angeführten noch vollendet hinterlassen hat' [List of Compositions, apart from those entered here, which Mozart left in a finished state]. Information as cited in Deutsch, *Mozart: A Documentary Biography*, p. 529-530.
[74] See Eisen and Keefe, *The Cambridge Mozart Encyclopedia*, p. 481

fact that several manuscripts and facsimiles were lost at the time, while the resources available to those who attempted the task were considerably limited.[75]

It wasn't until the second half of the nineteenth century that a decisive turn in Mozart scholarship occurred, marked by Otto Jahn's four-volume biography:[76] it appeared in the centenary of Mozart's birth and is still admired for its novel scholarly approach as 'a work of extraordinary labour and of great importance to the history of music'.[77] Six years later, Köchel's chronological thematic catalogue,[78] the first large-scale, genuinely scholarly effort in registering Mozart's works, was also published, bearing a dedication to Otto Jahn. The catalogue, still in use today in revised form,[79] featured a listing of Mozart's works, numbered according to their estimated order of composition, along with the first few bars of each work and a listing of available autographs, manuscript copies and first editions, complemented by biographical references.[80] Köchel arranged his catalogue in twenty-four categories, and was also laborious in making manuscript copies of the majority of Mozart's works that he had acquired access to, as a valuable addition to his considerably large private collection of first and early editions.[81]

In so doing, Köchel set the grounds not only for the systematization of Mozart's complete *œuvre*, but also for the publication of the most monumental edition of the composer's output in the nineteenth century, *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozarts Werke*:[82] this edition, published by Breitkopf and Härtel from 1877 to 1883, 'provided an enormous service to musical scholarship by bringing together, for the first time, the

[75] Paul Henry Lang, *The Creative World of Mozart* (New York: Norton, 1963), esp. pp. 17-18.
[76] Otto Jahn, *Biographie Mozarts* (Leipzig, 1856, 2/1867; rev. 3/1889–91, by H. Deiters, 4/1905–7; Eng. trans., 1882). Later revised by Hermann Abert (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1920) and Cliff Eisen (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).
[77] 'Otto Jahn' in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th Edition, 1911), at www.1911encyclopedia.org, accessed 10 September 2009.
[78] Ludwig Ritter von Köchel, *Chronologisch-thematisches Verzeichnis sämtlicher Tonwerke Wolfgang Amade Mozarts* (Leipzig: 1862).
[79] Subsequent editions: Leipzig, 2/1905, by Paul Graf von Waldersee; 3/1937, by Alfred Einstein; 6/1964 by Franz Giegling, Alexander Weinmann and Gerd Sievers.
[80] 'Köchel, Ludwig (Alois Ferdinand), Ritter von' in *Grove Music Online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com, accessed 10 September 2009.
[81] Köchel's collected material, which was partly derived from the collections of Josef Hauer, Aloys Fuchs and Leopold von Sonnleithner, is now in the possession of Vienna's Österreichische Nationalbibliothek and of the library of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, also in Vienna.
[82] W. A. Mozart, *Werke. Kritisch durchgesehene Gesammtausgabe*, ed. L. Köchel, J. Brahms, P. Spitta, G. Nottebohm, C. Reinecke, J. Joachim, J. Rietz and others (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1877–1883 with supplements up to 1910), 24 ser.; critical commentary published separately.

works of Mozart in a uniform edition'.[83] Widely known as the *Alte Mozart Ausgabe* (henceforth abbr. AMA), the edition followed the categorization introduced by Köchel's catalogue, and often relied heavily on sources (manuscript copies, first and early editions etc) which were part of Köchel's, Brahms's and Breitkopf's collections.[84] In cases when the autograph was available, this was usually taken from André's collection, which by then had become the focus of studies by Fuchs, Jahn and Köchel, and whose manuscript copies also served as primary sources for the edition.[85] Including more than 600 works, and edited by a highly respected team of scholars and musicians, the AMA aspired to represent the peak of nineteenth-century musical scholarship.[86] The stated editorial intention was – completeness apart – to reproduce the text of the autographs faithfully by eliminating unjustified editorial intervention.[87]

Naturally, the publishers of the AMA promoted the edition's scholarly aspirations while advertising it to the market. In a call for subscriptions, dated 5 December 1876, the firm claimed that 'the Mozart edition will be authoritative through an accurate comparison of the autographs and first editions',[88] while Waldersee, the second editor of the Köchel catalogue, praised the edition through a juxtaposition with other contemporary counterparts:

> Even those prints now recognized as the best, deviate remarkably from the autographs; over the years, editors have felt themselves compelled to effect changes and additions. Some have been satisfied with including innumerable marks of articulation, slurs and the like, while more dangerous editors have dared to introduce textual alterations and supplementary instrumentation. In order to prevent such transgressions, the discriminating editors [of the AMA] are instructed to proceed on the following principle: Any arbitrary change, omission or addition is inadmissible. [89]

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[83] James Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music: History, Method and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 9.
[84] See Barry Brook and Richard Viano, *Thematic Catalogues in Music: An Annotated Bibliography*, 2nd ed. (Hillsdale, New York: Pendragon Press, 1997) esp. p. xv, and Karl Geiringer, 'Brahms as Musicologist' in *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 69, No. 4 (Autumn 1983), pp. 463-470.
[85] The manuscript copies of Mozart's autographs made by Aloys Fuchs, Otto Jan and Ludwig Köchel were considered as unmediated copies of the sources at the time of preparation of the AMA, a presumption that proved mistaken since the rediscovery of the manuscripts in Poland after WWII.
[86] See also Cliff Eisen, 'The Old and New Mozart Editions'.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Karl Pfannhauser, 'Die Mozart-Gesamtausgabe in Österreich', in Erich Schenk (ed.), *Bericht über den internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Wien, Mazartjahr 1956*, (Graz-Köln: Hermann Böhlaus, 1958), pp. 467-9.
[89] Paul Graf Waldersee, 'Die Gesamtausgabe der Werke Mozarts' in P. G. Waldersee (ed.), *Sammlung Musikalischer Vorträge* (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel,1879), p. 196.

In its making, however, the creators of the AMA were far from following these aspired principles; soon after the edition came out, Brahms expressed his concerns regarding its quality, stating that he was 'not particularly enthusiastic about the Editions [of] Handel and Mozart',[90] and partly questioning his own editorial work, when writing to Clara Schumann:

> Apart from Bach and Handel I do not like any of the collected editions, and regarding Härtel one can observe too much and too often that may interfere, that there is no firm plan or idea […]. As regards to Mozart there are still worse things.[91]

In England, Heathcote Statham,[92] an accomplished musician and contributor to *Grove's Dictionary of Music*, also identified problems in the AMA from as early as 1878: in a quite extensive review published in *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*,[93] Statham praises the edition for its 'clear and elegant type' and for the 'unobtrusive manner' in which a distinction was made between Mozart's and Süssmayer's contribution in the *Requiem*, but he also states that, particularly in solo piano music, the text has been 'over-edited' with regards to the addition of expression marks, even in cases where care has been taken to distinguish them from those originally inserted by the composer.[94] Going on, he notes:

> Fingering, of course, is all right; most passages allow a certain variety of method, and most editors who finger can give a logical reason for preferring one or another method. But marks of expression open a very wide field, and may affect the reading of the composition so much as to materially alter the expression of a passage according as they are adopted or not; and it therefore becomes a question of considerable importance whether these indications of the method of execution and phrasing are the ascertained indications of the composer carefully corrected by the best authority; whether they are the editor's opinion as to the way in which the composer would have played them himself; or whether, lastly, they represent only the editor's own peculiar taste and style in regard to phrasing and expression. In the first case they are invaluable, and worth any trouble to attain; in the second case they may be of great value of the work of an editor with keen critical power and thorough insight into the composer's style and the musical habits (so to speak) of his period; in the third case they are too often misleading and injurious by importing into the reading of the compositions the peculiarities

[90] Brahms's Letter to Ernst Rudorff, translated in Robert Pascall, *Brahms: Biographical, Documentary and Analytical Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 48.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Heathcote Statham (1839-1924), English architect and an accomplished musician.
[93] Heathcote Statham, 'A New Edition of Mozart' in *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, Vol. 19, No. 430 (Dec. 1, 1878), pp. 650-654.
[94] Ibid, pp. 650-651.

> of one performer, or imparting a style and expression characteristic of modern playing and foreign to the style of the composer's own period.[95]

More than half a century later, the AMA was further criticized for misrepresenting Mozart's intentions by integrating altered performance directions as part of the text (such as lengthening and 'regularizing' slurs), while 'the critical reports dealt only with the sources used and with broad conjectures'.[96] As Giegling noted in his critique of the edition:

> Mozart's hastily written slurs, often inexact and inconsistent, were interpreted in the sense of the 19th century: measure-long legato markings over long stretches appear in place of motivic and upbeat divisions […]. In orchestral works, slurs for different groups of instruments, which Mozart intended to be irregular, were regularized. The same applies to dynamic signs […].[97]

Later scholarly criticism describes the AMA as varying greatly in dependability, 'with some volumes remarkably trustworthy, others far less so'[98] and, in more severe cases, accusing its editors for 'astonishing frivolity and often complete irresponsibility'.[99] Wolfgang Rehm, editor of the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe* notes that:

> [...] what is lacking above all in the AMA is a unified editorial principle. And although one must classify the edition as a scholarly-critical edition, it is nevertheless not always quite clear in individual instances what is actually the original in the way of musical text and what is editorial emendation. The critical reports likewise do not always help to clarify the situation, for what one editor thought worth reporting in the way of emendation, another editor took for granted, entering without comment his revision of the musical text.[100]

This lack of unified editorial standards, coupled with the use of dubious source-material whenever primary sources were not available, appear to be the main reasons for the observed shortcomings of the AMA. In retrospect it can be said that, regardless of the aspirations of its editors, their romantic perception of Mozart and of classical performance practice inevitably conditioned their editing: for, it would be reasonable to assume that many of the changes found in the AMA compared to the autographs

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[95] Ibid.
[96] Franz Giegling, 'Probleme der Neuen Mozart-Ausgabe' in *Schweizererische Musikzeitung*, xcvi (1956), pp. 42-3. Translated in Cliff Eisen, 'The Old and New Mozart Editions', p. 514.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Frederick Neumann, *Ornamentation and Improvisation in Mozart* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1986), p. ix.
[99] Friedrich Blume, 'The Concertos: (1) Their Sources' in H. C. Robbins Landon and Donald Mitchell (eds.), *The Mozart Companion* (New York: Norton, 1956), p. 231.
[100] Rehm, 'Collected Editions', pp. 426-7.

and first editions (presented in the case study), represent what editors of the time thought the musical implications of these readings were. The shortcomings of the edition of the piano sonatas were soon acknowledged by Breitkopf who, as early as 1895, published another, revised edition of the piano sonatas and fantasies only, this time edited by Ernst Rudorff.[101] The edition, titled *Akademische Ausgabe*, offered revisions of the AMA, allegedly following consultation of the autographs, first and early editions of Mozart's works and was in fact the first edition to be advertised as *Urtext*.[102]

But, despite the higher editorial standards which in theory were connected to the introduction of the term *Urtext* in the late-nineteenth century, it appears that in practice things had not changed that dramatically: Rudorff's scholarly edition, while being the first Mozart edition claiming to be *Urtext* – and, in fact, the first nineteenth-century edition to be advertised as an *Urtext* – did not really live up to the aspirations according to which it was created: as Nathan Broder[103] notes, Rudorff's edition may be superior to the AMA, but it nevertheless contains many faults:

> For example, there are some wrong, missing or added notes, and Mozart's phrasing and his notation of embellishments are often inaccurately reproduced. The editor […] relied too heavily in such matters, on the Breitkopf and Härtel *Œuvres Complettes* [sic] (O.C.) edition begun in 1798. Moreover, he based his edition of K. 309, 570, 576, and 397 on the O.C. instead of on the first editions; consulted the O.C. instead of the earlier (1784/85) Schott edition in connection with K. 330, 331, and 332; used only the André edition of K. 545 instead of consulting also the *Leipzig Bureau de Musique* edition, which may be earlier. Nor did he see the autograph of the Fugue of K. 394, the surviving two pages of the first movement of K. 570, the last page of K. 331. I do not mean to imply that the "Urtext" editor was careless or incompetent in not using these source materials; he undoubtedly would have done so if he had known about them. He simply was not as

[101] W. A. Mozart, *Sonaten und Phantasien für Klavier*. Ed. by Ernst Rudorff, (Urtext edition, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1895). Rudorff (1840-1916) was a pianist, composer, conductor and head of the Piano department of the Berlin Hochschule für Musik from its foundation in 1869 until 1910. He owned a large collection of musical and literary autographs, including a large number of manuscript copies and first editions of Mozart's piano concertos and operas (100 printed editions and 15 manuscripts). He was an intimate friend and collaborator of the editors of the *Alte Mozart Ausgabe*, such as Philipp Spitta and Johannes Brahms. More on Rudorff and his collection in Nancy B. Reich, 'The Rudorff Collection' in *Notes*, 2nd Series, Vol. 31, No. 2 (Dec. 1974), pp. 247-261.

[102] Further discussion of the commercial, philosophical and practical extensions of the *Urtext* will be presented as part of the chapters on twentieth-century editions.

[103] Nathan Broder (1905–67) was an American editor and musicologist, associate editor of *The Musical Quarterly* (1945–67). Broder was involved editorially with New York publishers G. Schirmer and W. W. Norton, and taught at Columbia University (1946–62). Apart from several musicological studies on Mozart and his music, he also produced an edition of Mozart's piano sonatas, published in 1956 (see next footnote).

> fortunate as we are in having as a guide Alfred Einstein's monumental revision of the Köchel catalogue (1937). If he had been, he would probably have included in his edition the sonatas K. 533/494 and K. 547a also.[104]

Broder, apart from identifying some important problems in Rudorff's revised edition, also brings up an important issue regarding the consultation of sources for the preparation of the edition. But while Broder, perhaps to avoid being disrespectful, excuses Rudorff's omission of several important sources as an outcome of the unavailability of the revised Köchel catalogue, the fact is that both Rudorff and his colleagues who had prepared the AMA, often relied on dubious manuscript copies and prints of questionable provenance, even when primary sources had been available to them. As Eisen notes:

> It seems never to have been asked, however, whether manuscripts by Fuchs, Jahn and Köchel are, in fact, faithful copies of the autographs (although some failures of these sources have been belatedly recognized […]) […]. And this is surprising, for many of these copies had served as *Stichvorlagen* for the AMA, which came under such heavy fire from later scholars. In short, it was never established, by comparing surviving autographs with 19th-century scores, whether the well-documented problems of the AMA were the result of poor editing or poor sources. More often than not, the problem sits squarely on the shoulders of the sources […]. Clearly, nineteenth-century sources, even those said to have been copied from Mozart's autographs, cannot be taken at face value as accurately transmitting every important detail of Mozart's notation.[105]

Interestingly, however, neither Rudorff's *Akademische Ausgabe* nor any other later scholarly edition produced in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century (no matter how 'improved') succeeded in acquiring the gravity and importance of the AMA: more than any other source, it was the AMA that, despite its innumerable flaws, conditioned to a great extent the twentieth-century's perceptions of Mozart and his style.[106] The case study that follows will present and analyse a number of these flaws, by juxtaposing extracts of the monumental AMA with their respective primary sources, as well as with other nineteenth-century editions claiming to be historical. The following table provides a list of all nineteenth-century editions which will be addressed in the case study:

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[104] W. A. Mozart, *Sonatas and Fantasies for the Piano*, ed. Nathan Broder (Brynn Mawr, Pennsylvania: Theodore Presser Company, 1956), Preface, p. V.
[105] Eisen, 'The old and new Mozart editions', pp. 514-518. Further on, Eisen presents examples of problems with the manuscript copies made by Fuchs, Jahn and Köchel.
[106] Ibid. p. 523.

TABLE 6.B: 19TH-CENTURY EDITIONS EXAMINED IN THE CASE STUDY

19TH-CENTURY EDITIONS EXAMINED IN THE CASE STUDY (in chronological order)

- *La Fantaisie et Sonate pour le Piano-forte de W. A. Mozart, Edition faite d' aprés le Manuscrit Original de l' auteur* (Offenbach: J. André, 1801).
- *Œuvres Complettes* (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, completed 1806).
- *Œuvres de Mozart / au Magasin de l'imprimerie chimique / J. R. priv sur le Graben* (Vienna: Magasin de l'imprimerie chimique, before 1810).
- *Collection Complette des Œuvres de Piano par W. A. Mozart* (Paris: Pleyel, c. 1795 – 1824).
- *Hallberger's Pracht-Ausgabeder Classiker Beethoven, Clementi, Haydn, Mozart, in ihren Werken für das Pianoforte allein / Neu herausgegeben mit Bezeichnung des Zeitmasses und Fingersatzes von I. Moscheles* (Stuttgart: E. Hallberger, c. 1858).
- *Nouvelle Editions des Œuvres de Mozart*, Cahiers 1 and 3. (Paris: Lavignée, c. 1854 -1863).
- *Le trésor des pianistes*, *17ème volume: XVIIIè siecle, 2è periode, W. Amèdèe Mozart / 16 Sonates et une Romance* (Paris: Prillip, 1869).
- *Mozart's Sämtliche Werke – Kritisch Durchgesehene Gesamtausgabe* (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1877 – 1883).
- W. A. Mozart, *Sonaten und Phantasien für Klavier / Akademische Ausgabe.* Ed. by Ernst Rudorff, (Urtext edition, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1895).

Case Study - Part One:
Nineteenth-century editions based on primary sources

The study of nineteenth-century historical editions is perhaps one of the most important contributions of the current thesis to the field of source studies within the musicological discipline: for, the late nineteenth century in particular marked a turning point not only in the evolution of music editing and publishing in general, but also in the evolution of Mozart scholarship and of perceptions of his musical style in particular, perceptions that persevered well into the twentieth century: as we shall see in subsequent chapters,[107] the impact of late-nineteenth-century Mozart studies was a determinative factor in the formation of twentieth-century Mozart scholarship and, in many instances, in the crystallization of certain notions regarding the composer's life, his character, his compositional methods and, last but not least, his musical vocabulary.

While several comparisons of the primary sources (autograph manuscripts and first editions) of Mozart's piano sonatas are available today as part of the commentary of scholarly critical editions, no similar comparison, to the best of my knowledge, exists for respective nineteenth-century editions and their sources, even though some of these – and particularly the *Alte Mozart-Ausgabe* – were of critical importance to the evolution of the historical editing of Mozart's music and, for some of his works, remained the 'latest' editions for several decades later. Thus, the detailed study of these nineteenth-century historical editions, by comparing them with primary sources as well as with other nineteenth-century editions, is not only unique but also important, in that it detects and establishes intriguing connections and stemmatic relationships in the textual evolution of Mozart's edited piano sonatas, which in turn affected twentieth-century editorial mindsets.

As already discussed in the introduction to this chapter, the current investigation of nineteenth-century historical editions of Mozart's piano sonatas[108] consists of a twofold juxtaposition. In the first part, presented here, a comparison is made between the primary sources (namely, the autograph manuscripts and first editions, originally

[107] See Chapters Seven and Eight on twentieth-century editing and editions of Mozart's works.
[108] Detailed listings of bar-to-bar comparisons between editions are documented in the *Appendix*.

presented in the case study of Chapter Three) and those nineteenth-century editions claiming to be historical and to have relied on primary sources such as Mozart's autograph manuscripts and first editions.

Four such editions are presented here: namely, the two monumental efforts by Breitkopf and Härtel: their *Œuvres Complettes* (completed 1806) and *Mozart's Sämtliche Werke – Kritisch Durchgesehene Gesamtausgabe* (1877 - 1883), currently known as the *Alte Mozart Ausgabe*; also presented is the 'authoritative' 1801 edition of K475/457 by Johann Anton André in Offenbach (who had purchased a large quantity of Mozart's autographs by Constanze and who advertised his editions as 'after the original manuscript'). Finally, a revised edition of the *Alte Mozart Ausgabe*'s text of the piano sonatas, re-edited by Ernst Rudorff in 1895 and advertised as an *Akademische Ausgabe / Urtext Edition* is also examined.[109]

Apart from comparing these nineteenth-century editions with their respective primary sources, the case study also presents a comparison between nineteenth-century editions themselves. It is amongst the intentions of this investigation to establish the extent to which these editions relied on primary sources, but most importantly, to provide an insight into the nineteenth-century understanding of Mozart's style and its textual representation, as identified through textual emendations made by nineteenth-century historical editors.

[109] W. A. Mozart, *Sonaten und Phantasien für Klavier*. Ed. by Ernst Rudorff, (Urtext edition, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1895).

Key point 1: Altered slurring changing the musical effect

As the comparisons between the sources of the piano sonatas examined[110] will indicate throughout this case study, the *Œuvres Complettes* largely reproduced the first editions' rather than the autographs' text, particularly with regards to phrasing/slurring. On the other hand, the AMA, despite its acclaimed editorial consultation of the primary sources, often deviated from both the autograph and the first edition, providing considerably 'heavier' and longer slurring. An example of this is portrayed in the peculiar case of the third movement of K457 (bars 1-15, also discussed in the case study of Chapter Three):

Curiously, J. A. André in his edition (1801), advertised as 'after the original manuscript' in his possession, did not really reproduce the autograph's slurring in these bars, but rather, he combined elements from the first edition and introduced some of his own interpretations of the slurring. Similarly, the text of the *Œuvres Complettes* seems closer to the first edition than to the autograph, also introducing new slurring patterns while eliminating some slurs altogether towards the end of the passage (bars 11-15).

Several decades later, the AMA suggested an entirely different slurring than the corresponding occurrences in the autograph and the first edition: while the autograph clearly slurs the descending right-hand patterns in groups of three, pushing the music forwards in a graceful manner, the first edition chops the pattern by separating the first beat from the remaining two, while the AMA leaves the third note of each group out of the slurs, thus placing additional emphasis on the tied notes and introducing a particularly 'romantic' trait of performance, agreeable with the editors' contemporary taste.

Also, notice the slurs in the descending melody of bars 13-15: While the autograph manuscript and the first edition slur the passage by grouping the notes in threes, creating a graceful effect, the AMA replaces the slurs with one long slur that lasts all the way from bar 13 to bar 15. The longer slur in the AMA may have been intended as an indication of the phrase's direction towards closure (thus giving the reader a

[110] K284, K330, K331, K332, K333 and K457 have been selected for the present investigation as works for which both an autograph and a first edition survives. More on the selection of the particular works can be found in Chapter Three.

sense of direction from an analytical and structural point of view), but the omission of the smaller slurs creates a completely different auditory effect than that produced by Mozart's notated articulation. It appears that the editors of the AMA, accustomed as they were to the romantic performance tradition of long legato lines, which was evident from as early as 1801 in the writings of Clementi[111] and grew considerably towards the end of the century, inevitably viewed certain passages under a similar light.

Apart from the 'liberties' taken in the handling of the slurs in this passage, the AMA has combined other performance elements from both the autograph manuscript and the first edition, this time acknowledging them as such: for instance, in the example below, the AMA includes the 'Molto Allegro' instruction featured in the autograph, but also indicates (in parentheses) the dynamic '*p*' that appears in the opening bar of the first edition but not in the autograph.

It is also interesting to note that the *Akademische Ausgabe* (1895) reproduces the text of the AMA almost without change, the only difference being that Rudorff, the editor of the *Akademische Ausgabe*, chose to indicate the dynamics separately for each stave, re-introducing the approach of the first edition and of the *Œuvres Complettes* – an approach that was largely eliminated in most late-nineteenth-century editions.[112]

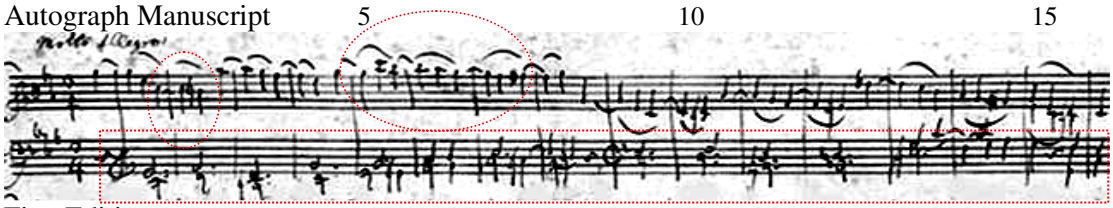
Finally, the example cited below illustrates another important point: throughout his piano compositions, Mozart often employed separate stems for certain notes making up a chord (even when two parts were to sound together, performed by the same hand), indicating the voice-leading of each part within harmonic progressions. This careful distinction between parts was partly retained in the first editions and in André's edited text, while it appears quite often in the *Œuvres Complettes* (which, more often than not, also provided separate dynamic marks for each stave). Late-nineteenth-century editions, such as the AMA and the *Akademische Ausgabe*, rarely adopt this aspect of Mozart's notation, more often replacing multiple stems with a single stem, as indicated in the left-hand part of the example that follows (squared):

[111] Muzio Clementi, *Introduction to the Art of Playing on the Piano Forte* (London: Clementi & Co., 1801 / Reprint New York: Da Capo Press, 1974), p. 8

[112] The indication of dynamics and their separate placement for each stave is further discussed in the examples to follow.

EXAMPLE 6.A: Sonata in C minor K457, 3rd Movement, Bars: 1-15.

Autograph Manuscript



First Edition



J. A. André



Œuvres Complettes



AMA



Akademische Ausgabe (1895)

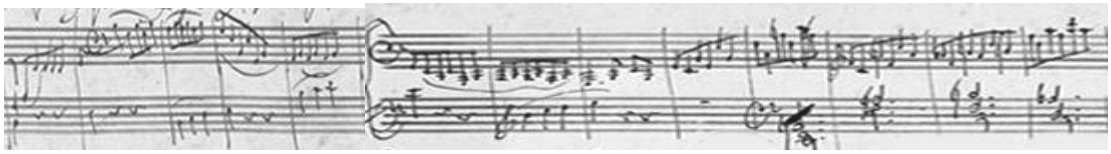


In another instance (Example 6.B), also derived from the third movement of K457, the aforementioned observations largely persist: early-nineteenth-century sources (the *Œuvres Complettes* and the edition by André) reproduce the slurring of primary sources faithfully. On the contrary, the two late-nineteenth-century sources (the AMA and the *Akademische Ausgabe*), while providing separate readings for both primary sources (indicating the changes in notation caused by the crossing of hands), do not reproduce the unambiguous slurring of the sources: Mozart's meticulous notation of the slurring in this autograph, which is identical with the first edition, is again replaced in the AMA and in the *Akademische Ausgabe* by longer slurs in both readings. The latter edition's text only differs from the AMA in its employment of separate dynamic indications for each stave, as discussed in the previous example.

It is also interesting to note that the edition by André, advertised as 'after the original manuscript', is the only one that reproduces the autograph reading at this point, indicating the clef change and the crossing of hands, and in this case does so with the utmost precision.

EXAMPLE 6.B: Sonata in C minor K457, 3rd Movement, Bars: 89-99

Autograph Manuscript



First Edition



André



Œuvres Complettes



AMA



Akademische Ausgabe



Key Point 2: Indication of dynamic markings and their sources

As discussed in the previous key point, the slurring in the *Œuvres Complettes* is more often than not a reproduction of one single source: in fact, the comparison of the *Œuvres Complettes* with the manuscripts and the first editions of Mozart's piano sonatas indicates that in this first attempt to publish the composer's collected works, Breitkopf must have relied mostly on first editions, whenever these were available. This is also supported by the fact that the *Œuvres Complettes* take on the majority of performance directions which were added in the first editions of the sonatas, despite the spare use of dynamics in the autograph manuscripts.

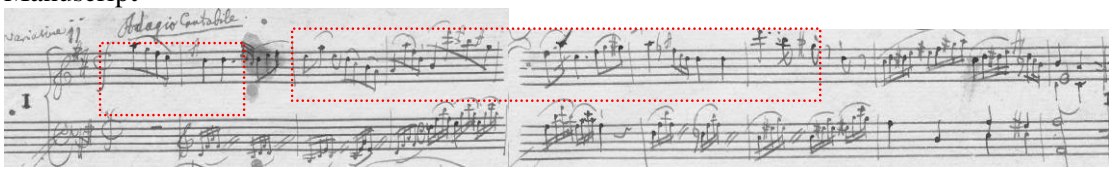
It is also interesting to note once more that the *Œuvres Complettes* re-introduced Mozart's practice of indicating separate dynamic markings for each stave, even in cases when the dynamics for the two parts appear on the same beat in both staves: these separate indications had been omitted in some of the first editions (see, for instance, Example 6.C, an extract from the variations in the third movement of K284), which only noted one set of dynamic marks in between the two staves, even in places where their placement does not appear simultaneously between the two parts. This may in fact indicate that, most likely, the editors of the *Œuvres Complettes* either took the initiative to indicate dynamics separately for each stave, as was customary at the time or, apart from relying on first editions which were richer in performance directions than any preceding source, had also consulted other sources (perhaps other early editions or manuscript copies of Mozart's works), in which the composer's separate dynamic indications for each stave were sustained.

In the same example, the AMA reproduced the text of the autograph manuscript in the main body and the right-hand part of the first edition in an *ossia* stave without, however, including any of the detailed dynamic indications found in the first edition. Furthermore, the AMA transcribed Mozart's acciaccaturas, integrating them as part of the main text, and replaced the repeated slurring of the left-hand Alberti bass with the indication 'legato' at the beginning of the movement. Finally, the *Akademische Ausgabe*'s version presents considerable improvements: though adopting the format previously employed by the AMA, Rudorff took extra care in reproducing under the

ossia stave all the indications of dynamics appearing in the first edition, and in re-introducing Mozart's original notation of the acciaccatura (see also next key point).

EXAMPLE 6.C: Sonata in D major K284, 3rd Movement, Variation XI:i *Adagio Cantabile*, Bars: 1-7

Manuscript



First Edition



Œuvres Complettes



AMA



Akademische Ausgabe



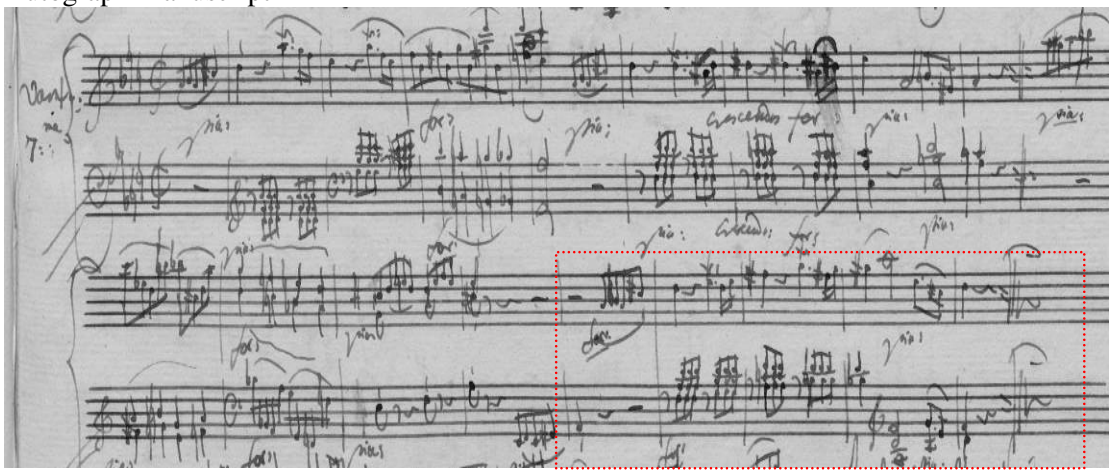
All examples cited thus far stand as witnesses to an important observation regarding the AMA: in Example 6.C the AMA excludes all dynamic markings from the text, even though it employs an additional, separate stave for the right-hand part of the first edition's text, and could thus enter the dynamics in brackets, complying with its alleged editorial norms. But this was not always the case: in another instance (example 6.A), the editors of the AMA adopt an entirely different approach, by indicating the performance directions of the first edition in brackets or parentheses, while those originating from the autographs are marked without any brackets as part of the main text; in yet another instance (Example 6.D), the AMA entirely omits dynamic marks that are contradictory between the autograph and the first edition (autograph marks *for:* while first edition marks *pia:*), leaving the passage spare of dynamics, except for the movement's final *p*.

This variety of approaches illustrates quite clearly that the 'editorial standards' of the AMA were not as unified nor as consistently applied as its creators purported; in fact, editorial standards varied not only amongst different volumes, but also within individual volumes, and even within individual sonatas themselves. Furthermore, the AMA usually (but not always) eliminated Mozart's separate dynamic marks for each stave, thus 'regularizing' the texture in a way that probably complied with the nineteenth century's notion of a 'neat' classical style, free of 'irregularities'. The following example (6.D), also an extract from the variations of the third movement of K284, indicates clearly that both the autograph and the first edition mark separated dynamics for each stave; this notation was faithfully preserved in the *Œuvres Complettes*, yet it has been eliminated from the AMA.

The later *Akademische Ausgabe* re-introduces the separate indication of dynamics for each stave, but eliminates the '*sf*' indication of the first edition.

EXAMPLE 6.D: Sonata in D major K284, 3rd Movement (Variation VII), Bars: 13-16

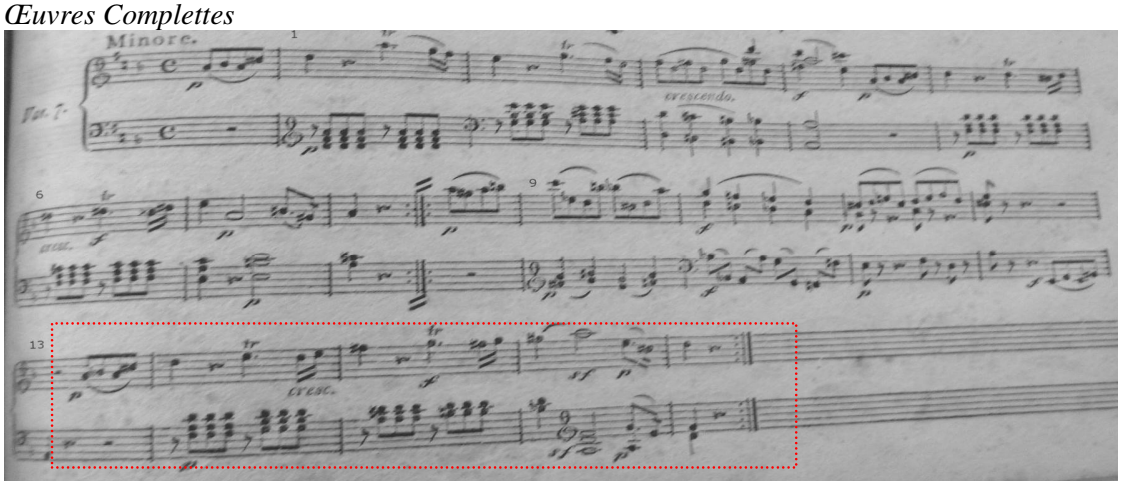
Autograph Manuscript



First Edition



Œuvres Complettes



AMA



Akademische Ausgabe



Key point 3: Embellishments 'regularized', dots and wedges omitted

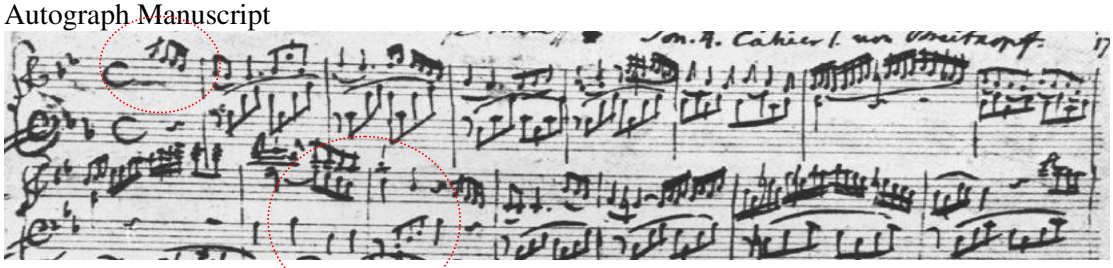
More often than not, embellishments found in the primary sources (in the autograph manuscript and/or the first edition) were reproduced in the same fashion in the *Œuvres Complettes*.

In the AMA, however, embellishments were in many instances integrated (written out) within the main body of text, as in Example 6.C (regarding the acciaccatura); another such example is the opening appoggiatura of the Sonata in B flat major, K333 (Example 6.E). The integration by the AMA of the appoggiatura as part of the main melody was probably intended as indicative of the note's performance *on* the beat, according to classical performance practice, rather than *before* the beat, as nineteenth-century practice demanded. Furthermore, this integration provides a more 'regular' pattern in accordance with the further appearances of grouped semiquavers on the upbeats, such as those of bars 2 and 4. Along with this 'regularization', the AMA also omitted the articulation dots and wedges of bars 9 and 10 respectively, while also employing much longer slurs. As a result, these changes, though appearing as details, alter the work's style and character considerably.

Interestingly, in the *Akademische Ausgabe* the appoggiatura is re-introduced in smaller type but, that apart, the text is essentially an identical reproduction of the AMA.

EXAMPLE 6.E: Sonata in B flat major K333, First movement, Bars: 1-12

Autograph Manuscript



First Edition



Œuvres Complettes



AMA



Akademische Ausgabe



Key point 4: Priority of autograph readings, emending certain 'textual corruptions' of preceding editions

As already observed in previous examples, late-nineteenth-century historical editors of Mozart's piano sonatas more often than not gave priority to the autograph manuscript readings: the first editions' text was only reproduced along with that of the autograph in case of large-scale discrepancies, such as in the second movements of the Sonatas K284, K332 and K457, which survive in an embellished version in the first editions. But, while in certain instances their editors were hesitant in making a decision concerning small-scale discrepancies identified between the primary sources (as in example 6.D above), in other cases they only provided the reading of the autograph manuscript, despite the fact that not only the first edition but also other early editions transmitted considerably different readings: such is the case presented in Example 6.F below (also cited as part of the case study in Chapter Three), derived from the first movement of the Sonata K284, where the early editions examined (i.e. the first edition and the *Œuvres Complettes*) consistently omitted the ties in bar 27-28 and again in bar 99-100. While the consistent omission in both instances indicates that it may have been a conscious decision rather than a misreading, the AMA and the *Akademische Ausgabe* nevertheless revived the original reading of the autograph manuscript, therefore re-introducing the ties.

EXAMPLE 6.F: Sonata in D major K284, 1st Movement, Bars: 27-29 and 99-101

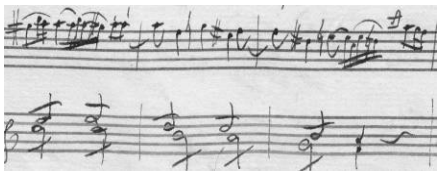
Autograph Manuscript
Bars 27-29



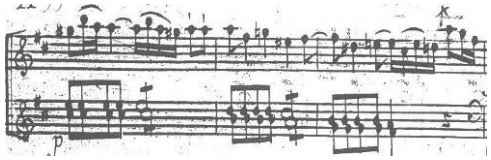
First Edition
Bars 27-29



Bars 99-101



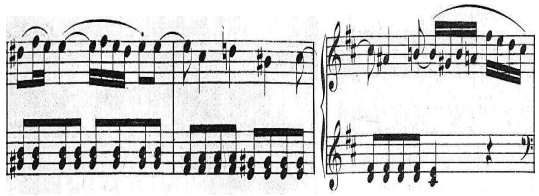
Bars 99-101



Œuvres Complettes
Bars 27-29



AMA
Bars 27-29



Bars 99-101

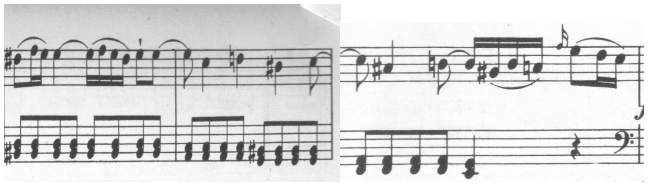


Bars 99-101



Akademische Ausgabe

Bars 27-29



Bars 99-101



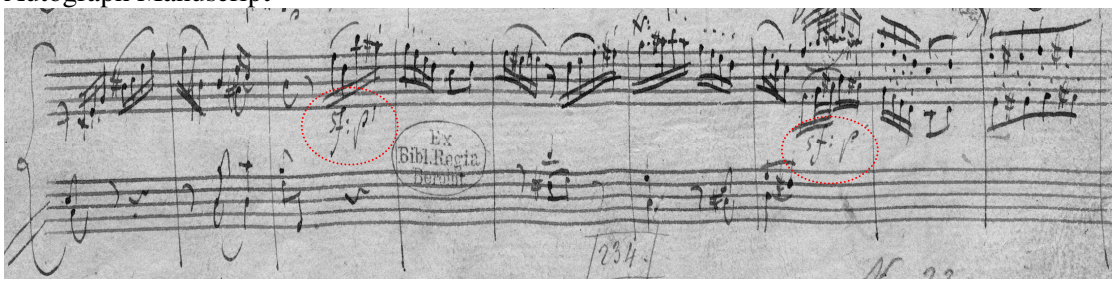
Key Point 5: Separate dynamics merged into one in the AMA

It is often the case in Mozart's condensed hand writing for dynamics to be noted very close to each other, yet rather clearly, in his manuscripts. Additionally, he sometimes uses colons after a dynamic mark (such as '*sf:*' instead of just '*sf*'') or writes out '*for:*' instead of '*f*' and '*pia:*' instead of '*p*', spreading them out underneath a series of notes. This particular aspect of his notation was unfortunately not preserved in printed editions, as the next three examples (6.G, 6.H, 6.I) will indicate.

For instance, in the example that follows, Mozart notes *sf:* and *p:*. The first edition and the *Œuvres Complettes* reproduce the placement of the dynamics but exclude the colons. Several decades later, the AMA not only excludes the colons, but also merges the two dynamic markings into one single indication, thus altering the dynamic effect of the passage: for, the AMA's reading would be interpreted as an accent of the first semiquaver note with an immediate softening of the subsequent notes. Interestingly, the *Akademsiche Ausgabe* takes extra care in separating the *sf* from the *p*, also indicating them separately for each hand:

EXAMPLE 6.G: Sonata in C major, K330, 1st Movement, Bars: 32-39

Autograph Manuscript



First Edition



Œuvres Complettes



AMA



Akademische Ausgabe



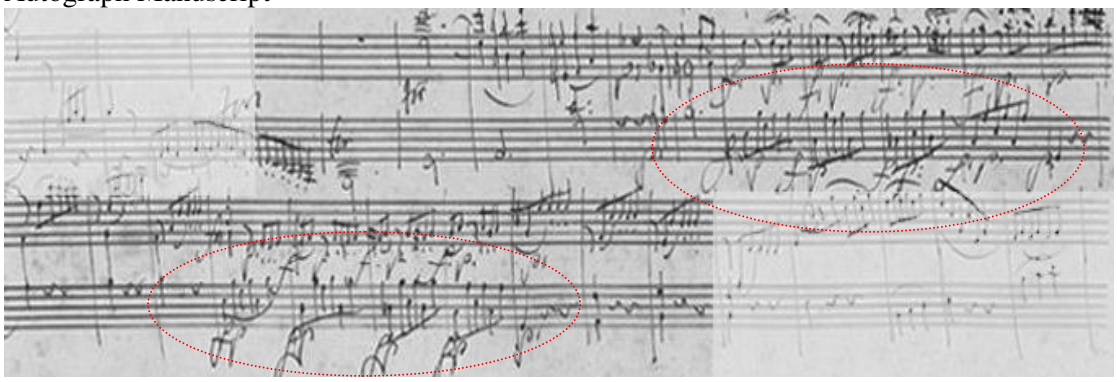
The following example serves as yet another indication of the changed effect created by the alteration of dynamics, in this case regarding the merging of separate dynamic marks for each stave into a single indication for both staves: in the extract, from the third movement of K457, the autograph clearly places the *p* much sooner in the left hand than in the right, creating an impressive acoustic effect. André in his early edition 'after the original manuscript' interprets the two occurrences of these dynamics in quite a different way: in the first occurrence, he merges Mozart's separate dynamics into one dynamic mark in between the two staves, indicating that Mozart intended the *p* to occur on the same beat in both hands, while in the second

occurrence, he employs separate dynamic marks for each hand, indicating that, in this case, Mozart intended the *p* in the left hand to occur much earlier than before.

In the *Œuvres Complettes*, though separate dynamic marks for each hand have been employed, the dynamics are nevertheless placed on the exact same beat under each stave in both passages, in a way 'regularizing' Mozart's series of dynamic effects. Similarly, the AMA not only 'regularized' the passage, flattening out its dynamic variety, it also eliminated the separate dynamic marks for each hand since, according to its interpretation of the placement of dynamics at this point, the dynamic marks occur (or should occur) on the same beat for both hands in both passages. A slight improvement in the interpretation of the passage is observed in the *Akademische Ausgabe*: here, Rudorff re-introduces Mozart's separate dynamics for each hand, placing the *p* in the left hand earlier than the one in the right, but he reproduces the same placement in the second passage, even though the two occurrences in Mozart's manuscript are not identical:

EXAMPLE 6.H: Sonata in C minor K457, 3rd Movement, Bars: 74-86

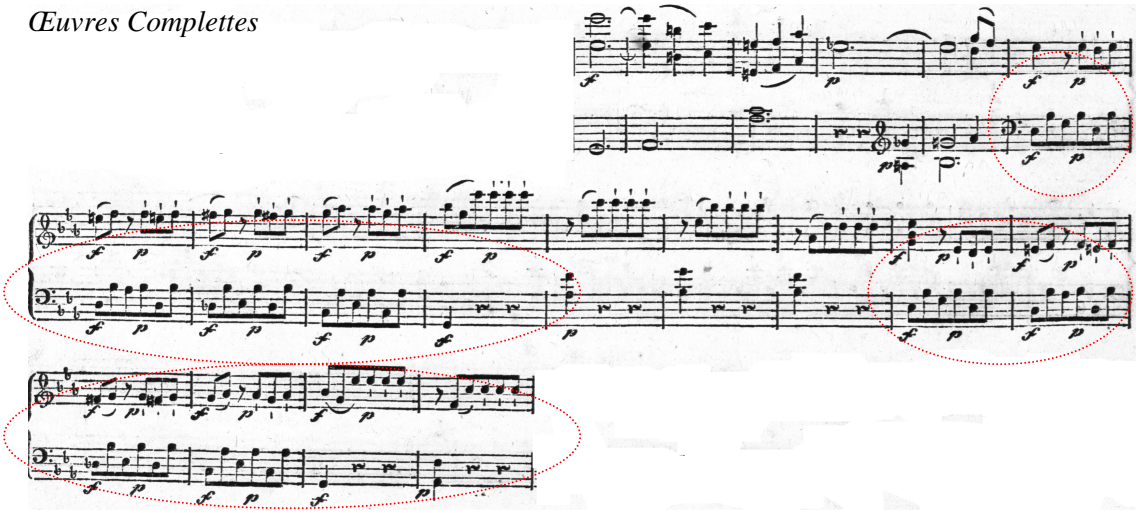
Autograph Manuscript



J. A. André



Œuvres Complettes



AMA



Akademische Ausgabe



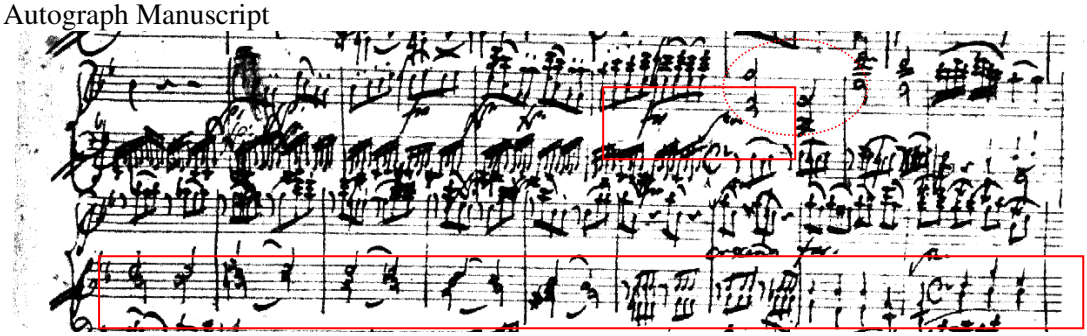
Key Point 6: Suggested expansion of the pitch range in AMA

Circled in the following example is an instance where the AMA provides an *ossia* stave suggesting that, had Mozart's instrument allowed for the octave pattern to ascend to the top G, he most probably would not have leaped to the lower octave. In accordance with the expanded pitch range offered by the nineteenth-century piano, the editors of the AMA must have thought it reasonable to offer such suggestions as to what a player might do on a modern instrument (and perhaps as to what they believed Mozart might have intended had the expanded range of the piano been available during his lifetime). The example also provides further evidence towards the observation noted in the previous key point, regarding the merging of two separate dynamic symbols into one in the AMA (i.e. *f:* and *p:* replaced by *fp*, see squared examples), as well as for the omission of separate stemming, discussed earlier on (see squared examples).

Interestingly, the *Akademische Ausgabe* has excluded suggestions regarding pitch range, and has restored the autograph's reading regarding the placement of dynamics.

EXAMPLE 6.I: Sonata in B flat major K333, 1st Movement, Bars: 127-137

Autograph Manuscript



First edition



AMA



Akademische Ausgabe



Conclusions

Through the juxtaposition of the primary sources with the first collected edition of Mozart's piano sonatas, as part of the *Œuvres Complettes,* and with later nineteenth-century historical editions acclaimed for having consulted primary sources for their preparation, a series of important conclusions may be extracted regarding each of these nineteenth century editions.

Regarding the *Œuvres Complettes*, it can be said that, though it relied mostly on first editions than on autograph manuscripts, and though it presents numerous textual inaccuracies (usually regarding slurring), it nevertheless preserves several notational attributes of Mozart's autograph manuscripts, such as the employment of separate dynamic marks for each stave and the regular inclusion of separate stemming in chordal writing. Furthermore, the representation of slurring, though not always precise, is nevertheless closer to the primary sources than that of later nineteenth-century editions, in the sense that it seems not to have been polluted by 'interpretative' editorial suggestions, or perhaps that the textual changes implemented were closer to Mozart's performance practices than those of later editions. However, the fact that the text of the *Œuvres Complettes*, despite its discrepancies, is not far from the first editions' interpretations, cannot really be understood as the result of conscious editorial practice; rather, the closeness of the text to that of the primary sources ought to be understood simply in terms of the edition's time of publication: prepared soon after Mozart's death, the *Œuvres Complettes* were more likely to preserve a close proximity to the primary sources used, most especially since no substantial changes in performance practice had occurred within that timeframe.

The comparison of the primary sources with André's edition of the *Fantasia and Sonata in C minor* K475/457, advertised as prepared 'after the original manuscript', has led to an interesting observation: in certain instances, André did not simply act as a mere transcriber of the autograph manuscript, but in fact he seems to have consciously exercised editorial discretion on the text, often consulting not only the autograph, but also the first edition of the works in question. This is the only way to account for certain textual deviations from the autograph (mostly in the slurring of

certain passages, such as those occurring in the beginning of the Sonata's third movement), and their apparent similarity with the first edition's text.

The *Alte Mozart-Ausgabe* arises as the most problematic of the sources examined thus far: substantial traits of Mozart's notation have all either been eliminated or 'regularized' by the editors of the sonatas: Mozart's indication of separate dynamics for each stave was replaced by single, regularized dynamics in between the two staves; the composer's careful positioning and distancing amongst horizontal dynamics (such as *for:* and *pia:*) has often been replaced by merged dynamics (turning into *fp*); the separate stemming indicating voice leading within chord progressions has been replaced by single upward or downward stems; the detailed, short and stylish slurring has often been replaced by long legato slurs, while changes in the positioning of slurs create auditory effects that are more agreeable with late-nineteenth- than with late-eighteenth-century performance practice. Other performance considerations, judged as appropriate within the extended possibilities offered by nineteenth-century keyboard instruments (such as a consideration of expanded range in certain passages) have also been included in the edition.

Furthermore, though the AMA was promoted as the first scholarly edition, prepared in accordance to 'unified editorial standards', these standards prove far from unified: for, while the editors of the AMA claimed to have primarily relied on the autograph manuscripts, they in fact relied on nineteenth-century manuscript copies of the autographs made by the editors themselves, thus introducing their own discrepancies within the editorial process.[113] In any case, the editorial approaches in the preparation of the text tend to vary not only from one sonata to the next or from one movement to the next, but also within single movements: for instance, some of the dynamics appearing in the first editions are marked in parentheses within the edition's text, others without parentheses, while others are omitted altogether, even in instances where an *ossia* stave has been employed for the rendering of the first edition's alternative version.

[113] Cliff Eisen, 'The old and new Mozart editions'.

It therefore seems that the creators of the *Alte Mozart-Ausgabe*, though ambitious and novel in their intentions, often compromised the aspiring scholarly approach of the text, being either biased by their contemporary performance practices or affected by practical considerations for the usability of the edition by the wide audience. In that sense, it can be said that the AMA stands as perhaps the first historical edition facing the problems that can arise in the attempt to combine the contradictory goals of scholarly editing and of practical, 'performance' editing – a pitfall that, as we shall see, persisted for several decades into the twentieth century.

The later *Akademische Ausgabe*, which stands as the first late-nineteenth-century edition bearing the title *Urtext*, provides a considerably improved and more reliable reading of the primary sources compared to the *Alte Mozart-Ausgabe*: it re-introduces many of Mozart's notational traits (for instance, the provision of separate dynamic marks for each stave), while also revising extensively the positioning of dynamics within the text. The edition also partially recovers Mozart's slurring, though in certain instances longer slurs, identical to those appearing in the AMA, have been maintained. While it may be possible that its editor, Ernst Rudorff, relied heavily on the *Œuvres Complettes* – and was criticized by Nathan Broder for this reliance[114] – the fact remains that his textual interpretation of the sonatas is much closer to eighteenth-century performance practice than the interpretation of the AMA. Even so, Rudorff's greatly improved editorial work, though coming across as more scholarly orientated than the AMA, did not always remain unaffected by contemporaneous performance practice; certain late-nineteenth-century performance elements, especially regarding articulation and dynamics, were inevitably integrated within his edition, rendering it identifiable as having been produced in the late-nineteenth century.

Yet, as we shall see in later chapters, despite its improved rendering of Mozart's sonatas, it was not the *Akademische Ausgabe* but the AMA that was sustained in the twentieth century as the most well-known and important nineteenth-century edition of these works.

[114] See also section titled 'Later criticism, scholarship and the *Alte Mozart Ausgabe*'.

Case study - Part II: Other 'historically aware' 19th-century editions

The second part of the case study presents a number of additional 'historically aware'[115] editions of Mozart's piano sonatas produced throughout the nineteenth century. These examples do not refer to issues of single sonatas, but rather to larger, reputed volumes of the complete sonatas, either as part of collections of Mozart's works (such as the edition of Mozart's *Œuvres* by the *Magasin de l'imprimerie chimique*, Pleyel's *Collection Complette des Œuvres de Piano de W. A. Mozart and* Lavignée's *Nouvelle Editions des Œuvres de Mozart*), or as volumes within anthologies of earlier piano music (such as Hallberger's *Pracht-Ausgabe* and the 17th volume of *Le trésor des pianistes*).[116]

The study of these editions has been broken down into two chronological periods, namely: early editions, produced from 1792 until 1830 and later editions, spanning from the mid-nineteenth-century onwards. It must be noted that for reasons of practicality and coherency, the first sixteen bars of the slow movement of the sonata in C major K330 have been used as common ground for the majority of comparisons: these bars form an excellent case study, since the autograph manuscript and first edition are very detailed with regards to articulation, dynamics and embellishments. Therefore, by employing the same draw as common reference, it is much easier to extract comparative conclusions regarding the editorial attributes of each nineteenth-century edition examined.

The comparisons will in turn be linked with the nineteenth-century editions examined in the first part of this case study, but also with primary sources examined in Chapter Three. Where possible, certain conclusions regarding these historical editions, their textual interpretation, the sources they relied on and their possible interrelationship with other nineteenth-century editions will be drawn. Table 6.C, presented below, indicates the chronological relationship between editions examined in the first and second part of the case study:

[115] For a definition of the distinction made between historical and historically aware editions, see the Introduction to this chapter.
[116] Detailed discussion and references of these editions are presented further on.

TABLE 6.C: Other 19th-century historical editions of Mozart's Piano Sonatas

CASE STUDY – PART I	CASE STUDY - PART II
Early Editions	**Early Editions**
Œuvres Complettes de Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, cahiers I and III, Fantasia and Sonata K475/457 in cahier VI (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1799).	*Œuvres de Mozart au Magasin de l'imprimerie chimique J. R. priv sur le Graben* (Vienna: before 1810)
La Fantaisie et Sonate pour le Piano-forte de W. A. Mozart, Edition faite d' après le Manuscrit Original de l' auteur (Offenbach: J. André, 1801).	*Collection Complette des Œuvres de Piano par W. A. Mozart* (Paris: Pleyel, c. 1795-1824).
Later Editions	**Later Editions**
	Hallberger's Pracht-Ausgabe der Classiker Beethoven, Clementi, Haydn, Mozart, in ihren Werken für das Pianoforte allein / Neu herausgegeben mit Bezeichnung des Zeitmasses und Fingersatzes von I. Moscheles / Professor am Conservatorium in Leipzig (Stuttgart: Eduard Hallberger, c. 1858)
Mozart's Sämtliche Werke – Kritisch Durchgesehene Gesamtausgabe (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1877 – 1883)	*Nouvelle Editions des Œuvres de Mozart*, Cahiers 1 and 3. (Paris: Lavignée, c. 1854-1863).
W. A. Mozart, *Sonaten und Phantasien für Klavier. Akademische Ausgabe*, Ed. by Ernst Rudorff, (*Urtext* edition, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1895)	*Le trésor des pianistes / 17ème volume: XVIIIè siecle, 2è periode / W. Amédée Mozart / 16 Sonates et une Romance*, ed. by Aristide and Louise Farrenc (Paris: Prillip, 1869).

Early editions (1792 – 1830)

Edition 1:
Œuvres de Mozart au Magasin de l'imprimerie chimique J. R. priv sur le Graben (Vienna: before 1810)
VIII Sonates pour le Piano forte seul, No. 612; PN 54, 108 pages, RISM 7372
VII Sonates pour le Piano forte seul, No. 612, PN 55, 99 pages, RISM 7374

Close study of this edition indicates that it may have been based on the first editions of Mozart's sonatas, particularly on those published by Hoffmeister, who eventually sold his firm to the *Magasin de l'imprimerie chimique* (also known as *Chemische Druckerei*) in 1806.[117] This is a quite plausible assumption, also supported by the fact that this edition employs separate dynamic marks for each stave, similarly to Hoffmeister's first editions.[118]

A relation to the *Œuvres Complettes* is also possible, since closer comparison of the two editions reveals many similarities, not only regarding the employment of separate dynamics for each stave, but also regarding articulation marks that are not present in the first editions by Hoffmeister. Moreover, the pagination of the third movements of K330 and K284 as well as of the second and final movements (excluding minor shifts in the last two pages) of K333 is identical between the *Œuvres Complettes* and the *Chemische Druckerei* edition, which may in fact indicate that the former may also have been a source of reference for the latter. In fact, Sonata K284 and the outer movements of K330 only display a very limited number of divergences between the two sources, which mostly concern omissions and displacements of dynamics rather than additions.[119] On the other hand, extensive additions as well as displacements of dynamics (such as *crescendo* and *diminuendo* hairpins, *forzandi* and *fortepiano* marks) are observed in the *Chemische Druckerei* print, particularly in the slow movement of K330, and most especially throughout K333.

The following example indicates (a) the separate sets of dynamics for each hand employed by the *Chemische Druckerei* in the second movement of K330, (b) the addition of a large number of dynamic marks, especially of *crescendo* and

[117] See also Irene Lawford-Hinrichsen, *Music Publishing and Patronage: C. F. Peters: 1800 to the Holocaust* (Kenton, Middlesex: Edition Press, 2000), pp. 3–7.
[118] It must be noted that none of the editions presented here preserves Mozart's particular notation of dynamics (such as *for:*, *pia:* etc.), nor the use of the soprano clef in the right hand. See also *Appendix*.
[119] See *Appendix*.

diminuendo hairpins, (c) the omission of certain slurs, such as the right-hand slur in the opening bar, (d) the identical pagination and almost identical articulation marks between the *Chemische Druckerei* edition and the *Œuvres Complettes*, and (e) the similar rendition of the turn sign (bar 1) between the *Œuvres Complettes* and the *Chemische Druckerei*, with an added natural cancelling out the B flat in the latter.

EXAMPLE 6.J: Sonata in C major K330, 2nd Movement, Bars: 1-16

Autograph Manuscript



First Edition



Œuvres Complettes



Chemische Druckerei



Edition 2:

Collection Complette des Œuvres de Piano par W. A. Mozart
(Paris: Pleyel, c. 1795-1824).

Issued shortly after Breitkopf & Härtel's *Œuvres Complettes*, this series of Mozart editions issued by Pleyel largely follows the same grouping of works in the first nine *Cahiers* of the *Œuvres Complettes* ,[120] while the text too seems to have been largely based on the latter. Apart from the identical grouping, Pleyel's edition also features articulation that is closely similar to that of the *Œuvres Complettes*, a few rare divergences aside (such as the addition/omission of wedges).

With respect to the indication of dynamics, Pleyel's edition again reproduces those of the *Œuvres Complettes*, enriching them by adding intervening marks of gradation of tone (*crescendo* and *diminuendo*), some sporadic *f* and *p*, and regular replacements of *f* and *p* with *ff* and *pp* respectively.

The most important divergence in the edition, however, concerns the treatment of embellishments: appoggiaturas, trills, crushed notes and turns have either been added to or omitted from all of the sonatas in Pleyel's edition. Characteristic instances appear in the first movement of K333 (bar 131), in the second movement of K284 and most especially in the third movement of K330 (bars 2, 10, 107 and 153).

The following example allows us to extract a series of interesting observations: (a) the Pleyel edition is the only one which employs separate dynamic marks for each stave, similar to Mozart's notation, (b) the slurring and articulation of Pleyel is identical to that of the *Œuvres Complettes*, with the exception of the right-hand slurring of bars 11-12, (c) the Pleyel edition contains a large number of additional dynamic marks (*crescendo/diminuendo* hairpins, added *sforzandi* often followed by an immediate *p* etc) and (d) the Pleyel edition follows the notation of the *Œuvres Complettes* regarding the opening turn, using the turn sign and the sign of a natural that cancels out the B flat, while the first edition and the autograph manuscript present a written-out version of the ornament:

[120] The piano sonatas are in Cahiers I and III of the *Œuvres Complettes*, apart from the *Fantasia and Sonata in C minor*, K475/457, that are part of Cahier VI.

EXAMPLE 6.K: Sonata in C major K330, 2nd Movement, Bars: 1-16

Autograph Manuscript



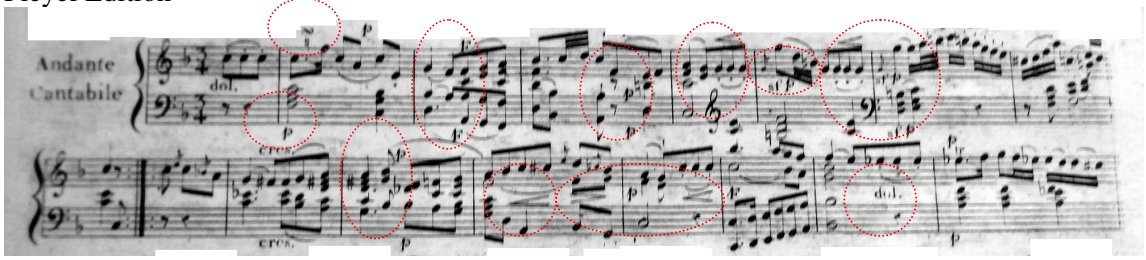
First Edition



Œuvres Complettes



Pleyel Edition



Later Editions (Mid-19th-century onwards)

Edition 1:

Pracht-Ausgabe der Classiker Beethoven, Clementi, Haydn, Mozart, in ihren Werken für das Pianoforte allein / Neu herausgegeben mit Bezeichnung des Zeitmasses und Fingersatzes von I. Moscheles / Professor am Conservatorium in Leipzig
(Stuttgart: Eduard Hallberger, c. 1858) [121]

Very little is known about this mid-century edition, which includes most of Mozart's piano sonatas. The title *Neu herausgegeben mit Bezeichnung des Zeitmasses und Fingersatzes von I. Moscheles* is in itself confusing as to whether Moscheles re-edited the sonatas or just added the tempo indications and fingerings to a pre-existing edition that was re-issued and labelled as 'new'.

Despite its partly instructional character, the possibility that Moscheles – one of the leading figures of the nineteenth century's historical movement – contributed more to this edition than just the fingerings, renders this an important source of information: for, Moscheles, in contrast with Barth's mere description of him as a performer who regarded Mozart's style as 'simply out of date',[122] in fact stands as a pianist and a pedagogue that was greatly concerned with stylistic propriety in performance, often going as far as to use restored harpsichords for his performances.[123] Thus, if Moscheles provided more than the fingerings for this edition, then his treatment of the text might represent a rendering of a mid-nineteenth-century historical performance on the modern piano. In any case, apart from the fingerings, the edition includes metronome indications, additions or displacements of dynamic markings, accentuations, changes in slurring, additional performance directions (such as 'tenuto' and 'espressivo') and occasional pedalling indications (usually 'smoothing out' the occurrences of the *Alberti* bass).

[121] The edition was reprinted several times by the end of the century both in Europe and in North America. Interestingly, a Boston edition by White, Smith & Co (c. 1874) advertised as inclusive of Moscheles' fingerings, omits certain textual details of the c. 1858 Hallberger Edition, such as those of articulation, dynamics and the pedalling. Under that light, it may be that the Boston edition wished to restore Mozart's original markings, or that in the Hallberger Edition too, Moscheles' contribution was only limited to the provision of fingerings, as is perhaps suggested by its ambiguous title.

[122] George Barth, 'Mozart Performance in the 19th Century' in *Early Music*, Vol.19, No. 4 (Nov. 1991), pp. 538-555, p. 546.

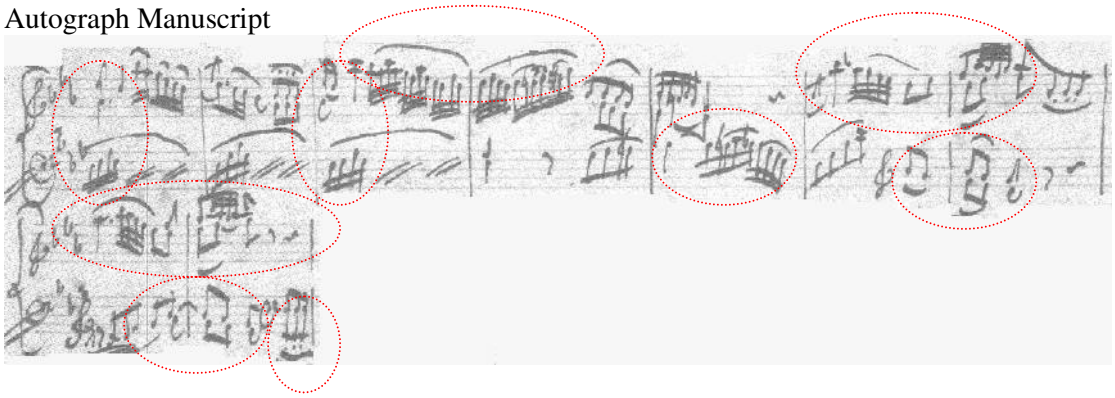
[123] See also relevant discussion in Chapter Five and David Rowland, *Early Keyboard Instruments: A practical guide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), esp. pp. 4-6.

In the following example, this time extracted from the second movement of Mozart's K333, the Hallberger edition has excluded one of the two occurrences of *sf-p* (bar 59), which appears in the first edition of the sonata and is then taken up by the *Œuvres Complettes*. Interestingly, Hallberger's edition preserves the second occurrence of the *sf-p*, this time shifting the *sf* a quaver later, so that the accent falls on the top C crotchet note, creating an off-beat accent that emphasizes the beginning of the quick descending pattern that follows. Additionally, the Hallberger edition employs *crescendo* hairpins and pedalling indications.

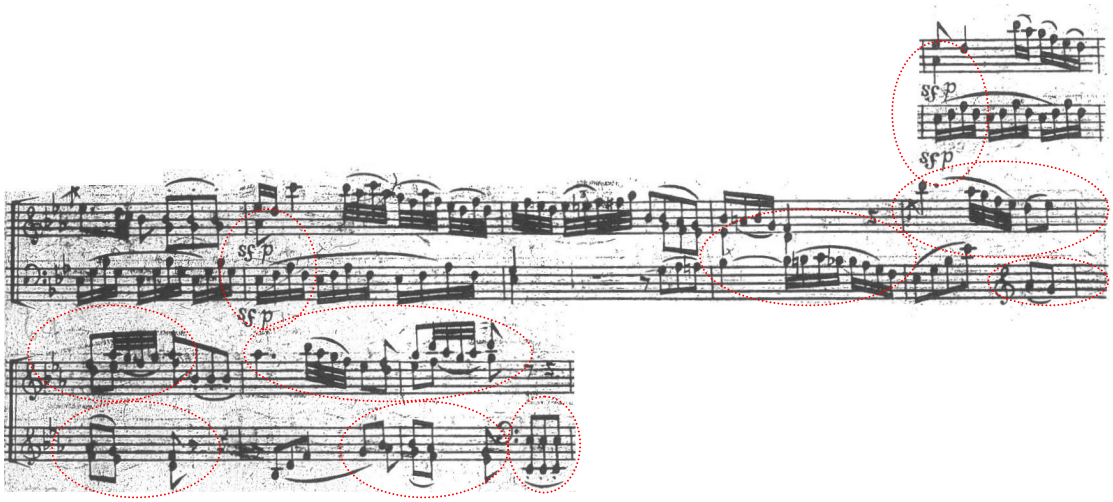
As far as articulation is concerned, it is interesting to note that the slurring of the Hallberger edition is much closer to the autograph manuscript's slurring than any of the other editions that preceded it: Mozart's long slurs (such as those in the right-hand part in bars 61-62, 64 and 66) were not preserved in neither the first edition nor in the *Œuvres Complettes*, but are reproduced with admirable accuracy in the Hallberger edition.

EXAMPLE 6.L: Sonata in B flat major K333, 2nd Movement, Bars: 59-67

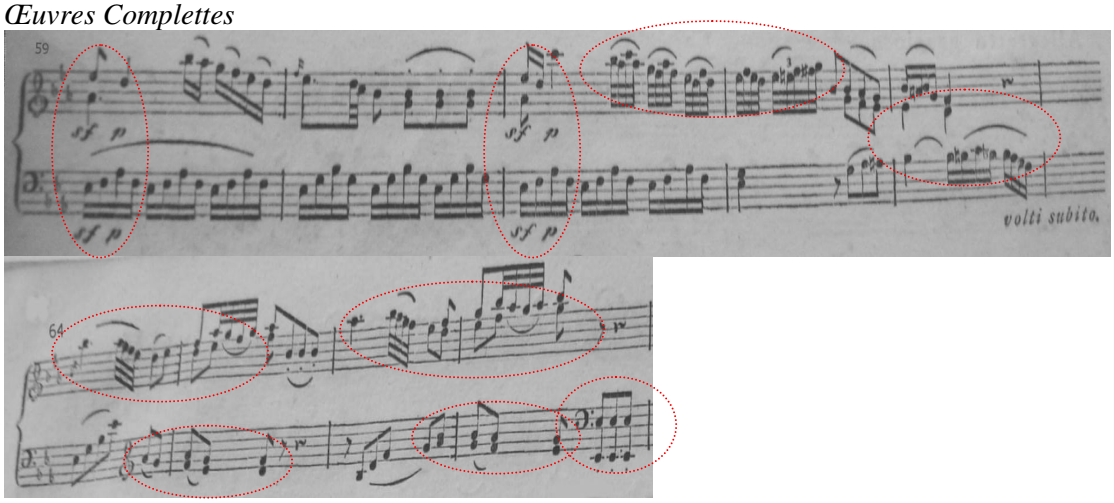
Autograph Manuscript



First Edition



Œuvres Complettes



Hallberger Edition



Edition 2:

Nouvelle Editions des Œuvres de Mozart, Cahiers 1 and 3.
(Paris: Lavignée, c. 1854-1863).

The edition, part of the archives of *Bibltiotheca Mozartiana*, was undated. However, through extensive research I have succeeded in establishing an approximate dating, based on the following evidence: stated on the cover of this edition is the address of the publisher: *46, rue Notre-Dame-des-Victoires, Paris*. According to the *Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique français*,[124] Lavignée's publishing enterprise was housed at this address only between 1854 and 1863. Thus, this edition can be at least approximately dated as produced sometime within that decade.

A juxtaposition of this edition with the *Œuvres Complettes* and with other early-nineteenth-century editions indicates a strong connection between this *Nouvelle edition* and Pleyel's edition. This means that, either both the Pleyel and the Lavignée editions consulted the same or a similar source for the preparation of their text, (possibly the *Œuvres Complettes*),[125] or that the editor of Lavignée consulted the text of Pleyel's edition. The latter hypothesis is supported by the common employment of separate dynamic markings for each stave and the coinciding divergences (compared to the reading of the *Œuvres Complettes*) in the omission and addition of dynamic marks in both Pleyel and Lavignée. Furthermore, the Lavignée edition also employs Pleyel's treatment of embellishments in a large number of instances – a treatment that stands out as one of the particularities shared by both editions.

The following example presents just one of a series of evidence in support of the relationship between the editions of Pleyel and Lavignée. Here, Lavignée (a) incorporates a series of dynamics also found in the Pleyel edition (though considerably fewer than those appearing in Pleyel), such as added *sf – p* and *crescendo / diminuendo* hairpins, (b) presents separate dynamic marks for each stave, as does Pleyel, (c) illustrates the opening turn in the same manner and (d) uses the same phrasing as Pleyel in bars 11-12, contrary to that of the *Œuvres Complettes*:

[124] Anik Devriès and François Lesure, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique français Vol. II, De 1820 à 1914* (Genève: Minkoff, 1988), p. 262.
[125] See also the discussion of the Pleyel edition and its possible reliance on the *Œuvres Complettes,* presented earlier on in the case study.

EXAMPLE 6.M: Sonata in C major K330, 2nd Movement, Bars: 1-16

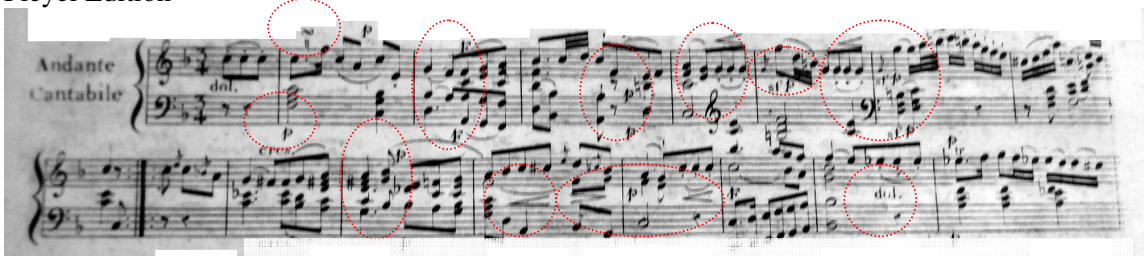
First Edition



Œuvres Complettes



Pleyel Edition



Lavignée



Edition 3:

Le trésor des pianistes / 17ème volume: XVIIIè siecle, 2è periode / W. Amédée Mozart / 16 Sonates et une Romance (Paris: Prillip, 1869).

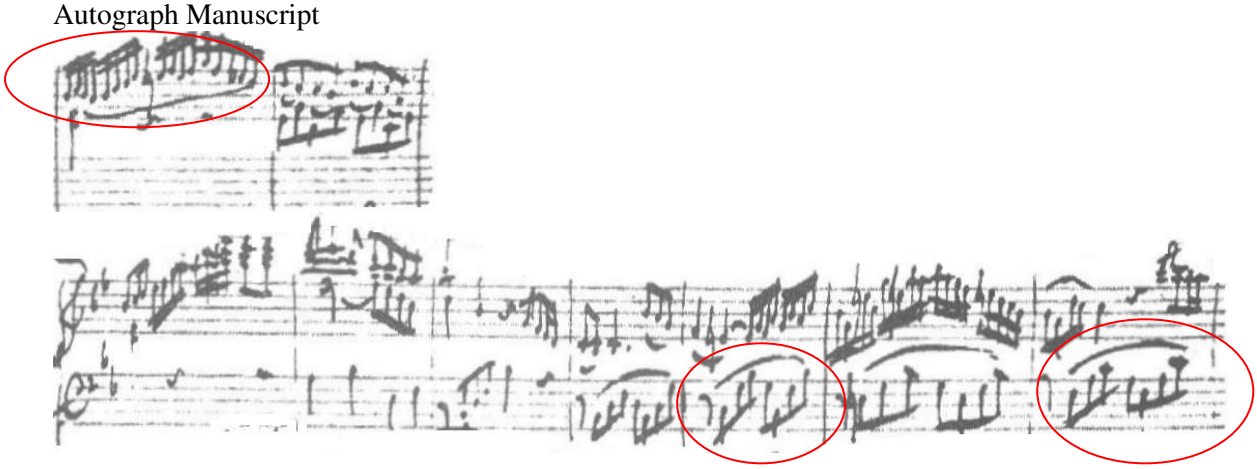
As previously discussed in this chapter, this monumental edition, prepared by Aristide and Louise Dumont-Farrenc, stands as one of the most representative editions of the nineteenth-century's 'early music movement'. Overall, the edition claimed to have been prepared after meticulous research into sources and styles of performance, in an attempt to come closer to the original performance practices prevailing during the composition of each work, so that it would provide relevant instruction to nineteenth-century performers.

However, despite the edition's claim to 'historical authenticity', its binary function as both scholarly and instructional 'allowed' for the integration of a number of additional performance directions, such as gradation of tone hairpins and dynamic marks (that are again merged into one mark between the two staves), as well as for certain lengthened articulation marks and continuations of slurring patterns (which are only occasionally included in the *Œuvres Complettes*). At the same time, other aspects of Mozart's original articulation (such as dots and wedges) and embellishments were restored according to his autographs.

The following extract from the first movement of the Sonata in B flat major K333 presents a set of interesting observations regarding dynamics and articulation: while the first edition and the *Œuvres Complettes* are bare of dynamic marks, just as the autograph manuscript, they nevertheless present a few inconsistencies regarding the slurring of passagework and of the left-hand arpeggiations. On the contrary, the slurring of *Le trésor des pianistes* is much closer to the autograph manuscript than that of the first edition or the *Œuvres Complettes*, indicating that the editors of the former may have consulted a manuscript copy or early edition of the sonata, instead of relying on other early-nineteenth-century editions. However, *Le trésor des pianistes* includes a series of additional dynamic marks, such as *crescendo / diminuendo* hairpins (bars 9 and 14), as well as a *f* and a *p* sign (bars 10 and 11 respectively):

EXAMPLE 6.N: Sonata in B flat major K333, 1st Movement, Bars: 6-14

Autograph Manuscript



First Edition



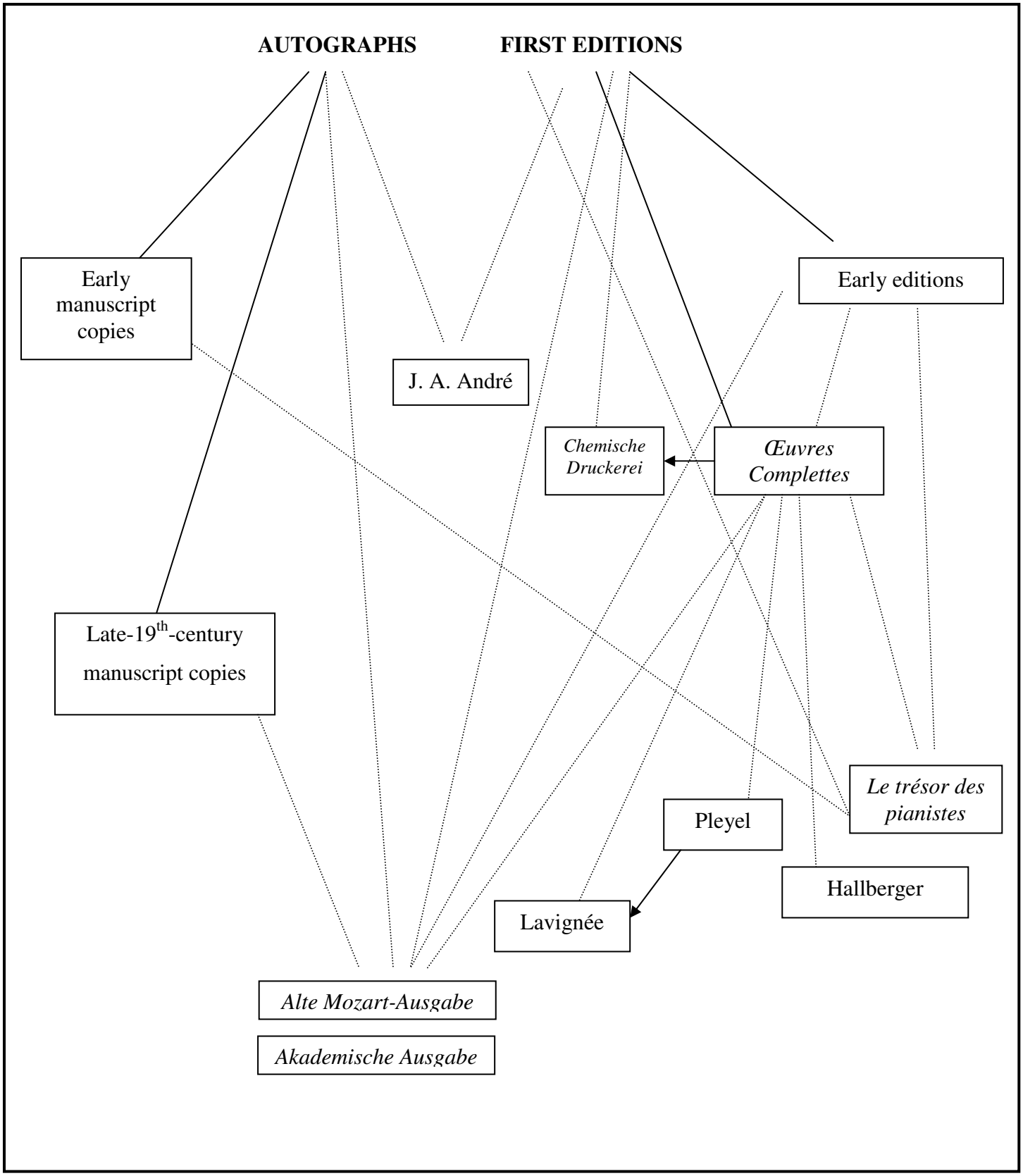
Œuvres Complettes



Le trésor des pianistes



<u>TABLE 6.D</u>: Overview of possible stemmatic relationships amongst sources



Conclusions

The detailed study of nineteenth-century historical editions and their comparison with primary sources and with other, historically aware nineteenth-century editions, has brought to light intriguing connections and stemmatic relationships in the textual evolution of Mozart's edited piano sonatas (See Table 6.D on previous page).

Most importantly, it has been established that the majority of nineteenth-century editions published prior to the *Alte Mozart-Ausgabe* relied, to a great extent, on Breitkopf and Härtel's early edition, the so-called *Œuvres Complettes*, which in turn adopts the readings of first and early editions of Mozart's sonatas rather than those of the autograph manuscripts. In fact, even the reputed *Akademische Ausgabe*, published in 1895, relied quite extensively on the *Œuvres Complettes*. Most nineteenth-century editions examined as part of the case study feature important similarities with the *Œuvres Complettes*, also introducing interpretational discrepancies of their own, most particularly with regards to slurring, articulation, dynamics and the representation of embellishments.

Other similarities can be categorized to a certain extent according to the originating region (for instance, French editions appear very similar to each other), but most importantly according to the time of their appearance: more specifically, editions produced during the first four decades following Mozart's death, though incorporating additional performance elements, nevertheless appear stylistically closer to late-eighteenth-century performance practice than the editions produced from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. In other words, it can be said that, while early-nineteenth-century editions did introduce discrepancies that were later reproduced by subsequent editions, their chronological proximity to the composition of the works in question apparently meant that limited editorial intervention was applied in the preparation of their text. This can account for the fact that no editor's name is mentioned in any of these editions.

On the contrary, editorial intervention becomes increasingly apparent in historical and historically aware editions dating from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, signalled

by the introduction of longer slurs and the dislocation or change of other articulation and dynamic marks, the creation of more intense dynamic contrasts through the use of accents and *sforzandi*, as well as other suggestions regarding a more 'appropriate' interpretation of the music according to the capabilities of the new keyboard instruments (such as the increase of pitch- and dynamic-range and, more rarely, the addition of pedalling, as in the case of the Hallberger / Moscheles edition).

Of course, compared to their non-historical counterparts – the so-called 'performance' editions – these late-nineteenth-century historical / historically aware editions nevertheless offered a text that was much less construed, though not as 'pure' as the *Urtext* idealists perceived it to be: what is important to note is that most of these minor or major editorial interventions found in the nineteenth-century editions examined – with the occasional exceptions found in the *Alte Mozart-Ausgabe* and the *Akademische Ausgabe* – more often than not went unacknowledged.

One of the most important conclusions extracted from this case study has to do with our critical perspective of these nineteenth-century sources: though their texts prove far less reliable than those of autograph manuscripts and first/early editions, and therefore cannot serve as source materials for the preparation of an edition today, these nineteenth-century historical editions nevertheless provide us with invaluable information regarding *historically aware performance* in the nineteenth century. In other words, these nineteenth-century printed sources of Mozart's piano sonatas should be understood as representing in themselves the written-out version of nineteenth-century historical performances and, as such, the information contained within these editions should be further explored and evaluated from the standpoint of performance studies and appreciated as part of the documented evolution of historical editing and performance.

– CHAPTER VII –

Twentieth-Century Music Publishing

STRUCTURE:

- Introduction
- Advances in printing and publishing
- The impact of musicology
- The establishment of *Urtext Editions*
- Conclusions

Introduction

In this chapter, the theoretical framework of the scholarly editing of early music, which was initiated in the late-nineteenth century and further developed during the twentieth century, will be explored: The evolution of musicology, along with the increased availability of sources, and the greatly improved printing and publishing technology, all contributed towards setting the appropriate prerequisites for the application of scholarly editing, liberating it from the former technical limitations imposed on the process. However, despite the substantial advances in the production process, the editorial task was not without its difficulties. According to Caldwell's and Grier's analytical discussions of twentieth-century editing,[1] the aim when producing an edition in the twentieth century was mainly to provide a 'complete' and 'free-from-error' text, which would be easy to read and play. The task consisted of deciding what exactly constitutes the 'will' and 'intention' of the composer, based on what the latter set down in written form. This aim alone is enough for someone to realize just how problematical such a task can be, not only from the point of view of defining 'will' and 'intention', but also concerning the process of setting down a more or less definitive version of a text, that would also have to be adjusted – transcribed, so to speak, into modern notation.

Considering the difficulties arising from this set of editorial guidelines, to what extent were they actually applied in the twentieth century, and most specifically in the editing of Mozart's piano sonatas? Moreover, to what extend did the commercial aspects of publishing affect the quality of editorial work, the published product and the purported characteristics of twentieth-century editions? Did other financial considerations, such as issues of volume size, limit the editors' quality of work or the edition's quality of presentation? How did the rise of musicology affect the editing of music? Which other factors affected the editing and the presentation of twentieth-century music publications and in what ways? These important questions will be further explored within the current chapter.

[1] The description of the editorial process presented here is largely based on the information provided by John Caldwell, *Editing Early Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995) and James Grier, *The critical editing of music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Advances in printing and publishing

It wasn't until the first decades of the twentieth century that photography was extensively applied in the process of music reproduction: even though the method existed from as early as 1852,[2] its difficult and often hazardous process meant that its use was limited mainly to the reproduction of illustrations, graphic designs, as well as for the reproduction of coloured book covers and, most importantly, of music facsimiles for the study of ancient notation. As Immel has noted, such publications were usually produced by societies which 'tended to focus their interests on major composers such as Bach, Handel, Mozart and Brahms, or on the study of specific topics such as liturgy, medieval music & literature',[3] the first notable examples being the *Sacred Harmonic Society*'s complete facsimile edition of Handel's original manuscripts of the *Messiah*,[4] and Schubert's *Erlkönig*.[5] The production of facsimile editions reached its 'golden age' in the first half of the twentieth century, with more than fifty such publications produced by leading scholars, and gradually moving from 'luxury' editions for the few, to editions of a more practical nature.

Not surprisingly, the photographic process was eventually extended to accommodate the publishing of music, opening up tremendous opportunities for development, despite the difficulties in the transfer of the negative photographic image onto stone or zinc plates: traditional practices were now adapted to ordinary paper, and the music was notated from left to right with ordinary pens and stamps of symbols, simplifying the copyist's work considerably.[6] The process, widely used in France in the 1920s, later spread to England and the Netherlands. Also in the 1920s, a process devised by the music engravers Harold and Stanley Smith was developed and applied worldwide until the very end of the twentieth century.[7] The process entailed the creation of

[2] See also 'Printing: 19th-century innovations' in *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online*, at www.britannica.com, accessed 19 October 2009.
[3] Steven C. Immel, 'Facsimile edition' in *Grove Music Online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com, accessed 19 October 2009.
[4] London: Vincent Brooks, Day and Son, 1868.
[5] Produced by Wilhelm Müller (Berlin: Photo-Lithographisches Institut der Gebrüder Buchard, 1868).
[6] A detailed description of the process is provided in Stanley Boorman, Eleanor Selfridge-Field and Donald W. Krummel 'Printing and Publishing of Music' in *Grove Music Online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com, accessed 19 October 2009.
[7] A detailed description of the process in provided in Ted Ross, *Teach yourself the Art for Music Engraving and Processing: A complete manual, reference and text book on preparing music for reproduction and print* (Miami: Hansen, 1987), pp. 36-37.

detailed pages four times larger than the desired size, which were then reduced photographically and reproduced. Along with these technical advances, the first half of the twentieth century saw the replacement of the traditional preliminary stencil procedure with the application of dry transfer, while the final procedure of printing from zinc plates has been retained in many instances up until today.[8] In the years following the end of World War II, the publishing industry also saluted the appearance of the first commercial music typewriters (descendants of Keaton's invention for small-scale use) which became popular worldwide during the next four decades.[9]

Despite the growing variety of printing processes available which, at least for the most part, were able to accommodate the expanding notational conventions employed by twentieth-century composers,[10] the ultimate breakthrough in music publishing was to a great extent linked with the introduction of computer technology in the early 1960s for the input of musical scores, and of plotters for their output.[11] Starting with compact and ergonomic programs such as the CMN editor,[12] DARMS,[13] SMUT[14] and SCORE,[15] the development of increasingly flexible software for the production of music notation has since developed considerably, along with the increase in the capacity, the capability and the speed of desktop computers and peripheral hardware.[16] Starting with symbolic encoding, notational input methods gradually

[8] See also Luis Nadeu, *Encyclopaedia of Printing, Photographic, and Photomechanical processes: A comprehensive reference to reproduction technologies* (Brussels: Atelier L. Nadeu, 1994).
[9] A detailed description of music typewriters and other processes, along with illustrations, are available at *The History of Music Printing: An online museum of music printing* at www.musicprintinghistory.org, accessed 22 October 2009.
[10] One of the most comprehensive books on twentieth-century notation is by Kurt Stone, *Music Notation in the Twentieth Century: A practical guidebook* (New York: Norton, 1980).
[11] An extensive account of the introduction of computerized music printing and publishing is presented in Curtis Roads, *The Computer Music Tutorial* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996), esp. pp. 713 ff.
[12] Acronym for 'Common Music Notation Editors'. These software applications are similar to text editors (featuring tools such as 'Copy', 'Paste', 'Cut' and so forth). A detailed description is provided in Roads, *The Computer Music Tutorial*, pp. 708-712.
[13] Acronym for 'Digital Alternate Representation of Musical Scores', which was developed for writing music with an ordinary computer keyboard. The initial design was created by Stefan Bauer-Mengelberg in 1963. An analytical record of the development of DARMS is provided in Eleanor Selfridge-Field, *Beyond Midi: The handbook of musical codes* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1997).
[14] Acronym for 'System for Music Translation', developed by Byrd in 1977 at the University of Indiana. See Curtis Roads (ed.), *The Music Machine: Selected Readings from Computer Music Journal* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1992), p. 237.
[15] More on SCORE at www.scoremus.com, accessed 22 October 2009.
[16] Ibid. esp. pp.713-715.

moved on to the employment of MIDI equipment,[17] thus simplifying considerably the first step of the process. Similarly, the rapid advances in the creation of printing hardware, ranging from teletype machines to inkjet and laser printers, also rendered the output procedure much easier, faster and cost effective.[18]

Last but not least, the implementation of revisions in the international treaties for copyright legislation of the arts also played a vital part in the flourishing of music publishing: more specifically, the legislation which was implemented since the *Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works*[19] was revised several times throughout the twentieth century, with the most important emendations made in the *Universal Copyright Convention* of Geneva in 1952, in Stockholm in 1967 and in Paris in 1971.[20] The new legislation set out the international authorship and ownership rights which still apply today, thus securing the financial and legal benefits of both the creators' work as well as the publishers' and any other interpreter's product.

All these advances naturally enhanced not only the production but also the editing of music, allowing for emendations or revisions without the previous limitations and inconveniences imposed by engraving and lithography. From a technical point of view, it could be said that editors were for the first time given the opportunity to live up to their contemporary editorial ideals, indicating textual considerations with greater ease, providing variants, distinguishing between different readings and annotations, and so forth – in other words, they were now able to produce editions which would comply with the demands of their contemporary theoretical framework regarding the editing and the presentation of the musical text.

[17] MIDI stands for Musical Instrument Digital Interface, and is essentially a protocol that allows for the transmission of the performance parameters of electronic musical instruments amongst a variety of platforms. An excellent guide to MIDI is provided in Joseph Rothstein, *Midi: A comprehensive Introduction* (Madison, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 1995).

[18] See James Robert Kalmbach, *The Computer and the Page: The Theory, History and Pedagogy of Publishing, Technology and the Classroom* (Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing, 1997), esp. Part Two: 'The Technologies of Publishing', pp. 53-70 and 'The Computerization of Publishing', pp. 71-84.

[19] Berne, Switzerland (1886). See also section 'Functionality and Appearance' in Chapter Five.

[20] The complete legislation is available online by *Cornell University's Law School* at www.law.cornell.edu, accessed 26 October 2009.

The impact of musicology

> It is important for 'early' musicians to remember that we can never be the past; the significance of what we do depends on the fact that performing is present-tense – although much of our repertoire carries its past with it like DNA to be ferreted out and acknowledged. Thirty years ago the buzz words of people doing this ferreting were 'authentic', 'original instruments', 'as-Bach-would-have-heard-it', and so on. Then Andrew Porter devised HIP ('Historically Informed Performance') as a more useful terminology that opened such pursuits to all musicians with a sympathetic mind-set, not simply the 'antiquarians' (of whom I was one!). Some people, misunderstanding the problem, asked why we did not dress in original costumes; one famous conductor even insinuated that we must prefer seventeenth-century plumbing and sanitation. But HIP is not a charade, it is always a modern event that calls for your curiosity and constant questioning.[21]

The rise of musicology and academic research in the twentieth century naturally affected every aspect of classical music-making – editing and publishing included – while the discussion and analysis of musical works also became established as a new and important element of performance practice. The 'science of music', first defined by Guido Adler in 1885[22] and further discussed in his *Methode der Musikgesichte* in 1919, was described as consisting of the historical field (historiography, canonization) and the systematic field (analysis, harmony, theory),[23] developing into a full-fledged discipline and gradually shifting towards new methods and repertories. New subjects were introduced to the discipline of musicology in the late 1950s, while the so-called 'New Musicology' sprang out three decades later, promoting a highly critical and self-reflective form of scholarship.[24]

As the opening extract indicates, one of the most important musicological debates of the twentieth century was concerned with the continuing implications of the nineteenth century's 'early-music movement', also known as the 'authenticity movement'. Whereas the increasingly self-reflective criticism regarding the limitations in the accurate reproduction – or, rather, the translation – of early music notation led to the movement's more appropriate renaming as 'historically informed',

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[21] John Robert Brown, 'Urtext Editions' in *Sheet Music Review* (Mar/Apr 2007), available online at www.sheetmusicreview.com, accessed 12 July 2010.
[22] Guido Adler, 'Umfang, Methode und Ziel der Musikwissenschaft' in *Viereljahrsschrift fürr Musikwissenschaft*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1885).
[23] Guido Adler, *Methode der Musikgesichte* (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1919).
[24] See also David Beard and Kenneth Gloag, *Musicology: the key concepts – Routledge Key Guides* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2005), esp. 'Introduction'.

authenticity nevertheless remained a key concern: the movement's aim was always to reconstruct as closely as possible the original experience in performances of early works, through in-depth investigation and reproduction of all determining factors: instrument-making, performing style and techniques, the context and framework of each composition, the textual representation of the work and so forth.[25]

Gradually, the idea of reproducing a historical experience proved extremely problematic for several reasons, having to do not only with the practical difficulties in recreating musical styles of the past, but also with issues of contemporary reception.[26] More specifically, it was doubtful that even an exact reproduction of all relevant parameters in performance would lead to a reproduction of the audience's experience, since the audience has been conditioned with contemporary ideas and performance practice, and thus receives performances always within the context of the present.[27] Yet, despite the fact that the problems in reproducing 'authentic' performances remained unresolved, the ongoing debate concerning 'historically informed performance' nevertheless proved fruitful, for it led scholars to investigate, question and revise their views and to challenge important issues concerning source studies, performance practice and the reception of music.

Naturally, a major concern of twentieth-century performers who wished to comply with the 'historically informed movement' and of musicologists alike, was related to the ideal of the *werktreue*, its meaning, its nature and the perspectives of its realization.[28] While the idea of 'being true to the work' had existed since the beginning of the nineteenth century in the writings of E. T. A. Hoffmann and in the

[25] An extensive introduction to the 'authentic/historically informed movement' is provided in Nicholas Kenyon (ed.), *Authenticity and Early Music* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1988). Also valuable as sources of information and criticism are Colin Lawson's and Robin Stowell's *The Historical Performance of Music – An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) and John Butt's *Playing with History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). One of the most thorough discussions of the topic is provided in Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

[26] See Elisabeth Mackinlay, Denis Collins and Samantha Owens (eds.), *Aesthetics and experience in music performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2005), esp. section 'The role and value of early music research, written documents and iconographical sources', pp. 52-53.

[27] Taruskin, *Text and Act*.

[28] See also Chapter One of this thesis titled 'In Search of the *Werktreue*: The ever-changing text' and Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum*, esp. Chapter 9, '*Werktreue*: Confirmation and Challenge in Contemporary Movements', pp. 243-286.

first efforts towards 'authentic' performances and editions,[29] it acquired the utmost importance in the twentieth century, mainly through philosophical and musicological discussions.[30] The aspiration in performance practice to serve the 'truth' was, more often than not, thought to reside mainly within the text: therefore, one of the most important challenges set forth in the ongoing revival of early music from the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, was inevitably intertwined with the reconstruction of the text.[31] More than anyone, performers aspiring to produce 'authentic' performances craved for texts that would be 'free from editorial emendation', so that when the first *Urtext Editions* became commercially available after their first appearance in the late 1890s, they were immediately regarded by most performers as the solution to this problem and trusted as complete, self-sufficient and incontestable. But, while in terms of linguistics, *urtext* denoted

> the earliest form of a text as established by linguistic scholars as a basis for variants in later texts still in existence, [32]

the corresponding meaning for the word with respect to music was considerably different, meaning not the earliest form of a text, but in fact

> an edition of a musical score showing the composer's intentions without later editorial interpolation.[33]

By definition, then, the nature of the musical *urtext* was inexact as to which source does in fact represent 'the composer's intentions'. Yet, since the editors of *urtext* scores initially asserted that the edited text represented precisely the content as the composer had written it, their editions seemed to call upon themselves an unspoken trust, requiring an act of credulity. Additionally, the editorial aim to reproduce the text as the composer had written it also presumed a similar trust, this time on the editor's behalf, that the primary source selected as a basis for the preparation of the edition held an unquestionable authority, that everything in that source was to be used

[29] See also Chapter Five of this thesis, and Walter Schenkman, 'Beyond the Limits of Urtext Authority: A Contemporary Record of Early Nineteenth-Century Performance Practice' in *College Music Symposium*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (Fall, 1983), pp. 145-163.
[30] See Lydia Goehr, 'Being True to the Work', in *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Vol. 47, No. 1 (Winter, 1989), pp. 55-67.
[31] See also Bruce Haynes, *The end of early music: A period performer's history of music for the twenty-first century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).
[32] *Collins English Dictionary* (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 2003).
[33] Ibid.

and incorporated in some manner, and that very few things within it were erroneous.[34] Such a view suggests that, at the time, editors either had not acknowledged fully – or for marketing reasons *their publishers* did not wish to acknowledge to the public – that the composer's original text was in itself impossible to reconstruct, and that the existence of more than one primary source would inevitably require for editorial discretion to be exercised. Commenting on this editorial stance, Boorman characteristically stated that the text

> elicits blind trust exactly when belief should be suspended, and is subjected to questioning at many points where investigation is needless, even valueless.[35]

Going on, Boorman noted that

> The trust that the average performer puts in the modern edition, or the average music student puts in the *Urtext*, the average scholar also puts in the autograph or the 'authorized' first edition – and that is equally dangerous.[36]

The extract refers precisely to the problems involved in accepting just one source as authoritative, disregarding alternative versions, authorized first editions and other primary sources that may in fact provide important or perhaps more complete information regarding a particular work and/or its performance. This inability to set down the author's *Fassung letzter Hand* had led Webster in the early 1980s[37] to the conclusion that the score contains 'the truth and nothing but the truth, but not the whole truth'.[38] In hindsight, his assertion reveals that, even though the score was rightfully not accepted as a representation of 'the whole truth', the belief that *everything* within the score *was* 'the truth' still stood.

This 'truth' later became a matter of extensive debate by Taruskin, who also claimed that modern editing relies to a large extent on trust towards the handed-down text.[39]

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[34] Sandra Rosenblum, *Performance Practices in Classic Piano Music: their principles and applications* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), esp. pp. 18 ff. and chapter on 'Historical Technique and fingering'.
[35] Stanley Boorman, 'The Musical Text' in *Rethinking Music*, ed. by Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 403.
[36] Ibid. p. 404.
[37] Referring to James Webster's writings in Jens Larsen, Howard Sewer and James Webster (eds.), *Haydn Studies* (New York and London: Norton, 1981).
[38] *Journal of American Musicological Society*, 34 (1981); pp. 1-18, esp. pp.12-14, cited in Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act*, p. 185.
[39] Richard Taruskin, 'What – or Where – is the Original?' in *Text and Act,* pp. 160 – 162.

An alternative was suggested by John Butt who, discussing the 'anti-historical' concept of restoration and the status of the autonomous and 'timeless artwork', emphasized that some earlier music would be better understood in terms of *event* than *abstract work*, as Plato defined it.[40] Butt also asserted that the performer clearly has duties and responsibilities towards the composer and the work, but that the text should not be privileged above the performer:[41] What the performer has to bring out is the identity of the work, which lies not only within the text, but also within the chronological, cultural and musical context in which the composer lived and, wherever appropriate, within the context/occasion for which the work was intended.

These different goals, along with the variant factors of time, culture and occasion were further emphasized by Grier, in his assertion that, since editing is inevitably a critical act, different editors will produce different editions of the same work.[42] As support to his argument, he mentioned the example of the *Bach-Gesellschaft*,[43] which would not need to be replaced by the *Neue Bach-Ausgabe*, had the variant factors had no impact on editing: illustrating how the editors of the *Neue Bach-Ausgabe* (operating under different social, economic and cultural conditions, and with access to new sources and new information) judged the *Alte Bach-Ausgabe* as inadequate, Grier described editing as an activity towards a constantly 'moving target': with knowledge continually broadening and aesthetic sensibilities changing continuously, each emerging critical perspective inevitably addresses the concerns of its own historical context. Contributing to this argument, Margaret Bent also noted that

> Claims that modern editions represent the original in some authentic way hardly stand the test of time; even our preferred appearance […] has proven subject to just the same swings as our tastes in performance.[44]

Identifying the dilemmas involved in the translation of the text, the late-twentieth century searched for alternatives: since the work cannot be recovered entirely through

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[40] Plato's philosophical ideas and their connection with music are thoroughly discussed in Peter Kivy's *Essays in the Philosophy of Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), particularly in chapter 'Orchestrating Platonism', pp. 75-94.
[41] John Butt, *Playing with History*, esp. chapter 'Historical Performance and 'truth to the work': history and the subversion of Platonism', pp. 53-73.
[42] James Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music*, esp. pp. 2-8.
[43] The *Bach Gesellschaft*, also known as the *Alte Bach Ausgabe*, has been discussed in Chapter V.
[44] Margaret Bent, 'Editing Early Music: The Dilemma of Translation' in *Early Music*, Vol. 22, No. 3 (Aug. 1994), pp. 373-392, p. 373.

the text, why edit the text in the first place? Since editing is principally an act that begins from critically based assumptions and perceptions, and since there always will be differences in editorial orientation, why is the mediation of an editor necessary? As Taruskin has claimed:

> The tacit aim of most editorial guidelines is to build a fence around a text that will exclude the editor's person. My experience is that the only way of achieving this is indiscriminately to photograph and publish all the sources. Otherwise, even the best-intentioned, most puritanical editor will find himself willy-nilly inside the fence, not out. For editing is interpretation. Period.[45]

In other words, if 'the original notation is the only *Urtext*',[46] why don't performers simply refer to film reproductions or facsimile editions of autograph manuscripts? The answer leads full circle back to the very fact that, firstly, in most instances there survives more than one version of the work in manuscript or first edition, and thus, even if performers familiarize themselves with reading and performing from the original sources, the 'best text' method could prove insufficient in reproducing the *work* accurately in performance; secondly, such primary sources were created within an entirely different context, employing notation that has either become obsolete or has acquired a different meaning, and that was performed within an altogether different environment and different performance practices; and thirdly, in case of autograph manuscripts, these are often very difficult to read, most especially by people who have not familiarized themselves with a composer's notational habits.

Tomlinson has responded to the same questions by referring to editing as an attempt to bring out the 'authentic meaning' of a work, which 'is not the meaning that its creators and first audience invested in it. It is instead the meaning that we […] come to believe its creators and audience invested in it.'[47] Consenting to this notion, Carl Dahlhaus remarked that as a text, the work cannot exist independently of the hermeneutic process by which *we attempt* to understand its meaning.[48] According to this approach, editing, as a critical act, provides the user with a contemporary, up-to-

[45] Richard Taruskin*, Text and Act*, p.84.
[46] Bent, 'Editing Early Music', p.382.
[47] Gary Tomlinson, 'The Historian, the Performer, and Authentic Meaning in Music' in *Authenticity and Early Music – A Symposium*, ed. by Nicholas Kenyon (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 115.
[48] Carl Dahlhaus, as quoted in Jean-Jacques Nattiez, *Music and discourse*, trans. Carolyn Abbate (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990), p. 70.

date text and an interpretational translation, which represents 'a set of performance options selected from those available, whereas the original notation is material awaiting realization in performance'.[49] Yet, the most plausible solution to these problems would be, as Butt put it, to understand each surviving source as representing not the work itself but an *event*;[50] or, as Eisen[51] and Irving[52] have suggested more recently, to understand the text as representing not the work but a written down *performance* of it: thus, when a particular source is chosen as 'best text', its performance is closer to reproducing another *performance* rather than the *work* itself.

A further inquiry that arose in the twentieth century was concerned with the role of those involved in the equation between the text and its interpretation: if the work's existence is perceived as the result of the performer's interpretation of the text, a question of authority arises: should the interpreter serve the text, or should the text be submissive to the interpreter's authority? According to Adorno, 'interpretation' can either signify a performance or a critical interpretation.[53] It follows, then, that the editor too should be viewed as an interpreter, and that each edition of the work, far from 'definitive', should also be viewed as an interpretation, be it critical or not.[54] In other words, the ultimate authority must be seen as resting not in the primary sources, but in the interpreters (be they editors, musicologists or performers), whose interpretations must always be acknowledged as personal and subjective.

Yet, from an academic point of view, ultimate authority during the twentieth century was often thought to rest with the musicologist: according to Taruskin,[55] most particularly at the bloom of the 'authentic movement', there was an urge to minimize the spontaneous aspects of performance and, by forcing evidence, to limit the freedom of performers. This restrictive attitude did not only outrank performers, but also composers: ironically, the attempt to fulfil the composer's intentions led to the

[49] Bent, 'Editing Early Music', p. 385.
[50] John Butt, *Playing with History*, pp. 53-73. See also previous pages and Chapter One.
[51] Cliff Eisen, 'The Primacy of performance: text, act and continuo in Mozart's piano concertos' in *Essays on Mozart in Honour of Stanley Sadie* (London: Boydell & Brewer, 2005), pp. 107-120. See also Introduction and Chapter One.
[52] Irving, *Understanding Mozart's Piano Sonatas*.
[53] Theodor Adorno, *Prisms*, trans. Samuel and Sherry Weber (Cambridge, Mass.: Spearman, 1967), p.144.
[54] See also Robin Maconie, *The Science of Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), esp. pp. 84-85.
[55] Richard Taruskin, 'Tradition and Authority' in *Early Music* Vol. 20, No. 1 (1992), pp. 311-326.

exaltation of scores over those who read or wrote them. That is why appeal to intentions did not get very far, for the intentions of earlier composers were not compatible with the fixation of editors on producing a definitive text.[56] As Taruskin claimed,

> 'Sense' is something *we* have to determine, and we seem to be happier hunting down 'intentions' (that is, authority) where sense (that is, judgment) is what is required.[57]

The above statement was important in that it encouraged editors to be critical and to acknowledge that a considerable subjectivity is inevitable; thereon, an edition that acknowledged this inevitability was no longer judged as inferior to a 'definitive text', but rather as more reliable and pragmatic. As Margaret Bent noted, both editors and users of editions ought

> … to recognize as their starting point that all transcription translates; that a transcribed and scored version is no longer the original text; and that the uncomfortable implications of the gap of our hygienic visual tastes in musical notation must be faced.[58]

But what did all these theories mean in practical terms? How did these ideas affect twentieth-century editors of Mozart's music and how did each approach manifest itself in the edited text? Did editors acknowledge the indefiniteness of their text and the fact that their editions were in fact *interpretations* of a work rather than the work itself? For whom did editors edit? What was their expressed goal? How were editions categorized? How was each edition advertised? How important was the marketing value of the '*Urtext*' in the promotional campaigns for music publications? These questions, which are central to the investigation of twentieth-century editions, and to the upcoming case-study of twentieth-century editions of Mozart's piano sonatas, are further explored in the ensuing section.

[56] See also Giles Hooper, *The Discourse of Musicology* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2006), esp. chapter 'Putting things in Context'.
[57] Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act*, p. 86.
[58] Margaret Bent, 'Editing Early Music', p. 390.

The establishment of *Urtext Editions* [59]

> Günter Henle [...] in 1948 [...] decided to found his publishing house with the sole object of presenting musical editions of the great masters that at last offered the correct text, as sanctioned by the composer. In his quest for an appropriate name to convey the distinguishing feature of his editions, Henle lit upon the term urtext – 'original text' – in several earlier critical editions. It soon transpired that Henle's idea of a modern urtext edition was a bold and far-reaching decision that left an indelible mark on the world of music publishing.[60]

As the extract indicates, the term *urtext* as a marketing tool was first introduced after World War II primarily by Henle,[61] whose first edition marketed as *urtext* was one of Mozart's piano sonatas, edited by Walther Lampe.[62] As discussed in the preceding section, Henle's editions came out at a time when the nineteenth-century habit of introducing 'interpretational aids' in editions of older music had been expanded: particularly in editions of keyboard music, far-reaching editorial changes were often made by piano virtuosos such as Liszt,[63] Reger,[64] Busoni,[65] Cortot[66] and Schnabel[67] who adapted earlier compositions to their own stylistic ideas and to contemporary taste. Interestingly, most of these editions were not only acknowledged but also advertised by their publishers as intentionally interpretive.[68] Yet, such heavily edited texts were gradually going out of demand and were increasingly criticized.

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[59] Extensive reference to *Urtext Editions* has already been made in Chapter One of this thesis, titled 'In Search of the *Werktreue*: The ever-changing text'.

[60] Quoted in John Robert Brown, 'Urtext Editions' in *Sheet Music Review* (Mar/Apr 2007), available online at www.sheetmusicreview.com, accessed 12 July 2010.

[61] Though Henle was by no means the only one to capitalize on the term to sell editions. See also James Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music*, p. 11.

[62] W. A. Mozart, *Piano Sonatas*, ed. Walther Lampe. (Munich and London: Henle/Novello, 1948).

[63] Liszt is famous for having transcribed a large number of works by composers such as Bach, Beethoven, Schubert and Berlioz.

[64] On Max Reger's editions, transcriptions and arrangements of Bach's works, see Klaus Ebbeke, 'Max Reger als Bearbeiter Bachscher Werke' in *Musik und Kirche*, Vol. 51 (1981), pp. 121-128.

[65] Most famous for his editions of Bach's works, which spanned over a 30-year period in two collections: the 25-volume *Busoni Ausgabe* (*Joh. Seb. Bach Klavierwerke*) and the *Bach-Busoni Collected Edition* (*Bach-Busoni Gesammelte Ausgabe*), which was first issued in 6 volumes in 1916, and subsequently in 7 volumes in 1920. A small collection of selected excerpts with transcriptions of organ and violin music was also published separately in 1916 as *Sechs Tonstücke* (Six Tone Pieces).

[66] As a student of Émile Descombes (an associate and possibly a student of Frédéric Chopin) and a celebrated piano interpreter of Chopin and Schumann, Cortot made editions of both composers' music. His editions were notable for his meticulous commentary on technical problems and matters of interpretation.

[67] Known for his edition and performances of Beethoven's piano sonatas and concertos.

[68] See Walter Frisch, *German Modernism: Music and the Arts* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), esp. pp. 173 ff.

This is partly why Henle is said to have founded his firm: he had observed that the printing quality and layout of the majority of editions at the time was poor, that the composer's musical text was rarely reproduced accurately, and that it was marred by unnecessary and often incorrect additions from other editors and arrangers.[69] Admittedly, Henle's observations were a fairly accurate description of music editions up to the mid-twentieth century: while in few rare instances the edited text was seemingly bare of editorial additions, in most cases it proved to be nothing more than a close reproduction of the *Alte Mozart Ausgabe*'s unreliable text, as Alfred Einstein observes in a 1947 review of an edition of Mozart's *Serenata Notturna*, K239 (quotation A), and as Kurt Stone remarks about the Peters 1952 edition of Mozart's *Ein Musikalischer Spass* K522 (quotation B):

> A: The edition closely follows the Gesamtausgabe; even the appoggiaturas are not changed, at least not in the score (perhaps in the parts?)[…] But we have to keep in mind that the Gesamtausgabe itself is unreliable in that direction; it would have been advisable to compare the score in the Gesamtausgabe with the autograph in the Paris Conservatoire.[70]
>
> B: The rather battered and old-fashioned look of the music shows that the new score is a reprint of a much older one, apparently the one in the Breitkopf and Härtel *Partitur-Bibliothek* series […] and a closer look shows that the old score was corrected and "doctored" by hand before it was printed.[71]

Thurston Dart's writings, dating from 1954, indicate the proportions that such unacknowledged editorial liberties had attained:

> But it is regrettably difficult to find modern editions of old music in which any distinction is made between the composer's own markings and those that the editor, for one reason or another, has seen fit to add. As a result of this combination of editorial highhandedness and irresponsible publishing most twentieth-century music students are deceived into seeing early music through the eyes of someone quite other than the composer. They buy an edition of the '48' or of Haydn's keyboard sonatas and go to a great deal of trouble to follow the printed tempi, phrasing and dynamics, assuming in all innocence that these markings are those of Bach or Haydn when nine times

[69] See section 'History' in the *Henle Verlag* website, at www.henle.de, accessed 14 July 2010.
[70] Alfred Einstein, 'Review: Serenata Notturna, K239, for Two Small String Orchestras and Timpani by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart; Edvard Fendler' in *Notes*, Second Series, Vol. 4, No. 3 (Jun. 1947), p. 356.
[71] Kurt Stone, 'Review: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. *Ein musikalischer Spass* K522; Schlesinger/Berlin-Lichterfelde: Robert Lienau, New York: Peters Edition, 1952' in *Notes*, Second Series, Vol. 13, No. 4 (Sept/ 1956), p. 691.

> out of ten they are merely those of Herr X or Dr Y, or even of Herr X, emended by Dr Y, and thoroughly revised by the eminent pianist, Mr Z.[72]

One of the most substantial scholarly reactions against prescriptive editions – whether acknowledged as such or not – and towards re-establishing the importance of the 'original' was initiated in the twentieth century by Heinrich Schenker: even though most of his work was concerned with analyzing works and proving fundamental principles of musical composition, he did so by placing the greatest emphasis on primary sources, such as autographs and first and early editions, and by using them as the basis for editing the works anew.[73] Besides producing several carefully prepared editions – such as those of Beethoven's piano sonatas – his work also included countless papers discussing errors in performances and mistakes in other editions.[74] Yet, even Schenker, who held strong polemical views against editorial emendations, believing that a definitive *urtext* was attainable, in his edition of J. S. Bach's BWV 903[75] maintained several articulation and dynamic markings of dubious authenticity, originating from the *Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe* of 1890,[76] accompanying them with extensive annotations.[77]

Ultimately, the 'new' preoccupation with accuracy in score and in performance was what led to the wide popularity of *Urtext Editions* amongst mid-twentieth-century scholars and performers, who were reacting against heavily edited printed texts: influenced by the concept of musicology as science and performance as reproduction, and aiming to produce performances according to the modernist aesthetic (which prescribed a less personal style of interpretation), performers requested scores free of extraneous expressive and interpretative markings.[78] Scholars too, originally saw the

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[72] Thurston Dart, *The Interpretation of Music* (London and New York: Hutchinson, 1954), p. 17.

[73] For an extensive discussion of Schenker's analytical work, refer to Allen Forte, *Readings in Schenker Analysis and Other Approaches* (London: Yale University Press, 1977). More general information concerning Schenker's ideological background and the context of his approach can also be found in William Pastille, 'Music and Morphology: Goethe's Influence on Schenker's Thought' in *Schenker Studies*, ed. by H. Siegel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) and in Ruth Solie, 'The Living Work: Organism and Musical Analysis' in *Nineteenth Century Music* 4/2 (1980).

[74] More on Schenker's work available from Columbia University's project *Schenker's Documents Online*, at http://mt.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/schenker, accessed 26th October 2009.

[75] See also section 'Editorial Mindsets' in Chapter Five.

[76] Ernst Naumann (ed.), *Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe* 1851-1890, Vol. 36 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1890).

[77] Heinrich Schenker (ed.), *Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue BWV 903* (London: Longman &Broderip, 1910).

[78] See also Colin Lawson and Robin Stowell, *The historical performance of music*, esp. chapter 'The application of primary sources'.

Urtext edition as an opportunity to encourage a more historical and more academic approach to performance, since in the mid-twentieth century the quest towards a *werktreue* was becoming an increasingly high priority:[79]

> …if one is to go at all deeply into interpretative problems, one obvious precondition is an indisputable original text – this is a platitude, or should be, for any musician.[80]

The above statement by Eva Badura-Skoda indicates precisely that this necessity for an 'indisputable original text' was what led to the enormous commercial success of *Urtext Editions* in the 1950s.

However, despite the novel intentions of these mid-twentieth-century attempts towards the *werktreue*, confusion and misunderstanding increased, since the ambiguity in the use of symbols and the unwillingness to clutter the text with explanation made it very hard to recognize the exact nature of the editorial action. Moreover, editors often continued to exercise 'interpretative discretion' in their textual reproduction without acknowledging the reader of such modifications. In various ways, then, an interpretative element was still very much part of the text as the editor conceived it and the reader/performer received it.[81] Several mid-twentieth-century reviewers criticized this sort of 'interpretative approach', even when the edition was not misleadingly advertised as historical. This is certainly the case in the following review of Schirmer's 1956 edition of Mozart's *Concerto Rondo in D major for piano and orchestra*:

> …What is regrettable, however, is that Michael Fisherman, the editor, had found it necessary to add so many indications of articulation, dynamics, phrasing, pedalling and so forth, as well as a number of doubtful or downright incorrect realizations of trills and ornaments, that the conscientious Mozart lover wonders if the actual notes may also have been subject to Mr. Fisherman's editorializations […]. Obviously, the editor was more interested in his own ideas of interpretation, and in the *technical aspects of playing the music* (there is a profusion of fingerings, including some unnecessarily tricky ones) than in the music itself, at least as concerns Mozart's original text and intentions. There is no real justification for such editions any longer.[82]

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[79] See also previous section titled 'The impact of musicology'.
[80] Eva and Paul Badura-Skoda, *Interpreting Mozart on the Keyboard*, trans. Leo Black (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1962) p.128.
[81] See previous section.
[82] Kurt Stone, 'Review: Concert Rondo in D major for piano and orchestra, K382 by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart; Michael Fisherman' in *Notes*, Second Series, Vol. 13, No. 4 (Sept. 1956), p. 690.

Most importantly, and apart from disapproving performance editions such as that by Fisherman / Schirmer, reviewers also argued that editions advertised as 'historical' or *urtext* could be far more misleading than their 'interpretive' counterparts: not more than a decade or so after the term's commercialization, scholars attacked editions advertised as *urtext*, so that the term was eliminated from certain editions of the time. As Alan Tyson wrote regarding a 'new improved edition'[83] of Mozart's piano sonatas by Henle, which came out in 1966,[84]

> This new version of the Henle edition of Mozart's piano sonatas is very much to be welcomed, for it is a great improvement on its predecessor. It is significant that the word 'Urtext' no longer appears on the title-page: instead, the works that it contains are described as having been 'edited from autographs, old manuscript copies and the first editions' and the gain in editorial experience which the change implies is unmistakable […].The concept of an 'Urtext' is over-simplified: editors cannot be dispensed with altogether. For where is the 'original text' to come from? The first edition? […]. The composer's autograph? In cases where we possess both the autograph and the first edition, the latter may show that the composer has made important changes in his work before having it published: to prefer the autograph readings may simply be to prefer his first thoughts to his second thoughts. And any discrepancies between the sources – as almost inevitable are found when more than one source is consulted – call for an editorial decision on their respective merits.[85]

On the same note, the Danish musicologist Jens Peter Larsen formulated a list of 'fundamental problems of textual criticism',[86] some of which had already been identified by the editors of the monumental editions of the early-twentieth century,[87] but which were now seen under a new light. 'Is it not a deception to use the word *Urtext* and lead buyers to think that one exists?' asked Eva Badura-Skoda in 1958.[88] Going on, she complained that even editions that were advertised as *Urtext* were often produced without any reference to primary sources:

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[83] Compared to the Walther Lampe edition mentioned at the beginning of this section.
[84] W. A. Mozart, *Piano Sonatas*, ed. Walther Lampe (Munich: Henle Verlag, 1966).
[85] Alan Tyson, 'Review: Piano Sonatas by Mozart; Walther Lampe' in *The Musical Times*, Vol. 107, No. 1484 (Oct. 1966), p. 888.
[86] Jens Peter Larsen, 'Editionsprobleme des späten 18. Jahrhunderts', Paper presented at the *Seventh Congress of the International Musicological Society* (Cologne, 1958), as cited in Badura-Skoda 'Textual Problems in Masterpieces of the 18th and 19th Centuries', pp. 306-307.
[87] In the second volume of the *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* (1900-01) Guido Adler and Oswald Keller, regarding their edition of the *Trent Codices* in the *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Osterreich*, discussed the alternative editorial approaches and the problems faced with each approach in response to a review by Dr Johannes Wolf. See also Eva Badura-Skoda, 'Textual Problems in Masterpieces of the 18th and 19th Centuries', p. 310.
[88] Ibid. p. 308.

> The word "Urtext" has been much abused, of course, and not every edition that carries it on its title page has a right to do so […]. The term "Urtext" has received a wide and inaccurate application, and is even used for editions of works that lack primary sources and whose secondary sources can no longer offer unequivocal solutions to detailed questions.[89]

Paul Badura-Skoda also noted in 1962 that Forewords too were often entirely misleading as to the actual nature of the respective edition, and failing to apply the modern editorial standards:

> When an edition contains a distinguished foreword together with an unrevised text, the customer is likely to be misled. Even in the editions mentioned as being good, there are many mistakes, ranging from slight and unimportant signs of haste to crude misreadings of the text, and in some cases to an inexplicable failure to consult sources.[90]

Yet, the proclamation by the scholarly community that a definitive text was unattainable and that *Urtext* Editions did not and could not live up to what they purported,[91] only succeeded in temporarily suspending the term: the *urtext* proved such a powerful marketing tool that, even those publishers who had at first eliminated the word *urtext* from their editions,[92] soon re-introduced it, and continued to employ it throughout the twentieth century (and into the twenty-first) with considerable success. The roots of this phenomenon are directly linked to commerce: after the *urtext*'s new lease of life in the wake of World War II and its use as a marketing tool,[93] it was incorporated into publishing companies' identities. Aided by the original support of the 'authentic movement', *Urtext* Editions attained such a high status in the first couple of decades after their appearance, that they were established as the most reliable editions in the marketplace.

Even during the final years of the twentieth century, Philip Brett emphasized that such editions were broadly advertised as *urtexts* when, in fact, they 'always seemed less interested in reaching an 'original text' than in stripping an accepted one of

[89] Eva Badura-Skoda, 'Textual Problems in Masterpieces of the 18th and 19th Centuries', transl. Piero Weiss, in *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 51, No. 2 (Apr. 1965), pp. 301-317, p. 308.
[90] Eva and Paul Badura-Skoda, *Interpreting Mozart on the Keyboard*, p. 130.
[91] See also Eva Badura-Skoda, 'Aspects of Performance Practice' in Robert Lewis Marshall (ed.), *Eighteenth-century keyboard music* (New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis, 2003), pp. 33-67, esp. section 'Problems of text and notation'.
[92] See relevant reference to Henle in previous page.
[93] The term was first employed as a marketing tool for the editions of Henle.

accretions'.[94] Going on, he observed that this phenomenon was still 'very much alive today in the elegantly printed but often woefully unexplained editions published by Henle'.[95] Contributing to the critique, Grier noted that Henle himself had admitted that an editor must choose which text to print,[96] but had 'neglected' to point out that such a text is no longer the *urtext* but the editor's interpretation of it, and most especially in cases when the *urtext* edition is not prepared in accordance with contemporary editorial standards.[97] On the same note, James Webster further observed that:

> The great majority of editions labelled 'Urtext' make many more changes than their editors admit. Publishers are partly to blame; they are afraid of doing anything that might seem unfamiliar or off-putting to any potential market. Indeed they want to have the best of both worlds; for example, the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe* claims to offer 'an unexceptionable text from the scholarly viewpoint, which at the same time takes the needs of musical practice into account.' Whether this is a pious hope or frankly based on self-interest, the fact remains that one can't serve two masters.[98]

At the same time, editors continued to be reluctant in acknowledging their own critical initiative, even though admitting that editorial intervention was unavoidable. As Margaret Bent noted:

> The goal of textual criticism is to establish the original notated form, that of editing to produce a prescriptive sound map for the piece. These goals may be incompatible and not easily met by the same transcription. The former is an exercise of intellectual, stemmatic and graphic reconstruction within the framework shared by composers and singers; the latter is more like a phonetic transcript for non-native speakers. We have tried to make our editions do double duty, accessible to performers but provided with scholarly apparatus; perhaps we need to be more aware of these different goals.[99]

Thus, even when editors did admit – or at least implied – in their forewords that their editions were essentially critical, publishers nevertheless continued to employ the term *urtext* commercially, avoiding to market their editions as critical. It so seems that, just as eighteenth-century publishers often rendered their editions more attractive

[94] Philip Brett, 'Text, Context and the Early Music Editor', p.90.
[95] Ibid.
[96] James Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music*, p. xiii.
[97] Ibid., esp. pp. 15-16.
[98] James Webster, 'The triumph of variability: Haydn's articulation markings in the autograph of Sonata No. 49 in E flat', in Sieghard Brandenburg (ed.), *Haydn, Mozart, & Beethoven: Studies in the Music of the Classical Period. Essays in Honour of Alan Tyson*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p. 63.
[99] Margaret Bent, 'Editing Early Music', p. 390.

by advertising them as suitable for a variety of keyboard instruments and instrument combinations (such as the optional addition of a violin part in Mozart's early keyboard sonatas),[100] and just as nineteenth- and early-twentieth century publishers invested on the virtuoso reputation of their editors to promote their product,[101] so in the twentieth century the commercial success of *Urtext* Editions was intertwined with the response of consumers to a specific terminology. During this age of commercialization, the promotion and marketability of editions was so important that the *urtext* labeling was sustained, even though the ideal linked to its name was knowingly unattainable, at least within scholarly circles.

Another parallel can be drawn here: let us suppose that the 'average' consumer is offered a choice between two almost identical shirts: the first is marked as the creation of a famous fashion designer, while the other is made by an unknown designer. However, the second shirt is obviously of better quality, has been prepared with much more care and seems more durable than that of the famous brand. Even in such clear-cut cases as this, it is surprising that most consumers would still buy the 'label' shirt, simply because it has an established name.[102] Similarly, even though the validity of *Urtext* Editions had been questioned, discredited, even rejected by scholars, the average consumer entrusted (and often still entrusts) such editions as reproducing a text that is closest to the composer's intentions.

But who was this 'target consumer' of *Urtext* Editions? Who was this 'performer' for whom editors wished to render their editions 'practical'? As an extent, what were the editorial goals of twentieth-century *Urtext* Editions? Peters Editions claimed that their 'practical *Urtext* Editions' were a compromise between the *urtext* concept and an edition prepared and edited for practical use, aiming 'to make the editor's findings available to a wider circle of users'.[103] In this quotation one of the basic principles of marketing was applied: offering a text that would sell as much as possible, being useful to a wider range of 'targets' (as opposed to a limited group of specialists). More often than not, this meant that several textual details or discrepancies were

[100] See also Chapter Two.
[101] See also Chapter Six.
[102] See David Mackay (ed.). *Consumption and Everyday Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), especially chapter titled 'Consumption and its consequences', pp. 21-49.
[103] Edition Peters: *The Origin and History of the Urtext Concept* www.urtext.com, accessed on 7th May 2002.

excluded from the edition or went unacknowledged in the critical notes, for the sake of simplicity and also for the avoidance of 'unnecessary' costs, thus making the edition unsuitable for the needs of scholars and insufficient for professional musicians. So, the publishers' targeting of a wide range of users did not prove quite as effective as they had hoped.

In any case, the admittedly critical character of editing went hand in hand with the identification of the problems arising during the preparation of an edition, leading to the establishment of an agreed set of editorial methods and standards that would determine the quality of an editor's work, and which are still applied today.[104] Ideally, the first part of the process should involve an examination of available sources and an evaluation of their importance, which can often prove a very difficult task. Sources should be checked for completeness, authority and date, and placed within what is perceived as the composer's 'style', and within the chronological and cultural framework of each composition. Also at this stage, discrepancies perceived as 'obvious' mistakes within in the sources must be corrected.[105] The selection of problems to be examined and the manner in which they would be 'solved' and presented to the reader, were the criteria that ultimately determined the quality of the editor's work.

Having done this, the editor should then need to establish a primary source for the music, be it a manuscript or a publication. If more than one source exists, the editor should prepare a critical commentary, listing all the differences between these sources and explaining in detail why one source was selected as having more importance over another. Also, in the case of passages surviving in incomplete or contradictory versions, the editor should decide on 'what the composer intended'. These very first steps of the process alone indicate just how many sets of decisions were required on behalf of the editor, and how many alternative readings could exist by simply

[104] These questions will be addressed according to the following sources: James Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music: History, Method and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), John Caldwell. *Editing Early Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), Colin James Lawson and Robin Stowell, *The Historical Performance of Music: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) and Philip Brett, 'Text, Context and the Early Music Editor' in Nicolas Kenyon (ed.), *Authenticity and Early Music: A Symposium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 83-114.

[105] James Grier and John Butt insist that the adjective 'obvious' is incorrect; instead, they refer to 'clear errors' (points which do not qualify as reasonable readings). They note, however, that all these terms are relative, and what is a clear error for one editor can easily be a good reading for another.

deciding differently upon the sources and their importance. Walter Emery was one of the first to claim that

> there is no such thing as an 'original text' of any piece of old music, unless either there is only one source, or all the sources give identical readings […]. When there really is an identifiable original (such as a unique manuscript), it is often manifestly wrong; in which case it cannot be printed as it stands, or in other words, it has to be edited.[106]

This observation alone illustrates with great clarity how troublesome and problematic the preparation of a 'definitive text' can be, by simply considering how difficult it is to interpret and evaluate the evidence.

The next steps in the procedure involve the setting of the composition's text on paper. Knowledge of the composer's and the era's musical style in each case is of primary importance; yet what one may call 'knowledge of musical style', being in itself something that is taught and conditioned, means that this knowledge may not necessarily be accurate, let alone objective. Furthermore, notational conventions may also be a problem: for instance, performance conventions applied in past centuries were often taken for granted at the time of the work's compositions, meaning that composers often thought it unnecessary to notate them in detail (or at all) on the score. In such instances, or in instances where the composer indicated articulation or other marks at the beginning of a piece, assuming that the player would continue it accordingly, the editor is again called to determine what to include or to add in the edition.

The fact that the editor is faced with such problems and has to come up with solutions or appropriate interpretations renders the whole process of editing highly critical: every edition is inevitably a critical edition, even if/when there exists only one unproblematic source and all there is left to do is to provide the reader with a transcription.[107] But, while most twentieth-century publishers consistently chose the term *urtext* over the term 'critical' for their editions, what is most regrettable is the fact that a substantial number of editions were even hesitant in admitting that their text did not (and could not) represent what the composer intended: as we shall see in

[106] Walter Emery, *Editions and Musicians* (London: Novello and Co., 1957), p. 9.
[107] For more on this topic, refer to Richard Taruskin, 'Down with the Fence' in *Text and Act*, pp.83-89.

the case study, despite the existence of solid editorial methods and standards, most twentieth-century editions claiming to be 'historical' or *urtext* standardized or 'regularized' notation, introduced additional markings – and, in some cases, new corruptions – which, more often than not, went unacknowledged.

Conclusions

The technological progress of the twentieth century in the areas of printing and publishing had a great impact on music editing and publishing: in fact, the new advances ensured that the editorial task would no longer be affected by technical limitations, allowing editors to focus almost exclusively – considerations of cost and volume size aside – on their aim of re-producing the musical text. The parallel evolution of musicological discourse, which became increasingly concerned with the nature of the edited text and the evolving editorial framework, was central in the realization that most late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century editions claiming to be authoritative were in fact very far from what they purported. Gradually, the constant pursuit of the *werktreue*, originating in the late nineteenth century, became central to the evolution of the editing process, leading to the commerciality of the term *urtext*, which became increasingly powerful from the mid-twentieth century onwards.

One of the most important factors for the rise of *urtext* editions was the reaction against the ongoing availability of what were, in fact, 'performance editions', which had been popular since the nineteenth century. As discussed in previous sections, these editions, heavily edited according to modern taste and modern instruments, by and large did not inform readers of the included editorial interpretations: in cases when an edition was prepared and 'adapted' by famous performers of the time, it was in fact promoted as such, and did not distinguish between the composer's and the editor's notation. Most importantly, however, not even editions advertised as *urtext* lived up to the ideals of early-music editing; in fact, in most instances the term was misused by publishers, who admittedly invested on its commercial prospects without really having applied the required processes for producing a historical edition.

Despite the fact that, in the 1960s, musicologists turned against *Urtext* Editions, having realized that no edition – being a translation itself – can represent the original text, *Urtext* Editions continued to appear. In hindsight, it is apparent that the legacy of the *urtext* as a marketing tool still held so well, that even though editors and publishers acknowledged – albeit diplomatically – that there is no such thing as a 'definitive' original text, they continued to advertise their editions as *urtext*. As the century came to an end, the realization that each and every edition is inevitably critical, naturally affected editorial methodologies, which evolved further, in order to encompass the changed perspective of what the ideal edition should be.

– CHAPTER VIII –

Twentieth Century:
Mozart's Keyboard Sonatas in Print

STRUCTURE:

- Introduction
- Mozart Scholarship and the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe*
- Twentieth-century editions of Mozart's Piano Sonatas
- Case Study: Twentieth-Century Historical Editions of Mozart's Piano Sonatas
- Conclusions

Introduction

While a great variety of editions of Mozart's piano sonatas were produced in the nineteenth century,[1] an even more extensive array of editions appeared in the twentieth.[2] As Mozart scholarship evolved considerably throughout the century,[3] so did the advances in printing and music recording technology, the updated status of copyright protection, and the growth of numerous publishing houses around the globe affect music publishing in its entirety.[4] Within this context, the publication and distribution of Mozart's piano sonatas naturally grew: for, having become part of the canonic and of the instructional repertoire since the nineteenth century,[5] Mozart's piano sonatas remained in demand throughout the twentieth century, appearing in complete volumes or as parts of piano anthologies, featuring a variety of editorial approaches.

The current chapter will first investigate twentieth-century Mozart scholarship, in order to explore the composer-specific framework within which editions were produced, and the sources available to editors producing historical editions of Mozart's piano sonatas: some of the most important scholarly works on Mozart biography and source studies will be presented, since these, and the scholars producing them, were often involved in the preparation of new editions of Mozart's music and particularly of the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe*, which stands as the twentieth-century's ambitious attempt to re-edit and publish the composer's complete *œuvre*. This will be followed by an overview of other twentieth-century editions of sonatas, identifying their sources and categorizing them (as interpretive, practical, historical or combining editorial approaches). Finally, a selection of certain twentieth-century historical editions widely acknowledged as reputable will be investigated in more detail in the case study, so that observations and conclusions may be extracted regarding the editing of Mozart's music and the publishing of his works in the twentieth century.

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[1] See also Chapter Six.
[2] An invaluable and extensive list of twentieth-century editions of Mozart's piano sonatas and other piano works is provided in Maurice Hinson, *Guide to the pianist's repertoire*, 3rd edition (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), pp. 550-559.
[3] See next section.
[4] See also section titled 'Advances in Printing and Publishing' in Chapter Seven.
[5] See also section titled 'Writing about music' in Chapter Four.

Mozart scholarship and the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe*

In hindsight, an overview of twentieth-century Mozart scholarship[6] reveals that, though new research of Mozart's life and work developed within the newly established discipline of musicology, scholarship nevertheless remained in many aspects grounded on a number of perceptions and preconceptions originating in the nineteenth century. Most importantly, the ongoing and persistent idea of Mozart as an entity 'disconnected' from the real world, whose works were characterized by a granted perfection, balance and uniformity, inevitably left its marks on a large percentage of scholarly work, especially during the first half of the twentieth century. Additionally, Mozart studies, whether biographical, analytical or historical, were closely intertwined with the reception and performance of his music, naturally affecting to a considerable extent the editorial approach of his works.

Between 1919 and 1921 two important biographical works were published: Herman Abert's *W. A. Mozart*, which was an extensively revised version of Otto Jahn's four-volume biography,[7] and Ludwig Schiedermair's *Die Briefe W. A. Mozarts und seiner Familie*.[8] Despite the heavy reliance upon their nineteenth-century predecessors, these works were far from mere revisions: Jahn's studies were reworked, including new analyses, historical overviews and a rethinking of the relationship between Mozart's life and his works.[9] More specifically, Abert thought it necessary to correct facts and report new discoveries, but most importantly, to emend what he considered an outdated and 'bourgeois' view of the composer, in which he had been 'idealized, constructed in true romantic yearning for a musical fairyland, the prince of which was Mozart'.[10] In that sense, Abert's work was very much representative of early-twentieth-century notions concerning biography and musicology, and within that context Jahn's contribution was seen as 'an important foundation but not a monument

[6] See Cliff Eisen and Stanley Sadie, '(Johann Chrysostom) Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart – Aftermath: Reception and Scholarship' in *Grove Music Online*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com, accessed 20 October 2008.
[7] Otto Jahn, *Biographie Mozarts* (Leipzig, 1856, 2/1867; rev. 3/1889–91 by H. Deiters, 4/1905–7; Eng. trans., 1982, 5/1919 by Abert).
[8] Ludwig Schiedermair, *Die Briefe W. A. Mozarts und seiner Familie*, 5 vols. (Leipzig and Munich: G. Muller, 1914).
[9] More on Otto Jahn's Mozart biography in the section titled 'Later Criticism, Scholarship and the Alte Mozart Ausgabe' in Chapter Six.
[10] Hermann Abert, *W. A. Mozart*, edited and annotated by Cliff Eisen and Stewart Spencer (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), p. ix.

to be preserved, either for its intrinsic value or for what it says about the culture within which it was created'.[11]

Also in the first decades of the twentieth century, Dent's pioneering study of Mozart's operas,[12] as well as the work of the French musicologists Théodore de Wyzewa and Georges de Saint-Foix[13] contributed significantly to Mozart scholarship: through painstaking research they succeeded in filling important gaps in the chronology of Mozart's works, as well as in contributing extensively to analytical and stylistic studies of his music. Partly as a result of their numerous discoveries, Alfred Einstein revised Köchel's catalogue and produced the third edition in 1937 while, just a year later, Emily Anderson contributed to the long line of editions on Mozart biography with her English compilation of the correspondence of the Mozart family.[14] In 1945 Einstein's *Mozart: Sein Charakter, Sein Werk* appeared,[15] which was later co-edited and translated by American musicologists Arthur Mendel and Nathan Broder (who also produced an important twentieth-century edition of Mozart's piano sonatas in 1956, further investigated in the case-study) as *Mozart: His character, his work.*[16]

In the early 1960s appeared Deutsch's *Mozart: die Dokumente seines Lebens*[17] which, along with later supplements by Eibl[18] and Eisen,[19] stands as the most important documented study regarding the composer's life and works. Soon after, Deutsch's collaboration with Eibl and Bauer, which lasted from 1962 until 1973, eventually

[11] Ibid.
[12] Edward Dent, *Mozart's Operas: A critical study* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1913).
[13] One of their most important works being the five-volume study titled *Mozart, sa view musicale et son oeuvre, de l' enfance à la pleine maturité (1756-1777)* (Paris: Desclee de Brouwer et Cie, 1912, with subsequent volumes appearing up to 1946). See also Simon Keefe (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Mozart* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), esp. pp. 203 and 207, and Abert, *W. A. Mozart*, p. xix.
[14] Emily Anderson, *The Letters of Mozart and his Family* (London: MacMillan, 1938, revised 1966, 1985).
[15] Alfred Einstein, *Mozart: Sein Charakter, Sein Werk* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1945).
[16] Alfred Einstein, *Mozart: His character, his work* – edited and translated by Arthur Mendel and Nathan Broder (New York: Oxford University Press, 1945).
[17] Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart: die Dokumente seines Lebens* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch, 1961), with supplements in 1978, 1991 and 1997.
[18] Joseph Heinz Eibl (ed.), *Mozart: Die Dokumente seines Lebens: Addenda und Corrigenda* (Kassel: Barenreiter, 1978).
[19] Cliff Eisen, New *Mozart Documents - A Supplement to O. E. Deutsch's Documentary Biography* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1991) and *Addenda zu Mozart: Die Dokumente seines Lebens, Neue Folge* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1997), published as part of the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe* (Serie X, Supplement; Werkgruppe 31, Nachtrage; Band 2).

bore the most complete German edition of the Mozart letters up to that time.[20] Also originating in the mid-1960s was the sixth edition of the Köchel catalogue, which introduced substantial updates concerning the identification and chronology of Mozart's works, prepared by Giegling, Sievers and Weinmann.[21]

The final four decades of the twentieth century saw a dramatic increase in Mozart research in all areas, including the closer study of his autograph manuscripts, some of which were rediscovered in Poland, following their disappearance during World War II. While most of the preceding studies, such as those by Blaschitz[22] and Schiedermair,[23] were largely concerned with the identification and evolution of Mozart's handwriting, source studies in the second half of the century broadened their scope considerably, so that they included sketches, manuscript copies, first editions, as well as a systematic consideration of watermarks: important progress in this field was made by Alan Tyson in the 1970s,[24] whose studies set forth substantial revisions in the dating of several of Mozart's works. Of prime importance in the field of late-twentieth-century Mozart source studies are the works of Gertraut Haberkamp,[25] Ulrich Konrad[26] and Wolfgang Plath, who rediscovered, studied and dated several Mozart autographs.[27]

It was to a great extent these scholars who, having contributed greatly to the studies of Mozart's life and work, were also involved as editors in the twentieth century's publication of the complete Mozart works, the *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*,[28] (also known as the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe*), along with a long array of fellow

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[20] Wilhelm Bauer, Otto Erich Deutsch and Joseph Heinz Eibl (eds), *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1962).
[21] Ludwig Ritter von Köchel, *Chronologisch-thematisches Verzeichnis sämtlicher Tonwerke Wolfgang Amadé Mozart*, edited by Franz Giegling, Alexander Weinmann and Gerd Sievers (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1964; New York: C. F. Peters Corp., 1964).
[22] Mena Blaschitz, Dissertation titled *Die Salzburger Mozart-fragmente* (Bonn, 1926).
[23] Ludwig Schiedermair, *W. A. Mozarts Handschrift in zeitlich geordneten Nachbildungen* (Bückeburrg / Leipzig: Siegel, 1919).
[24] Alan Tyson, *Mozart: Studies of the Autograph Scores* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987).
[25] Especially her work on Mozart first editions titled *Die Erstdrucke der Werke von Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart* (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1986).
[26] For instance, his study of primary sources titled *Mozarts Schaffensweise: Studien zu den Werkautographen, Skizzen und Entwürfen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, *1992*).
[27] See, for example, his article 'Beitrage zur *Mozart*-Autographie II: Schriftchronologie 1770-1780' in *Mozart Jahrbuch* (1976-77), pp. 131-175.
[28] W. A. Mozart, *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke* (In Verbindung mit den Mozartstädten Augsburg, Salzburg u. Wien hrsg. v. der Internat. Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg, (Kassel: Bährenreiter, 1955-2007).

scholars.[29] According to its creators, this complete series, published by Bärenreiter between 1955 and 1991,[30] aspired to provide

> …a historical-critical edition and to offer as such the latest state of philological-musicological procedure as well as practical knowledge (particularly with regard to performance) of Mozart's creative production […]. It caters for the requirements arising out of the new attitude developed towards performance in the course of the present century, to which the term 'faithful to the work' might be applied. As a performance ideal, faithfulness to the work is realizable only when editions reproducing the unadulterated wishes of the composer are made available.[31]

The series was warmly received by both the academic community and the amateur public and was viewed by many as 'an absolute necessity' for a correct Mozart performance,[32] since it was reputed as featuring exemplary editorial work (at least in a substantial number of compositions) and as addressing the needs and considerations of both scholars and performers most effectively.

Even so, the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe* was far from flawless:[33] certain reviews of the series refer to flaws in ornamentation and improvisation – as Neumann purported, the implemented ornamentation, particularly within vocal works, was often misjudged[34] – as well as to the late appearance of published critical notes, commentaries and supplements, some of which were still under production well into the 21st century.[35] Moreover, the fact that this valuable complementary information became available

[29] Scholars who contributed to the preparation of the NMA are (in alphabetical order): G. Allroggen, R. Angermüller, E. and P. Badura-Skoda, E. A. Ballin, A. Bödeker, H. Beck, D. Berke, H. Bey, D. Brandenburg, B. A. Brown, G. Croll, O. E. Deutsch, M. E. Dounias, A. Dunning, J. H. Eibl, C. Eisen, R. Elvers, H. Engel, R. Faber, H. Federhofer, R. Federhofer-Königs, K. G. Fellerer, F. Ferguson, L. Finscher, K. von Fischer, W. Fischer, M. Flothius, E. Föhrenbach, K. H. Füssl, W. Gerstenberg, F. Giegling, G. Gruber, G. Hausswald, D. Heartz, H. Heckmann, E. Hertzmann, E. Hess, H. Heussner, E. Hintermaier, M. Hochreiter, M. Holl, A. Holschneider, K. Köhler, U. Konrad, S. Kunze, K. Küster, K. K. Hansell, H. C. R. Landon, J. Lederer, D. N. Leeson, U. Leisinger, A. Lindmayr-Brandl, C. Mahling, A. Mann, C. S. Mörner, F. Neumann, L. Nowak, C. B. Oldman, A. Orel, P. Petrobelli, W. Plath, J. Pohanka, E. Reeser, W. Rehm, A. Rosenthal, E. F. Schmid, M. H. Schmid, F. Schnapp, F. Schroeder, W. Seiffert, W. Senn, L. Somfai, H. M. Stüwe, L. F. Tagliavini, A. W. Tyson, C. Wolff and N. Zaslaw.

[30] With supplements and critical reports published much later, and some yet to appear.

[31] Wofgang Rehm, 'Collected Editions' in H.C. Robbins Landon (ed.), *The Mozart Compendium: A Guide to Mozart's Life and Music* (New York: Schirmer, 1990), p. 427.

[32] H. C. Robbins Landon, *Mozart: The Golden Years, 1781-1791* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1989), p. 7.

[33] One of the editors of the NMA, Wolfgang Rehm, discusses the shortcomings and the problems of the NMA in the report 'Ideal and Reality: Aspects of the Neue Mozart-Ausgabe' in *Notes* (Second Series) Vol. 48, No.1 (Sept. 1991), pp. 11-19.

[34] Frederick Neumann, *Ornamentation and Improvisation in Mozart* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1986), esp. pp. 209 ff.

[35] See also Rehm, 'Ideal and Reality' in *Notes*, pp. 11-19.

only in German and in a quite editorially codified form, rendered it unsuitable for the needs of the non-German speaking community, who might otherwise have been interested in the additional material. Yet, perhaps the most important weakness of the NMA rests in the fact that the largest collection of Mozart autographs, formerly owned by the Prussian State Library in Berlin, had disappeared during World War II and was only recovered in 1980: this meant that a considerable percentage of works published within the NMA series prior to that date were edited with reference to limited primary sources, often relying on problematic or dubious secondary sources.

For instance, during the editing of works such as the *Flute Quartet* K285, the *Piano Concerto* K453, *Bastien und Bastienne*, parts of the *Vespers*, *La finta giardiniera* and *The Marriage of Figaro* (ed. 1973),[36] editors relied upon nineteenth-century manuscript copies of Mozart's autographs made by the editors of the *Alte Mozart Ausgabe*, in which several problems, misreads and silent emendations were identified later in the twentieth century.[37] As Eisen has observed, the editors of the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe* often preferred nineteenth-century sources over even the best eighteenth-century manuscript copies and prints, apparently assuming that the latter were most likely to include mistakes, while the former, being the work of scholars, would be less prone to misinterpretations and other changes.[38] Eisen further claimed that many of the discrepancies identified in the NMA series following the rediscovery of the autographs derive from the corresponding readings of the AMA which, evidently, still conditioned twentieth-century perceptions of Mozart and his music to a great extent.[39]

In other instances, it seems that the NMA also relied on even less reliable nineteenth-century manuscript copies of Mozart's works, and the reappearance of primary sources rendered several edited works, such as the edition of the 'Linz' symphony, obsolete as soon as the lost autographs were recovered.[40] Especially after this renewed availability of numerous sources, the NMA series and other editions of the time were criticised for relying persistently on a limited range of material and for ignoring or undervaluing contemporaneous manuscript copies and printed editions –

[36] See also Cliff Eisen, 'The Old and New Mozart Editions' in *Early Music*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (Nov. 1991), pp. 513-532, p. 518.
[37] For a discussion of these manuscript copies see section titled 'Later Criticism, Scholarship and the *Alte Mozart Ausgabe*' in Chapter Six.
[38] Eisen, 'The Old and New Mozart Editions', p. 518.
[39] Ibid., p. 523.
[40] See also Landon, *Mozart: The Golden Years*, p. 8.

even though the Mozart family was known to have been very selective as to the copyists they used.[41] Sadie and Eisen located the roots of this editorial stance within past perceptions of Mozart, stating that

> the idea that his works were in some way 'perfect' and that transmission inevitably involved corruption, resulted in a misunderstanding of the essential nature of autographs as representing performance as well as the dismissal of some sources that were considered less important, including even Mozart's own performing copies.[42]

In other words, the nineteenth-century notion that Mozart's autographs were unambiguously clear (a notion partly rooted in the dubious Rochlitz anecdotes)[43] seems to have stood well into the twentieth century; and whenever the autograph itself was unavailable, the NMA editors would place more trust on nineteenth-century manuscript copies that carried over several inaccuracies, than on Mozart's contemporary copies and early editions. As Eisen has further noted:

> There is no question that many of the NMA editions are exemplary. Faced at times with almost insurmountable source problems, they often propose solutions that, as intended, strike a balance between scholarship and the needs of performers. Yet, whether this is recognized or not, they also draw on well established 19th-century editorial traditions and views of Mozart's style. Giegling's claim that 'each generation, each epoch confronts the Mozart problem anew, each age sees in Mozart something different' is only partly true.[44]

Eisen's statement also sets forth another issue, regarding the variety of editorial approaches applied in the preparation of the series. In some instances, when the first authorized edition of a work was considerably richer in performance directions, these were accepted as Mozart's definitive set of intentions and as such they were implemented into the NMA, combined with elements from the autograph.[45] In other

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[41] More on the copyists employed by the Mozart family in section titled 'Mozart and the Publishers' in Chapter Three.

[42] Eisen and Sadie, '(Johann Chrysostom) Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart – Aftermath: Reception and Scholarship'.

[43] Most especially the famous 'Letter to Baron von P.', published by Rochlitz in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* (1815), reproduced in *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzechnungen*, iv, pp. 527-31. An extensive discussion is provided in William Stafford, *The Mozart Myths: A critical reassessment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), pp. 162-175. See also 'W. A. Mozart: Early Posthumous Publications' in Chapter Six.

[44] Eisen, 'The Old and New Mozart Editions', pp. 529-530.

[45] This is the case, for example, with Mozart's *Divertimento for String Trio in Eb major* K563 (published as part of the NMA in 1975), and the 'Haydn' Quartets. Further examples are discussed in Marius Flothius, 'The Neue Mozart-Ausgabe: A retrospect' in *Early Music*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (Performing Mozart's Music I, Nov. 1991), pp. 533-537.

instances, where certain discrepancies were identified between the first edition and the autograph (such as those concerning articulation, slurs, dynamics and ornamentation), these were entirely dismissed as 'insignificant' and excluded from the NMA.[46] As a result, it could be said that while twentieth-century scholars had criticized the AMA for its lack of a unified editorial approach,[47] when faced with the hands-on preparation of the NMA they came to realize that, to a great extent, such a 'unified editorial approach' was in fact difficult – if not impossible – to achieve, most particularly due to the varying availability of source materials for each work and to the large number of editors involved in the preparation of the series, who did not necessarily share the same views on authorial intention, source interpretation and editorial approach.[48] Flothius, commenting on Eisen's observation, rightly noted that 'German consistency does not seem to be consistent with the practical needs of editions!',[49] while Lockwood further added:

> One thing that has arisen here is the enormous amount of work which scholars do in digging deep into source material and the sense of exhilaration and perplexity we have in finding that the problems are even greater than we had originally thought! But what this means is that we all have to think more critically about source material…[50]

In hindsight, then, the editors of the NMA, having faced the problems arising in the production of such a large-scale project, acknowledged the weaknesses of their editorial work. But how did the editors of other, smaller-scale twentieth-century historical editions of Mozart's music – and of his piano sonatas in particular – approach the text? To what extent was their approach acknowledged to the readers and how did publishers present and promote such editions?

[46] See, for instance, the NMA edition of the Piano Concertos, also discussed in Christoph Wolff, 'Zur Edition der Klavierkonzerte KV 246, KV 271, KV 365, KV 413-415.' *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe*: Bericht über die Mitarbeitertagung in Kassel, 29-30 May 1981 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984), pp. 39-43, p. 40.
[47] On reviews and criticism of the AMA see also section titled 'Later scholarship, criticism and the *Alte Mozart Ausgabe*' in Chapter Six.
[48] For an extensive discussion of the qualities and weaknesses of the NMA see also Rehm, 'Ideal and Reality', pp. 11-19.
[49] Eisen, 'The Old and New Mozart editions', p. 530.
[50] Ibid., pp. 530-531.

Twentieth-century editions of Mozart's Piano Sonatas

During the first five decades of the twentieth century, the majority of new editions of Mozart's piano sonatas were of single works and isolated movements.[51] Most of these editions, following the 'tradition' of their nineteenth-century predecessors, continued to emphasize on the interpretive needs of performers, featuring heavily edited texts that included additional dynamics, pedaling, longer slurring and other 'aids' for performance, according to contemporary taste and to the changed capabilities of twentieth-century pianos, or simplified arrangements and transcriptions for various chamber music combinations of instruments. Amongst such editions are those published by Ashdown (1900),[52] Augener (1906),[53] Schirmer (1918),[54] Freeman (1939),[55] Fischer (1940)[56] and Stuttard (1940).[57]

When, more rarely, the complete sonatas were published as a collection, the text was more often than not based on – or copied from – secondary sources originating in the nineteenth-century: for instance, the Dover editions of Mozart's sonatas were merely reproductions of the AMA with few (if any) corrections or emendations; in fact, even the latest Dover issue of Mozart's piano sonatas, appearing in paperback in 1996,[58] is still advertised as an unabridged republication of early 'reliable' editions, 'such as the authoritative Breitkopf & Härtel Complete Works Edition', and as being 'among the lowest-priced and most thorough editions […] available'.[59] Other twentieth-century editions of Mozart's piano sonatas were based on the first *urtext* edition (the *Akademische Ausgabe*) by Ernst Rudorff, published by Breitkopf and Härtel in

[51] Particularly popular were the 'easy' *Sonata in C major*, K545, the *Sonata in A minor*, K331 (which includes the much loved Rondo *Alla Turca*), and the *Fantasy and Sonata in C minor*, K475/457.
[52] *Mozart's Sonatas for the pianoforte*, ed. and fing. W. Macfarren (London: Ashdown, 1900/1947).
[53] *Sonata Album. A Collection of the most favourite Sonatas by Haydn, Mozart & Schubert*, ed. F. Taylor (London: Augener, 1906, reprints 1915, 1926, 1941).
[54] W. A. Mozart, *Nineteen Sonatas for the piano*, rev. and ed. by Richard Epstein, with Mozart biographical sketch and note on numbering sonatas in English and Spanish by Philip Hale (New York: Schirmer, 1918, reprints 1945 and 1952).
[55] W. A. Mozart, *Sonata K545 in C major*, ed. and fingerings by J. Furze (London: Freeman, 1939).
[56] W. A. Mozart, *Andante from piano sonata K545*, arr. M. J. Isaac for clarinet / oboe / flute and pianoforte (New York: Carl Fischer, 1940).
[57] W. A. Mozart, *The Famous Sonata in C* K545, arr. R. S. Thornton (London: Stuttard & Co., 1940).
[58] W. A. Mozart, *Complete Sonatas and Fantasies for Solo Piano* (Mineola, NY: Dover, 1996).
[59] See advertisement at the Dover Editions' official website, www.doverpublications.com, accessed 23 June 2010.

1895:[60] some examples include the editions by *Kalmus* (1946?),[61] *Henle* (1948),[62] and *Peters* (1951).[63]

<u>TABLE 8.A:</u> Interpretive editions of Mozart's Piano Sonatas, 1900-c.1960

EXAMPLES OF INTERPRETIVE EDITIONS / TRANSCRIPTIONS / ARRANGEMENTS OF MOZART'S PIANO SONATAS
1900 – c. 1960

- *Mozart's Sonatas for the pianoforte*, ed. and fing. W. Macfarren (London: Ashdown, 1900/1947).
- W. A. Mozart, *Sonatas for piano.* The Academic Series (Holmes and Karn, c. 1907).
- W. A. Mozart, *Twenty Sonatas for Piano*. Ed., fing., expression marks and phrasings by Béla Bartók (Budapest: Rozsnyai, 1911)
- W. A. Mozart, *Sonates pour piano.* Revue par Camille Saint-Saëns (Paris: Durand & Cie., 1915).
- *Sonata Album. A Collection of the most favourite Sonatas by Haydn, Mozart & Schubert*, ed. F. Taylor (London: Augener, 1915)
- W. A. Mozart, *Nineteen Sonatas for the piano*, rev. and ed. by Richard Epstein, with Mozart biographical sketch and note on numbering sonatas in English and Spanish by Philip Hale (New York: Schirmer, 1918, reprints 1945 and 1952).
- W. A. Mozart, *Sonata K545 in C major*, ed. and fing. J. Furze (London: Freeman, 1939)
- W. A. Mozart, *Andante from piano sonata K545*, arr. M. J. Isaac for clarinet / oboe / flute and pianoforte (New York: Carl Fischer, 1940)
- W. A. Mozart, *The Famous Sonata in C* (Allegro) K545, easy arr. R. S. Thornton (London: Beal Stuttard and Co., 1940)
- W. A. Mozart's Sonatas with Grieg's Accompaniments for a second piano, ed. C. Deis (New York / London: Schirmer / Chappell and Co, 1958)

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[60] This nineteenth-century edition was discussed in detail in Chapter Six: 'Later criticism, scholarship and the *Alte Mozart-Ausgabe*'.
[61] W. A. Mozart, *Sonatas and Three Fantasias for Piano. Original Version. Unedited. (URTEXT)* (Scarsdale, New York: Edwin F. Kalmus). The edition is undated, but the last page, which lists other editions available by Kalmus, is marked with the year 1946.
[62] W. A. Mozart, *Piano Sonatas*, ed. Walther Lampe. (Munich and London: Henle/Novello, 1948).
[63] *Piano Sonatas by W. A. Mozart. Urtext edition.* Editing, phrasing, dynamics, fingering and preface by Carl Adolf Martienssen and Wilhelm Weissman (Leipzig: Peters, 1951). The edition is available online at <u>http://imslp.org</u>, accessed 20 July 2010.

As Nathan Broder observed in his account of editorial work preceding his own edition[64] of Mozart's complete piano sonatas:

> (3) The edition of the sonatas (only) prepared by Walther Lampe and Otto von Irmer, published by G. Henle in 1948 […] seems to be based entirely on the Breitkopf and Härtel "Urtext" edition and perpetuates its errors. The editors do not distinguish between what comes from the autographs and what comes from the early editions. There is no evidence that they consulted any of those sources…
>
> (4) The edition of the sonatas (only) prepared by C. A. Martienssen and Wilhelm Weissman, published by Peters in 1951 […] is based mostly on [The edition prepared by Max Pauer and Martin Frey, published by Peters in 1931]; but, being a "practical" edition, it does not as a rule distinguish between the original material and editorial suggestions. [65]

Similarly to this Peters edition discussed by Broder, a few other twentieth-century editions labelled as 'historical', also included interpretational aids for performance on the modern piano, while at the same time aiming to assist performers with suggestions regarding eighteenth-century performance practice: for instance, Bartók's editorial work on Mozart's piano sonatas (originally published by Rozsnyai in 1911),[66] though instructive in nature and preserving a number of nineteenth-century nuances, nevertheless indicates a growing awareness of eighteenth-century performance style. Editions such as his were increasingly produced by twentieth-century editors, who gradually rejected extensive textual emendations as deviating considerably from what was perceived at the time as a 'classical character', but who nevertheless felt the need to incorporate analytical directions in editions, this time aiming towards what they believed to be an aid to a truly authentic performance. A piece of writing from the early twentieth century, by George Bernard Shaw, concerning Mozart's music, stands witness to the fact that early music texts were viewed at the time as requiring editorial 'translation':

> Mozart's opera scoring does in truth need some editing; for our conductors are spoiled by the copious and minute instructions which have been provided for them […]. Mozart jotted down *f* or *sf* in his score where Meyerbeer would have written *con esplosione*. He wrote *p* where Verdi would have written

[64] W. A. Mozart, *Sonatas and Fantasies for the Piano*, ed. Nathan Broder (Brynn Mawr, Pennsylvania: Theodore Presser Company, 1956). p. vi.
[65] Ibid., 'Preface', p. vi.
[66] Bartók's edition of Mozart's piano sonatas is still available today through the reproductions made by Kalmus: W. A. Mozart, *Twenty Sonatas for Piano*. Edited, fingered and provided with expression marks and phrasings by Béla Bartók. Preface and Translation by Alexander Lipsky (New York: Edwin F. Kalmus, 1950 / reprint 1985).

> *ppppp*! He did not resort to abbreviations to anything like the extent that the seventeenth-century and earlier composers did; but compared to nineteenth-century composers, who wrote down every note they meant to be sung, he used conventional musical shorthand to a considerable extent; and we want someone to fill in his scores as Arnold Dolmetsch has filled in the scores of Mozart's predecessors.[67]

In the extract above, Shaw refers to Dolmetsch (1858-1940), one of the pioneers in the revival of early music,[68] and particularly to his commitment to the idea that 'performers should try to play music in the way its composers intended'.[69] As an extension of his viewpoint, Dolmetsch annotated early music texts when preparing editions, according to what he believed was the closest translation of early composers' intentions.[70] A similar approach, positioned against late-nineteenth-century exaggerations[71] was also applied by Saint-Saëns who, despite the liberties he often took when handling the text, nevertheless rejected certain late-nineteenth-century editorial obsessions, which he regarded as reactions against the early-nineteenth-century style: for instance, he asserted that the extensive *legato* employed in late-nineteenth-century performance was a reaction against the previously exaggerated detached style.[72] Acting against the employment of *legato* exaggerations in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century editions of early music, Saint-Saëns noted in the preface of his 1915 edition of Mozart's piano sonatas:

> …one is accustomed in modern editions to [...] indicate constantly *legato*, *molto legato*, *sempre legato*. There is nothing of this in the manuscripts and the old editions. Everything leads us to believe that this music should be performed lightly[…]. When Mozart wished the *legato*, he indicated it.[73]

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[67] George Bernard Shaw, 'Review of Figaro in Drury Lane' in *The Nation* (London, 28 July 1917), reprinted in *The Great composers: Reviews and Bombardments*, ed. by Louis Crompton (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978), p. 170.

[68] Dolmetsch is famous for his 'authentic' performances using instruments restored or replicated by himself. His contribution to scholarship on early music revival includes several papers as well as *The Interpretation of the Music of the XVII and XVIII Centuries Revealed by Contemporary Evidence* (London: Novello, 1915/ reprints 1946/1969/2008).

[69] Will Crutchfield, 'Fashion, Conviction, and Performance Style in an Age of Revivals' in Nicholas Kenyon, *Authenticity and Early Music* (Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 19-56, p. 39.

[70] See, for instance, Dolmetsch's transcriptions of music for recorder and particularly of medieval Welsh harp music.

[71] These have been discussed in section titled 'Editorial Mindsets' in Chapter Five. Early-twentieth-century editorial liberties have also been discussed in section titled 'The establishment of *Urtext* Editions' in Chapter Seven.

[72] See Rollin Smith, *Saint-Saëns and the organ* (Hillsdale, New York: Pendragon Press, 1992), esp. pp. 188-189.

[73] W. A. Mozart, *Sonates pour piano – revue par Camille Saint-Saëns* (Paris: Durand & Cie, 1915).

Several decades later, in the 1950s, Levarie still complained that Mozart's piano music publications up to that time all mirrored the 'demands of the day', altering the composers' style and intentions considerably, so as to adjust to the capabilities of the twentieth-century instrument and to the effective performance of the music in large auditoriums and for large audiences.[74]

In retrospect, the most common deficiency of early-twentieth-century editions of Mozart's piano sonatas claiming to be historical or to offer aids towards 'authentic' performances, was their insufficiency in terms of the emerging scholarly demands concerning presentation, textual justification and referencing. Yet, even in the second half of the century, only a very limited number of historical editions of Mozart's piano sonatas reflected, at least to a certain degree, their contemporary scholarly consensus, the most representative being those by Nathan Broder,[75] the ABRSM,[76] and the NMA[77] which, despite its acknowledged weaknesses, was until relatively recently regarded as offering 'the most reliable texts available to date'.[78] In most of these scholarly editions, editors aimed to strike the perfect balance between scholarly usability and practicality in performance, at the same time striving to preserve a reasonable, convenient volume size and an affordable price.

It is precisely this category of editions that will be further investigated in this chapter's case study, as representing the twentieth century's scholarly consensus regarding the production of historical editions of Mozart's piano sonatas. More specifically, the case study will examine issues relating to the editorial procedures employed, the editorial intervention and its indication within the body of text, and the source materials consulted during the preparation of these editions. The examination commences with a listing of the editions and their stated apparatus of consulted sources, followed by a juxtaposition of extracts of twentieth-century historical

[74] Siegmund Levarie, 'Reviews of Books - *Mozart: Sonatas and Fantasies for the Piano* by Nathan Broder' in *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (Apr. 1956), pp. 252-256, p. 253.
[75] W. A. Mozart, *Sonatas and Fantasies for the Piano*, ed. Nathan Broder (Brynn Mawr, Pennsylvania: Theodore Presser Company, 1956).
[76] W. A. Mozart, *Sonatas for Pianoforte*, ed. Stanley Sadie, fingering and performance notes by Denis Matthews (London: Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music (ABRSM) Publishing, 1970/reprint 1981), 2 vols.
[77] W. A. Mozart, *Klaviersonaten, Urtext der Neuen Mozart-Ausgabe*, Serie IX, Werkgruppe 25, 2 vols., ed. Wolfgang Plath and Wolfgang Rehm (Kassel: Bärenreiter, BA4600 and BA4601, 1986).
[78] John Irving, *Mozart's Piano Sonatas: Context, Sources, Style*, p. xvi, referring to the piano sonata editions by the ABRSM and the NMA.

editions with primary sources and nineteenth-century editions. Twentieth-century editions to be examined have been selected according to their date of publication, ranging from the mid-twentieth century to the 1990s inclusive, and according to their advertised historical or '*Urtext*' attributes. They have been published by Theodore Presser,[79] Henle,[80] Wiener Urtext,[81] Bärenreiter[82] and Könemann.[83]

TABLE 8.B: 20th-century editions advertised as historical or *Urtext*

20th-CENTURY HISTORICAL EDITIONS
(listed chronologically)

- W. A. Mozart. *Piano Sonatas*, ed. Walther Lampe. (Munich and London: Henle/Novello, 1948).
- W. A. Mozart. *Sonatas and Fantasies for the Piano*, ed. Nathan Broder (Brynn Mawr, Pennsylvania: Theodore Presser Company, 1956).
- W. A. Mozart. *Piano Sonatas*, ed. Walther Lampe. (Munich and London: Henle/Novello, 1966).
- W. A. Mozart, *Sonatas for Pianoforte*, ed. Stanley Sadie, fingering and performance notes by Denis Matthews (London: Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music (ABRSM) Publishing, 1970/reprint 1981), 2 vols.
- W. A. Mozart, *Klaviersonaten*, 2 vols., ed. Karl Heinz Füsst and Heinz Scholz (Vienna: Wiener Urtext Edition, 1973).
- W. A. Mozart, *Piano Sonatas - Urtext Edition,* ed. Ernst Hertrrich, fingerings by Hans Martin Theopold (Munich: Henle, 1977).
- W. A. Mozart, *Klaviersonaten, Urtext der Neuen Mozart-Ausgabe*, Serie IX, Werkgruppe 25, 2 vols., ed. Wolfgang Plath and Wolfgang Rehm (Kassel: Bärenreiter, BA4600 and BA4601, 1986).
- W. A. Mozart. *Klaviersonaten*, 2 vols., ed. Ernst Herttrich, fingerings by Hans-Martin Theopold (Munich: Henle Verlag, 1992).
- W. A. Mozart, *Sonaten, Fantasien und Rondi*, 2 vols, ed. István Máriássy (Budapest: Könemann Music, 1993/1999).

[79] See previous page.
[80] W. A. Mozart, *Piano Sonatas - Urtext Edition,* ed. Ernst Hertrrich, fingerings by Hans Martin Theopold (Munich: *Henle Verlag*, 1977).
[81] W. A. Mozart, *Klaviersonaten*, 2 vols., ed. Karl Heinz Füsst and Heinz Scholz (Vienna: Wiener Urtext Edition, UT 50036, 1973).
[82] See previous page.
[83] W. A. Mozart, *Sonaten, Fantasien und Rondi*, 2 vols, ed. István Máriássy (Budapest: Könemann Music, 1993/1999).

Overview of selected twentieth-century editions

- W. A. Mozart. *Sonatas and Fantasies for the Piano*, ed. Nathan Broder (Brynn Mawr, Pennsylvania: Theodore Presser Company, 1956).

Edited by Nathan Broder[84] and published in 1956, the volume was subtitled as 'a new edition prepared from the autographs and earliest printed sources',[85] and appeared at a time when the demand for editions free of editorial suggestions was emerging quite prominently.[86] A contemporary review of the edition, by Siegmund Levarie, described it as exemplary and long-awaited, fulfilling

> …a real need felt by many. By adding nothing to Mozart's original – neither dynamic indications nor other interpretative suggestions – this edition achieves a pedagogic value as high as its artistic value: instead of supplying the performer, the teacher and the pupil with a ready-made interpretation, Broder makes Mozart appeal directly to their independent thinking and feeling.[87]

In a sense, Broder's edition, which included an extensive preface in English, with a concise explanation of embellishments and a critique of former editions (though with no critical notes whatsoever) was one of the earliest manifestations of the mid-twentieth-century concept that 'the works of the masters disclose and manifest norms and standards of beauty more clearly and unambivalently in exemplary editions of their writings than in festival performances'.[88] Levarie was clearly expressing a shared notion of his times regarding the supremacy of the text over the performance of a work: he regarded the precise handing down of the text as the most precious inheritance from the past and the richest source for the present and the future. In doing so, he failed to perceive the text itself as an interpretation; instead, he asserted that the text (in this case, Broder's edition) represented the work in its purest form, while recordings and performances were perceived as of less significance, being merely a series of interpretations.

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[84] On Broder's biography and writings see Chapter Six, section 'Later criticism, scholarship and the *Alte Mozart Ausgabe*'.
[85] W. A. Mozart, *Sonatas and Fantasies for the Piano*, ed. Nathan Broder (Brynn Mawr, Pennsylvania: Theodore Presser Company, 1956).
[86] See also previous section.
[87] Levarie, 'Reviews of Books - Mozart: Sonatas and Fantasies for the Piano by Nathan Broder', p. 253.
[88] Ibid. p. 252.

- W. A. Mozart. *Piano Sonatas*, ed. Walther Lampe. (Munich and London: Henle/Novello, 1966).

Next in chronological order is the Henle edition prepared by Walther Lampe in 1966, appearing at a time when the *urtext* concept was beginning to be dismissed within scholarly circles as unattainable.[89] Consequently, while Henle's previous edition (1948) [90] was advertised as an *Urtext*, this 1966 edition no longer carries the term *Urtext* on its title page. It is important to note here that the 1948 edition has been excluded from the case study, since it was by and large based on Rudorff's *Urtext* edition of 1895[91] perpetuating its errors,[92] rather than on primary sources; thus, it does not really qualify as a newly edited scholarly edition, even though it was advertised and promoted as such.

In reviewing the 1966 Henle edition, Alan Tyson noted certain imperfections, but emphasized what he perceived as important improvements compared to its predecessor, characterizing it as 'undoubtedly the best-edited collection of Mozart's Sonatas at present available':[93]

> There are literally hundreds of places where the dynamic indications, slurring or expression marks have been changed, and perhaps half a dozen where the notes are now a little different. All this is evidence of great care and conscientiousness.[94]

Amongst his list of improvements, Tyson notes the inclusion of embellished first-edition passages in smaller print (though these were already present not only in the edition by Broder but also in the AMA; thus, their inclusion was far from pioneering), the consultation of early manuscript copies in addition to the autographs and the first editions as source materials, and the revision of important textual details.

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[89] See also Chapter Seven, 'The establishment of *Urtext Editions*' for an extensive description of this edition.
[90] W. A. Mozart. *Piano Sonatas*, ed. Walther Lampe. (Munich and London: Henle/Novello, 1948).
[91] W. A. Mozart, *Sonaten und Phantasien für Klavier*. Ed. by Ernst Rudorff, (Urtext edition, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1895).
[92] See also previous section.
[93] Alan Tyson, 'Review: Piano sonatas by Mozart; Walther Lampe' in *The Musical Times*, Vol. 107, No. 1484 (Oct. 1966), p. 888.
[94] Ibid.

- W. A. Mozart, *Klaviersonaten*, 2 vols., ed. Karl Heinz Füsst and Heinz Scholz (Vienna: Wiener Urtext Edition, 1973).

Another edition appeared in 1973 by Wiener Urtext,[95] as one of the first publications of the newly-founded publishing house which was essentially created by the merger of Schott and Universal.[96] Mozart's sonatas were edited by Karl Heinz Füssl and Heinz Scholz 'from the autographs, manuscript copies and first editions'[97] and, despite the fact that this edition was greatly improved compared to its predecessors, its labelling as *urtext* was often attacked by scholars of the time who, referring to it in their comparisons with other *Urtext* Editions, indicated the oxymoron that 'in theory they should be identical: in practice they are not'.[98]

Nevertheless, its publishers attempted to set their edition apart, by promoting it commercially as the best of its time and as prepared according to the highest editorial and publishing standards of the time – a claim that was, as we shall see further on, not too far from the truth.[99] In retrospect, the extensive Preface and the critical notes included in the edition (in German and English) were indeed a substantial improvement compared to the majority of preceding editions. Ultimately, however, these attributes translated into higher pricing compared to other contemporary editions,[100] especially compared to those which merely provided poorly edited reproductions of nineteenth-century prints.[101]

[95] W. A. Mozart, *Klaviersonaten*, 2 vols., ed. Karl Heinz Füsst and Heinz Scholz (Vienna: Wiener Urtext Edition, UT 50036, 1973).
[96] The volumes were also available as Schott/Universal editions (Mainz, 1973).
[97] W. A. Mozart, *Klaviersonaten*, 2 vols., ed. Karl Heinz Füsst and Heinz Scholz, Preface.
[98] 'Editorial' in *Music and Letters*, Vol. 55, No. 1 (Jan. 1974), pp. 1-4, p. 3.
[99] W. A. Mozart, *Klaviersonaten*, (Vienna: Wiener Urtext Edition, 1973), Preface.
[100] 'Editorial' in *Music and Letters*, Vol. 55, No. 1 (Jan. 1974), pp. 1-4, p. 3.
[101] See also the discussion on the rise and fall of the *urtext* in Chapter Seven, 'The establishment of *Urtext* Editions'.

- W. A. Mozart, *Piano Sonatas - Urtext Edition,* ed. Ernst Hertrrich, fingerings by Hans Martin Theopold (Munich: Henle, 1977).

Four years after the appearance of the Wiener Urtext edition, Henle produced a new volume, this time prepared by Ernst Herttrich with fingerings by Hans-Martin Theopold, and re-introducing the term *Urtext* on the front cover, most likely for commercial reasons: for, despite the concept's failure to convince the scholarly community and the proven impossibilities of re-constructing an *urtext*, publishers became increasingly aware that, as a marketing tool, the term continued to appeal to amateur performers.[102]

But, though the term was re-introduced, the edition did not really feature considerable improvements compared to its predecessors: firstly, its Preface was unusually poor and brief, only presenting the sources used for each work and some sporadic highlights from the textual divergences between the sources and the editorial decisions made. Most importantly, however, no critical report whatsoever was included in the edition; instead, only selected editorial observations and decisions were incorporated within the edition as part of the Preface. For instance, the notes to the preparation of the *Fantasia in C minor*, K475 (an extract of which is provided in the next page) are limited to the remark:

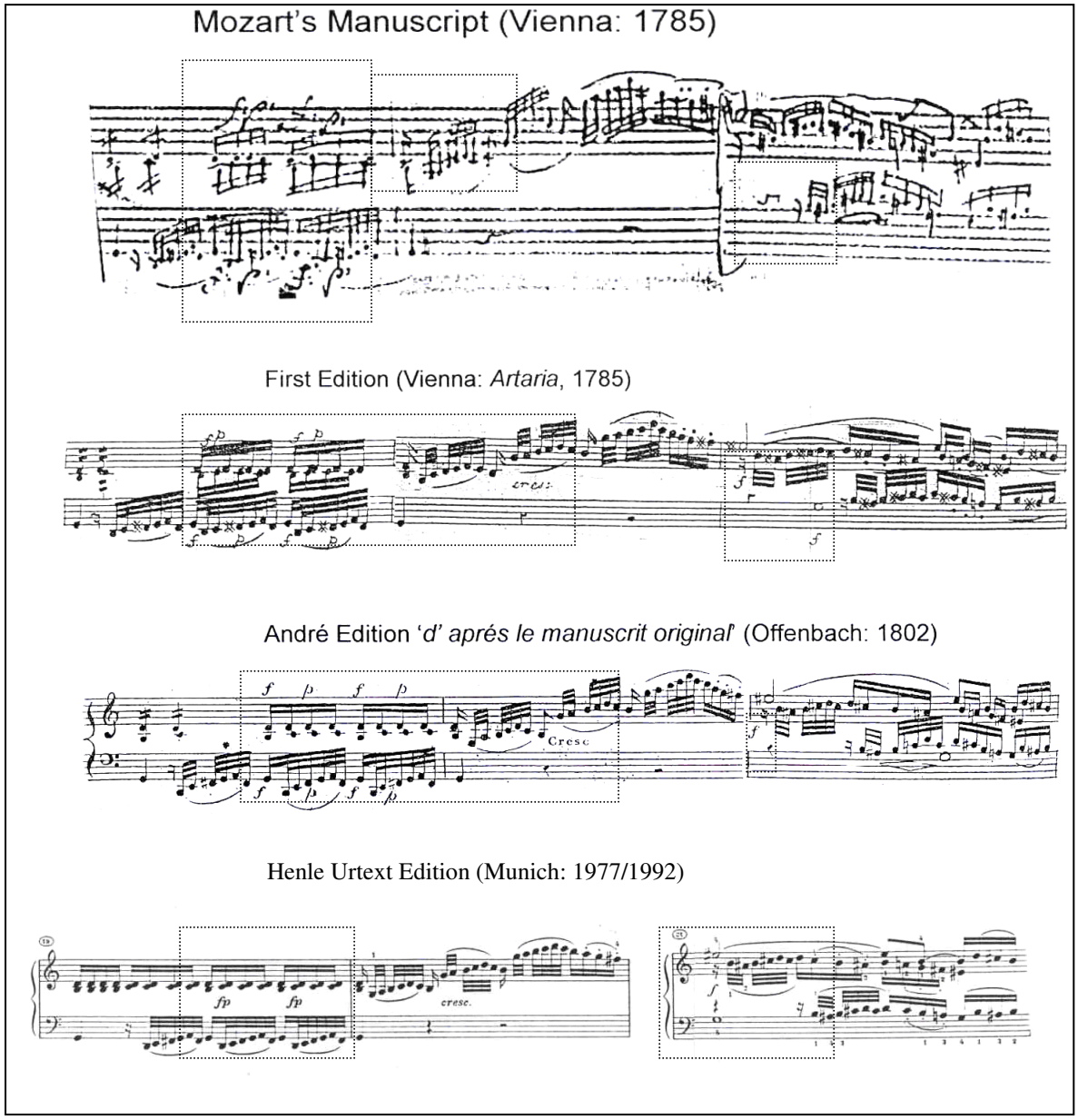
> [Bars] 19, 174, 177: Position of *fp* coordinated so as to produce uniformity; in sources *f* and *p* disconnected, position tends to vary. – 26u: 3rd slur here and at analogous points in AE only.[103]

Having read this comment, one may reasonably ask: 'How does the position vary and why? What is perceived as uniformity in this case? Which of the dynamics' positions has been selected as the 'correct' one and why have the other positions been disregarded?', but such questions remained entirely unanswered in the edition's notes. The quotation also illustrates how important 'uniformity' was as part of Herrtrich's editorial stance and, as an extension, of his understanding of Mozart's musical style as conforming to consistent patterns – an understanding that was challenged later on by

[102] Ibid.
[103] W. A. Mozart, *Piano Sonatas - Urtext Edition,* ed. Ernst Hertrrich, fingerings by Hans Martin Theopold (Munich: Henle, 1977), Preface, p. VI.

Eisen's studies of the *Fantasia*[104] and of other Mozart autographs, claiming that many of the apparent inconsistencies and idiosyncrasies of Mozart's notation were perfectly deliberate.[105]

<u>Overview 8.A</u>: Fantasy in C minor, K475: 'Uniformity' in placement of dynamics



[104] On the Fantasia's compositional style see, for example, Cliff Eisen and Christopher Wintle, 'Mozart's C minor Fantasy, K475: An Editorial 'Problem' and Its Analytical and Critical Consequences', in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, Vol. 124, No.1 (1999), pp. 26-52.

[105] See, for example Eisen's editorial approach of Mozart's violin sonatas in W. A. Mozart, *Complete Sonatas for Violin and Piano*, ed. Cliff Eisen (London: Edition Peters, 2003), 3 vols.

The exclusion from the 1977 Henle edition of further introductory material and of an analytical critical report was conscious on behalf of its editor and intentional on behalf of its publisher: since the edition appeared in one single volume, the editor claimed to have 'resisted the temptation to append a critical report, so as not to burden the volume with excessive textual matter', going on to note that 'only the most important points are referred to' and that 'a detailed, type-written Critical Report is filed with the publishers and may be had on request'.[106]

Having requested and paid for the detailed Critical Report for the 1977 edition, I eventually received a German report, which could not possibly have been written in 1977: for, the report discusses source materials that were not available in 1977 – referring, for example, to the recovery of the lost manuscript of the *Fantasia in C minor*, K475, which only re-appeared in 1990. Therefore, although the critical report is fairly analytical, listing several discrepancies between the sources and including parallel comparisons with other recent editions, it could not have been of much help in extracting conclusions on the editorial decisions made in the 1977 edition, since it was obviously not the report filed along with that edition, but rather, a new (or perhaps, revised) report that had probably been filed along with the firm's new edition, which appeared in 1992 (after the recovery of a large number of Mozart's autographs) and was prepared by the same editor.[107]

Interestingly, despite the fact that the new edition (1992) appeared in two volumes instead of one, the Critical Report was again not included in the edition – in fact, the printed information included in the Preface is more or less a reproduction of its 1977 predecessor, provided in German, English and French. It would not be far from the truth to assert that the 1992 edition by Henle seems to be an almost identical reprint of the 1977 edition, with only a limited number of changes. Therefore, because of the substantial similarities between the two editions, I regarded the inclusion of both in the case study as unnecessary – so, the 1992 edition, which appears to be a reproduction of its predecessor, has been excluded from the present case study.

[106] W. A. Mozart, *Piano Sonatas - Urtext Edition* (Munich: Henle, 1977), Preface, p. VI.
[107] W. A. Mozart, *Klaviersonaten*, 2 vols., ed. Ernst Herttrich, fingerings by Hans-Martin Theopold (Munich: Henle Verlag, 1992). This edition is further discussed in the next pages.

However, it is important to note here that numerous discrepancies have been silently 'corrected' in both the 1977 and the 1992 edition, without any explanatory comment: for instance, once again in the case of the *Fantasia in C minor* K475 (Overview 8.B), the editor has in both editions turned certain minims of the middle part to tied crotchets in the *Andantino* section[108] – most probably for the sake of 'regularity and uniformity' – even though the autograph manuscript, which had already been rediscovered before the 1992 edition appeared, clearly presents minims, and so does the first edition and the early edition by André. To my opinion, it is more probable that the composer *intended* to have a minim at those specific points – since, in all other cases where the same rhythmic pattern appears, he did notate tied crotchets and quavers, and this proves that he wanted to distinguish between the two patterns. It is a pity that Herrtrich, in his attempt to provide a 'clean' and uniform text, decided to exclude such an important effect as an 'obvious' error:

Overview 8.B: Fantasia in C minor K475, Bars: 86-97



[108] In bars 86, 87, 94, 95, 114, 118, 120 and 122.

André Edition (Offenbach: 1802)



Henle Urtext Edition (Munich: 1977/1992)



- W. A. Mozart, *Klaviersonaten, Urtext der Neuen Mozart-Ausgabe*, Serie IX, Werkgruppe 25, 2 vols., ed. Wolfgang Plath and Wolfgang Rehm (Kassel: Bärenreiter, BA4600 and BA4601, 1986).

This double-volume edition of the piano sonatas appeared in 1986 by Bärenreiter, edited by Wolfgang Plath and Wolfgang Rehm.[109] At the time, the edition was highly priced and the respective, thorough German critical commentary[110] only appeared twelve years later, and was sold separately, again at a rather high price.

But, while the high cost of the printed edition rendered it somewhat unattractive to the average twentieth-century amateur, the Mozarteum's initiative in the twenty-first century to offer free scans of the complete printed edition online has now rendered the edition highly popular amongst students and teachers.[111]

Despite the fact that at the time of its production the source situation was problematic (since a great number of autograph manuscripts, including some of the piano sonatas, were lost), this edition was nevertheless reputed as the most reliable of its time, even after many problems were identified following the recovery of several autographs of Mozart's piano sonatas in the early 1990s.[112]

The characteristics of the edition have already been discussed in detail as part of the section titled 'Mozart scholarship and the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe*' and will be further explored in the case study to follow.

[109] For a detailed discussion of the NMA edition, see section 'Mozart Scholarship and the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe*' in this chapter.
[110] W. A. Mozart, *Klaviersonaten Bands 1 & 2 – Kritischer Bericht auch zu BA4601*, ed. Wolfgang Rehm and Wolfgang Plath (Kassel: Bärenreiter, BA4600-40, 1998).
[111] The initiative, also known as the *Digital Mozart Edition*, has been available online since 2006 at http://dme.mozarteum.at. This project is discussed extensively in Chapter IX.
[112] These recovered autographs are now kept in the Jagiellonian Library in Krakow. A detailed listing of available autograph manuscripts and other primary sources of Mozart's piano sonatas are provided in the relevant section of this thesis' bibliography.

- W. A. Mozart, *Sonaten, Fantasien und Rondi*, 2 vols, ed. István Máriássy (Budapest: Könemann Music, 1993/1999).

In 1993 and again in 1999, Könemann editions of Budapest produced a luxurious four-volume edition of Mozart's complete works for piano solo. Two of the volumes were devoted to the piano sonatas and fantasies, and included brief editorial notes in English, along with a listing of sources and what the editor considered as the most important (and considerably few) discrepancies, mainly involving autograph manuscripts and first and early editions.[113] Alternate or ornamented versions appear dislocated from the main text (which largely follows the autograph readings) in the edition's Appendix.

Interestingly, however, the editor seems misinformed or unaware of the important rediscovery of certain autographs in the 1990s, though the edition came out it 1993 – for instance, in the critical notes concerning dynamics in the *Fantasia in C minor* K475, it is mentioned that 'the *decresc.* and *p* may in the *lost* [my italics] autograph have been placed in bars 138 and 139 and mistaken by the printer, who put them into bars 140 and 141'.

[113] A detailed list of the sources used for the preparation of the edition is provided further on.

Sources consulted by the editions to be examined

Overall, the editions presented in the case study state that they have consulted a variety of sources for the preparation of the text of the six sonatas selected for examination in the current thesis.[114]

As was set forth in previous sections,[115] and as will be illustrated through the examples provided further on, the existence of a single, definitive text proves, to say the least, a chimera:[116] even when editors have consulted similar or identical source-materials, their textual translations still tend to differ at points, depending on their individual editorial criteria, their intentions and their understanding of what comprises the composer's style.

The two tables that follow (Table 8.C: Overview of sources used by each edition, and Table 8.D: Sources consulted for each sonata) indicate that, contrary to several nineteenth-century editions which took on the first edition's reading as definitive, most editors have relied primarily on the autograph manuscript as their basic source (whenever it was available), and secondarily on the first edition.

Only the Nathan Broder edition and the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe* have consulted additional sources (such as the *Œuvres Complettes*, other early editions and nineteenth-century manuscript copies),[117] regardless of the availability of the autograph manuscript and the first edition. The remaining editions have relied on or consulted other sources only in cases where the autograph manuscript was not available.

[114] The sonatas selected for study are the same throughout the thesis. The criteria for the selection of these six sonatas are listed in Chapter Three, 'Case study: Mozart's Keyboard Sonatas'.
[115] See section 'The rise and fall of *Urtext* Editions' in Chapter Seven.
[116] On the impossibilities in the reconstruction of a definitive text, see Chapter One.
[117] These nineteenth-century sources are all discussed in Chapters Five and Six.

TABLE 8.C: OVERVIEW OF SOURCES USED FOR EACH EDITION

Abbreviations:

A = Autograph

FE = First Edition

EE = Early Edition

AMA = Alte Mozart-Ausgabe

AA = Akademische Ausgabe

MC = Manuscript Copy

X = Source claimed to have been used for preparation of edition

EDITION	A	FE	EE	AMA or AA	MC
Broder (1956)	X	X	X	X	
Wiener (1973)	X	X	X (if no A available)	X	X (if no A available)
Henle (1977)	X	X	X (if no A available)		X (if no A available)
NMA (1986)	X	X	X		X
Könemann (1993)	X	X	X (if no A available)		

TABLE 8.D: SOURCES CONSULTED FOR EACH SONATA

Abbreviations: **A** = Autograph, **FE** = First Edition, **EE** = Early Edition

AMA = Alte Mozart-Ausgabe, **MC** = Manuscript Copy

SONATA	EDITION	YEAR	MAIN SOURCE	ADDITIONAL PRIMARY SOURCES
K284				
	Broder	1956	A	FE
	Wiener	1973	A	FE
	Henle	1977	A	FE
	NMA	1986	A	FE *Œuvres Complettes* (1798) MC (1790, K. H. Pölitz) 2 MCs (19th c.)
	Könemann	1993	A	FE
K330				
	Broder	1956	A	FE, EE Schott (1784/5)
	Wiener	1973	A	FE, EE Schott (1784/5)
	Henle	1977		FE
	NMA	1986	A	FE MC (1792/97, K. H. Pölitz) 2 MCs (19th century) MC (1800, M. Bischofreiter) MC (1800, M. Gaelle)
	Könemann	1993	A	
K331				
	Broder	1956	A (facsimile of last page only)	FE
	Wiener	1973	A	FE, Schott (1784/5)
	Henle	1977		FE
	NMA	1986	A	FE *Œuvres Complettes* (1798) MC (1792/97, K. H. Pölitz) MC (19th century)
	Könemann	1993	A (fragment of 3rd mvmnt.)	*Œuvres Complettes* (1799)

K332				
	Broder	1956	A (incompl.)	FE EE Schott (1784/5)
	Wiener	1973	A (incompl.)	FE EE Schott (1784/5)
	Henle	1977		FE
	NMA	1986	A (incompl.)	FE Œuvres Complettes (1798) MC (1792/97, K. H. Pölitz) MC (19th century)
	Könemann	1993	A (incompl.)	FE
K333				
	Broder	1956	A	FE
	Wiener	1973	A	FE
	Henle	1977	A	FE
	NMA	1986	A	FE
	Könemann	1993	A	FE
K457				
	Broder	1956	FE	AMA (1895) EE Götz (c. 1786)
	Wiener	1973	FE (2 imprints) EE André (1841) EE Götz (c. 1786)	EE Longman&Broderip (1790) EE Magazin de Musique (1798) EE Bureau de Musique (1803/5) EE Simrock (1803) *Akademische Ausgabe* (1895) MC of FE, Göttweig
	Henle	1977	FE	EE André (1841) MC corrected in Mozart's hand (for Therese von Trattner, 14 October 1784)
	NMA	1986	A (?)	FE (5 different imprints) MC (Therese von Trattner) Mozart's Work Catalogue *Œuvres Complettes* (1799) EE André (1802, 4 imprints) MC (1790, K. H. Pölitz) MC (1795)
	Könemann	1993	A	FE

Case study: Twentieth-century historical editions

Key point 1: Varying approaches on issues of slurring

Both the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century case studies (Chapters Three and Six) discussed the slurring in the first fifteen bars of the third movement of *Sonata in C minor* K457. It had been noted that, while in the autograph Mozart clearly slurs the descending right-hand patterns in groups of three, pushing the music forwards in a flowing manner, the first edition chops the pattern by separating the first beat from the remaining two, while the *Alte Mozart-Ausgabe* leaves the third note of each group out of the slurs, thus placing additional emphasis on the tied notes and introducing a particularly 'romantic' trait of performance, also visible in the lengthening of the slur in the right-hand descending melody of bars 13-14 (illustrated in example 8.A further on).

Closer study of twentieth-century historical editions reveals that Broder's text of the sonata is in fact an identical reproduction of the AMA; even though the editor claims to have consulted not only the AMA but also the first edition and an early edition by Götz (1786), the selected bars in example 8.A. illustrate clearly that, not only Broder's slurring but also every single detail (apart from the wider spacing of the notes) relies neither on the first edition nor on the early edition, but solely on the text of the AMA. This is an observation that went unacknowledged in contemporary reviews of Broder's edition,[118] most of which focused almost exclusively on its positive traits, such as the greatly helpful preface and the much improved representation of ornaments and phrasing for some of the sonatas (such as that of the problematic opening of the *Sonata in A major*, K331). In fact, reviews not only did not comment on Broder's heavy (and often indistinguishable) dependence on the text of the AMA, they actually noted that his editorial emendations were few, obvious and always distinguishable within the text:[119]

[118] Such as William Newman's review in *The Piano Quarterly Newsletter*, Issue 16 (University of Virginia, 1956), Levarie's Review in *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (Apr. 1956) and the reviews included in *The Julliard Review* (Julliard School of Music, 1960).

[119] Yet, as example 8.A. indicates, this is not always the case: here, the slurring differs considerably from the first edition (which was the only primary source available at the time of the edition's preparation), yet this emendation is not marked as such.

> By adding nothing to Mozart's original – neither dynamic indications nor other interpretative suggestions – this edition achieves a pedagogic value as high as its artistic value: instead of supplying the performer, the teacher, and the pupil with a ready-made interpretation, Broder makes Mozart appeal directly to their independent thinking and feeling. The present edition is always based on the autographs and the earliest printed sources. Discrepancies between the manuscript and the first, or oldest, edition are indicated in the music text by unobtrusive parentheses […]. Additions by the editor are restricted to obvious clarifications and they are frankly marked. Most of them are so obvious, for that matter, that one wonders why the editor bothered.[120]

The Wiener Urtext edition (1973) is the first twentieth-century edition that came much closer to the primary sources than any other edition of the time; Mozart's slurring is quite accurately reproduced, apart from the right-hand part in bars 6-7, that deviates from the primary sources by slurring in groups of two rather than in groups of three. Similarly, the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe* reproduces almost accurately the slurring of the autograph, but its text also combines elements from other primary sources: for instance, the dynamics of the first edition and the use of separate sets of dynamics for each stave.

The Henle edition (1977) does not follow the slurring of the autograph (since this was unavailable at the time), neither does it rely on the slurring of the first edition, which was available and which the editors have listed as the most important source in the preparation of the sonata's text. In fact, it appears that, according to the editor's opening statement concerning the promotion of uniformity,[121] all smaller slurs have been replaced by uniformed two-bar slurs that continue all the way to the last three bars of the antecedent phrase. Henle also introduces fingerings and the dynamic mark (*p*) of the first edition in between the two staves (as opposed to the separate markings for each stave found in the first edition).

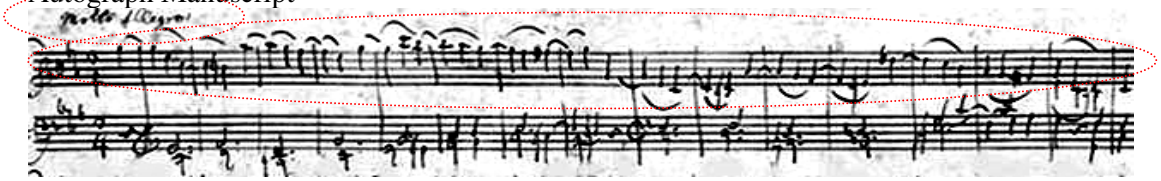
Interestingly, the text of the Könemann edition (1993) seems to be an exact reproduction of the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe* (1986). However, Könemann incorporates the title 'agitato', which was only notated in Mozart's hand on the manuscript copy prepared for Therese von Trattner (1784). Curiously enough, the term does not exist in any of the sources the editor of the Könemann edition claims to have consulted (i.e.

[120] Levarie, Review of 'Mozart: Sonatas and Fantasies for the Piano by Nathan Broder', p. 253.
[121] For a detailed discussion and a list of sources for the edition, see previous section.

the autograph and the first edition – see relevant table). However, the fact that the same term had been present in the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe* as well as in the Wiener Urtext edition (1973) is perhaps another piece of evidence as to the unacknowledged reliance of the Könemann edition on preceding twentieth-century editions rather than the primary sources themselves – at least so with regards to the preparation of this sonata's text. Regarding tempo directions, all editions distinguish between the indications of the primary sources, in this sense deviating from the *Alte Mozart-Ausgabe*, which largely followed the tempo directions of the autographs and only occasionally indicated elements originating from the first editions in parentheses.

EXAMPLE 8.A: Sonata in C minor K457, 3rd Movement, Bars: 1-15.

Autograph Manuscript



First Edition



AMA



Broder (1956)

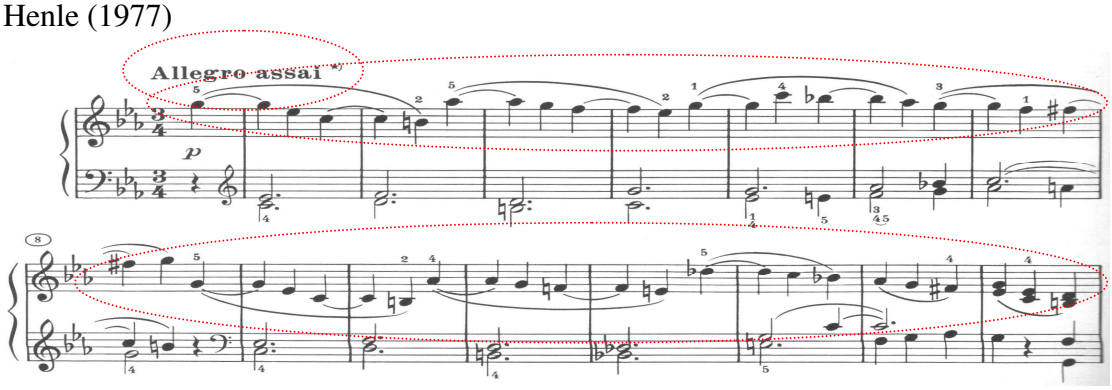


Wiener Urtext (1973)

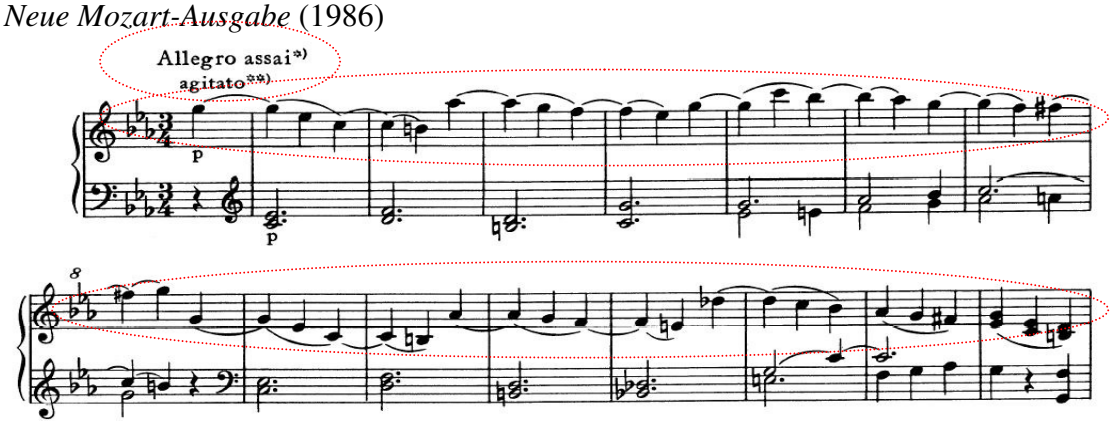


1) so im Erstdruck; im Autograph (laut Rudorff) und André-Druck: Molto allegro
thus in first print; in autograph (according to Rudorff) and André print: Molto allegro

Henle (1977)



Neue Mozart-Ausgabe (1986)



*) Tempobezeichnung nach dem Erstdruck; in der Widmungskopie und bei André (1802 und 1829): Molto allegro.
**) „agitato" in der Widmungskopie von Mozart nachgetragen.

Könemann (1993)



Key point 2: On the presentation of alternative textual versions

As discussed in preceding chapters,[122] the AMA was a pioneer of its times with regards to the representation of alternative textual versions, in cases where the text of the first edition deviated considerably from that of the autograph manuscript: in other words, it was the first edition which employed *ossia* staves above the main text, in order to incorporate alternative versions in a practical way. Twentieth-century editions examined here have also incorporated alternative versions, either as part of their main text in *ossia* staves, or as part of the endnotes. Interestingly, however, not all of these editions have prioritized the sources in the same way: editors have listed and presented the sources according to their individual understanding of the sources' importance and validity. In that sense, the following example (8.B), also derived from the third movement of K457, stands as an excellent specimen of the varied approaches in the evaluation of sources and the representation of alternative textual versions.

The Broder edition, as well as the Wiener Urtext and the NMA, incorporated the autograph version as part of their main text (even though, curiously enough, the autograph was not available at the time), with the first edition's version added on *ossia* staves, in smaller type, within the page. Wiener Urtext is the only one that openly admits that the 'autograph version' employed is in fact derived from Rudorff's 1895 *Akademische Ausgabe*. Könemann too preserved the autograph version as the main text, prioritizing the sources in the same way as Broder and the NMA; however, the first edition's version was not incorporated within the same page, but rather became part of the volume's endnotes, along with the statement that the variants are

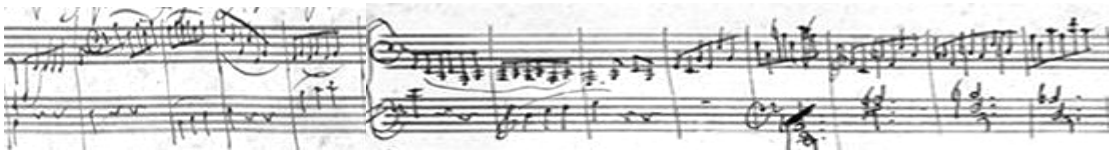
> less audacious or more 'conservative' than the autograph version given in the main text. Whether they got into the first edition with Mozart's approval or not is not known.

Finally, Henle presented the sources in an entirely different order of priority, omitting the (missing) autograph version entirely: its main text features the first edition's version, while the smaller-type version, provided on *ossia* staves, was constructed through a combination of the manuscript copy prepared for Therese von Trattner (1784) and the early edition by André (1802).

[122] See Chapters Five and Six.

EXAMPLE 8.B: Sonata in C minor K457, 3rd Movement, Bars: 89-99.

Autograph Manuscript



First Edition



AMA



Broder (1956)



Wiener Urtext (1973)



1) Lesart des Erstdruckes / *reading of the first print*
2) Lesart des Autographs (laut Rudorff) / *reading of the autograph (according to Rudorff)*

Henle (1977)



Neue Mozart-Ausgabe (1986)



Könemann (1993, main text)



Könemann (1993, as part of the endnotes)



Example 8.C, cited below, further demonstrates that all twentieth-century editions examined in this case study (with the exception of Könemann, which only presents the autograph version bare of dynamic markings) regard the reproduction of both the autograph and the first edition as of vital importance. Similarly to the previous example, Henle in Example 8.C. appears to have placed more importance on the first edition's 'enriched' version, presenting it as part of the main text, while the autograph reading has been reproduced in smaller type. Another interesting observation concerns the autograph representation in the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe*, which includes a *p* on each stave in the opening bars, even though Mozart's autograph is clearly bare of dynamics.

EXAMPLE 8.C: Sonata in D major K284, 3rd Movement, Variation XI:i *Adagio Cantabile*, Bars: 1-6

Autograph Manuscript



First Edition



Œuvres Complettes



AMA



Broder (1956)



Wiener Urtext (1973)



1) Lesart des Erstdruckes
reading of the first print

2) Lesart des Autographs
reading of the autograph

Henle (1977)


Var. XI
Adagio cantabile
188
Nach dem Autograph
Nach der Erstausgabe
p cresc. f p sf cresc.
190
f p cresc. f calando p cresc.
193
sf p pp f pf pf pf p cresc. f p cresc.

Neue Mozart-Ausgabe (1986)



Könemann (1993)



Key Point 3: Indication of dynamics and their sources

As already illustrated in the nineteenth-century editions of Mozart's sonatas examined as part of the case study in Chapter Six, instances of contradictory dynamic indications between the autograph manuscript and the first edition were treated in a variety of approaches. The following example (8.D) presents yet another case of varied nineteenth-century approaches towards dynamic discrepancies appearing in the sources, further exploring their presentation in this twentieth-century case study.

Five bars prior to the end of K284's *Variation VII* (bar 13), Mozart enters a *for:* in the right-hand part of his autograph, while the first edition features a *p*, with the *f* appearing in the left-hand part of the preceding bar. On the other hand, the first edition introduces additional dynamic indications, such as the *cresc.* in bar 14 and the *sf* in bar 16. In the nineteenth century, the *Œuvres Compettes* reproduced the first edition's version, while the AMA (as already mentioned in the respective section of the nineteenth-century case study) omitted dynamics originating from both the autograph and the first edition altogether, with the exception of the *pia:* at the closing of the variation.

The twentieth-century editions examined here have dealt with this issue through a variety of approaches. Broder once again literally reproduces the AMA's reading,[123] though he emends the AMA's longer slurring of bars 8 and 9, shortening the slurs according to the primary sources. *Wiener Urtext* reproduces the autograph reading, with a *p* in the left-hand part and the *f* following in the right-hand part, while Henle notes the dynamics originating from the autograph in standard fonts and those originating from the first edition in smaller type. The *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe* also applies Henle's tactic, paying additional attention in reproducing separate dynamic marks for each stave throughout bars 12-16.[124] Finally, Könemann insists on its tactic of reproducing only the autograph reading.

[123] On Broder's heavy reliance on the text of the AMA, see also key point 1 in the current case study of twentieth-century editions.
[124] On further discussion regarding the illustration of separate dynamics for each stave see also example 8.G. (Key point 6 in current case study).

EXAMPLE 8.D: Sonata in D major K284, 3rd Movement (Variation VII), Bars: 13-16

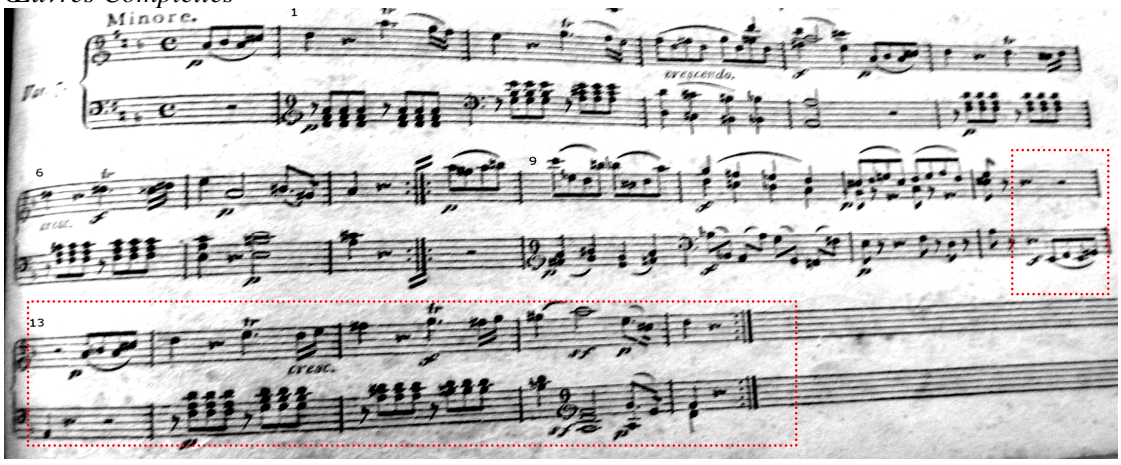
Autograph Manuscript



First Edition



Œuvres Complettes



AMA



Broder (1956)



Wiener Urtext (1973)



Henle (1977)



Neue Mozart-Ausgabe (1986)



Könemann (1993)



Key point 4: Representation of embellishments, slurs, dots and wedges

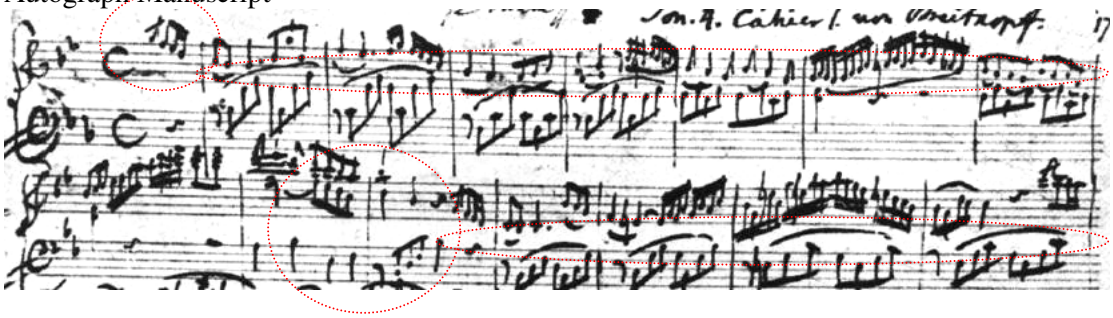
The corresponding segment of the nineteenth-century case study referred to instances of the nineteenth century's (and particularly the AMA's) altered representation of embellishments, slurs, dots and wedges, as changes which inevitably affected the overall character of the work. The example that follows (8.E.), illustrates the opening of Piano Sonata K333, and more specifically the integration, within nineteenth-century editions, of the opening appoggiatura and that of bar 10 as part of the main melody. This was discussed in the nineteenth-century case study and was interpreted as indicative of the ornament's performance *on* the beat (rather than *before* the beat, as nineteenth-century practice demanded), and as conforming to the further appearances of grouped semiquavers on the upbeats (such as those of bars 2 and 4). Furthermore, it was observed that the AMA also omitted the articulation dots and wedges of bars 9 and 10 respectively, while the slurring discrepancies appearing between the autograph and the first edition were resolved by deferring to the autograph reading.

From a twentieth-century aspect, this example is particularly interesting: while all twentieth-century editions cited here have consulted the same sources (namely the autograph and the first edition), they nevertheless dealt with these gray areas in a variety of approaches. The readings of Broder and the Wiener Urtext are identical, in that they re-introduce the small-font appoggiatura and the autograph's slurring, but omit the first edition's articulation in bar 10, in that respect reproducing the AMA's reading. Henle reproduced the autograph reading, but added the first edition's slurring in bars 5 and 7 and the respective articulation in bar 10, converting the wedges to

dots. The *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe*'s approach coincides with that of Henle, with the addition of lightly noted slurs (indicating that they originate from the first edition) in bars 1, 2, 5, 7 and 9. Once again, Könemann reproduces only the autograph reading.

EXAMPLE 8.E: Sonata in B flat major, K333, First movement, Bars: 1-12

Autograph Manuscript



First Edition



Œuvres Complettes



AMA



Broder (1956)



Wiener Urtext (1973)



Henle (1977)



Neue Mozart-Ausgabe (1986)



Könemann (1993)



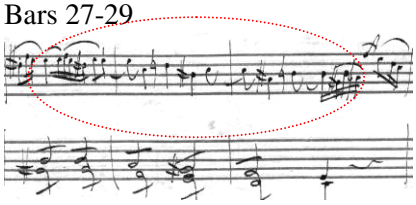
Key point 5: Certain discrepancies unanimously viewed as 'textual corruptions'

Whilst in most examples presented up to this point the edited text of Mozart's Piano Sonatas has proven far from identical amongst the twentieth-century editions examined, it appears that in other instances a number of textual problems were nevertheless overcome rather unanimously, by referring solely to the autograph manuscript. The curious case of ties in the first movement of K284 (Example 8.F.) is one such instance: even though the first edition's consistent omission of ties in bars 27-29 and 99-101 raises at least a question-mark as to its intentionality, all these twentieth-century editions reproduced the ties according to the autograph, the only difference being the inclusion / exclusion of the wedges that Mozart placed on the first note of each tied pair: Broder and Henle reproduced the ties without any wedges, while the more recent readings of the NMA and Könemann reproduced the ties as well as the wedges. The fact that the wedges have been maintained as such is particularly interesting, since most twentieth-century readings usually replace wedges with dots. The Wiener Urtext edition provides a footnote with an explanatory reading of bars 27-29, indicating that the wedge is meant to create the effect of a *fp* rather than that of a detached note (since the note is held over the bar line).

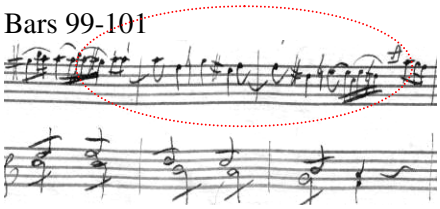
EXAMPLE 8.F: Sonata in D major K284, 1st Movement, Bars: 27-29 and 99-101

Manuscript

Bars 27-29



Bars 99-101

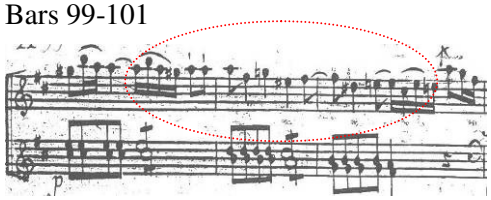


First Edition

Bars 27-29



Bars 99-101



Œuvres Complettes

Bars 27-29



AMA

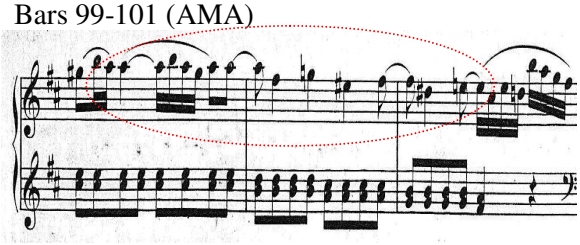
Bars 27-29



Bars 99-101 (*Œuvres Complettes*)



Bars 99-101 (AMA)



Broder (1956)

Bars 27-29



Wiener Urtext (1973)

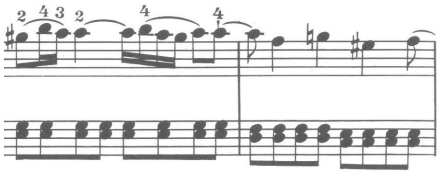
Bars 27-29



Bars 99-101



Bars 99-101



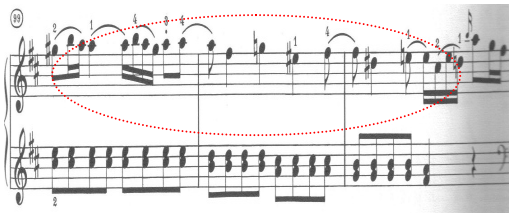
Henle (1977)

Bars 27-29



Henle (1977)

Bars 99-101



Neue Mozart-Ausgabe (1986)

Bars 27-29



Könemann (1993)

Bars 27-29



Bars 99-101



Bars 99-101



Key Point 6: Representation of Mozart's separate stemming and dynamics

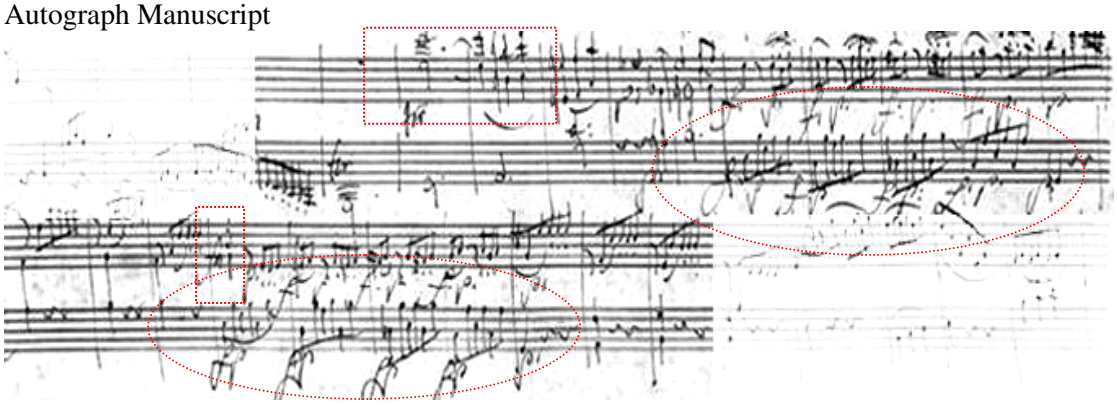
As already discussed in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century case studies, Mozart's habit of distinguishing internal voice leading by employing separate stems for each note within a chord was partly retained in the first editions and in André's edited text, while it appears quite often in the *Œuvres Complettes*, and only occasionally in the AMA. In twentieth-century editions examined, multiple stemming was more often than not replaced by single stemming, as indicated in the squared passages from the first movement of K457 (Example 8.G) that follow.

As far as separate dynamics are concerned, it has been illustrated that the *Œuvres Complettes* re-introduced Mozart's practice of indicating separate dynamic markings for each stave – a practice that some of his contemporary editions had replaced with a single dynamic indication for both staves. It was further noted that the majority of nineteenth-century editions that followed (and in some instances the AMA), continued to apply the single indications placed between the two staves, thus 'regularizing' the dynamic texture in a way that was probably regarded as compliant with the accepted notion of uniformity at the time.

In the twentieth century it is important to note that, even though editions usually merged separate-stave dynamics when these occurred simultaneously, they often preserved separate dynamic markings in instances such as that occurring in the third movement of K457, marking a substantial improvement compared to their nineteenth-century predecessors. Still, as indicated by the circled passages that follow, not all twentieth-century editions presented here are in agreement regarding the placement of dynamics: while Broder places the lower-stave *p* under the third quaver of each bar, the remaining editions merge the *f* and the *p* into a *fp* – even though Mozart's manuscript in the first occurrence of this series of dynamics preserves a distance between the *f* and the *p* and in the second occurrence joins the two dynamics together:

EXAMPLE 8.G: Sonata in C minor K457, 3rd Movement, Bars: 74-86

Autograph Manuscript



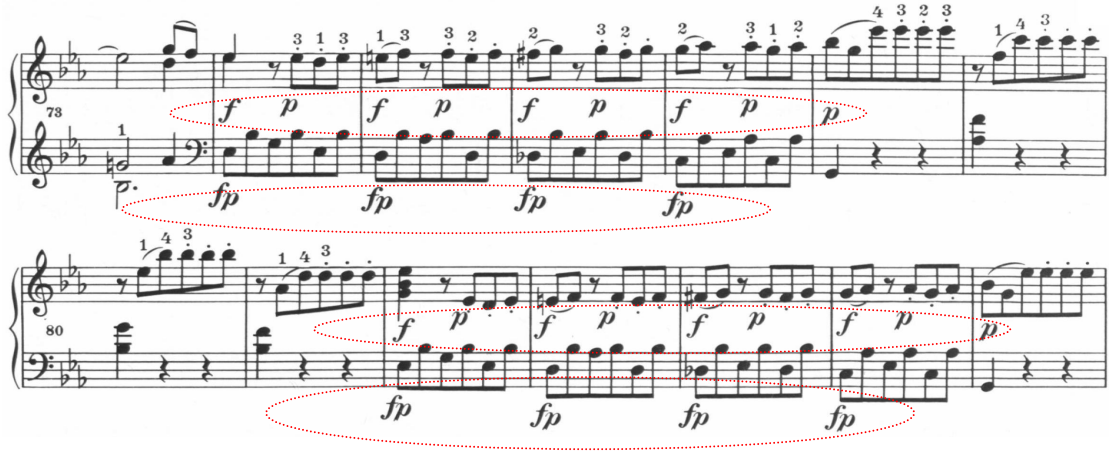
AMA



Broder (1956)



Wiener Urtext (1973)



Henle (1977)



Neue Mozart-Ausgabe (1986)



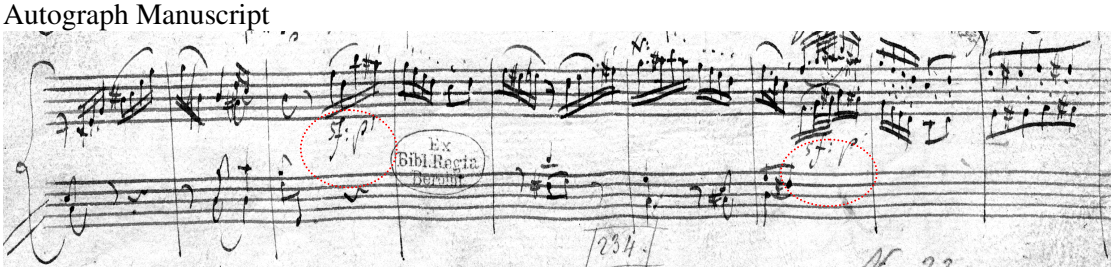
Könemann (1993)



Meticulous examination of the placement of dynamics in Mozart's music has indicated that the appearance of merged dynamic markings in a horizontal level (for instance, the merging of an adjacent *f* and a *p* into a *fp*) was frequent in nineteenth-century editions (see example 6.H. in the case study of Chapter Six). In certain instances, examined twentieth-century editions emended such misrepresentations occurring in preceding editions: in the following example, derived from the Sonata in C major K330 (and extended from the aforementioned example 6.H.), Mozart marks *sf:* and *p:*, while the AMA not only excludes the colons, but also merges the two dynamic markings into one single indication, thus altering the dynamic effect of the passage. The two distinct dynamic markings, noted in both Mozart's autograph and the first edition, have been re-introduced in all twentieth-century editions examined, without exception.

EXAMPLE 8.H: Sonata in C major K330, 1st Movement, Bars: 30-39

Autograph Manuscript



AMA



Broder (1956)



Wiener Urtext (1973)



Henle (1977)



Neue Mozart-Ausgabe (1986)



Könemann (1993)





Key Point 7: Exclusion of nineteenth-century suggestions on expanded pitch range

As already noted in the case study of Chapter Six, despite their labelling as historical, it was often the case for nineteenth-century editions to suggest 'improvements' to the text, according to the new capabilities of keyboard instruments available at the time. The AMA's suggestion (cited in example 6.I., in a passage derived from the first movement of K333) of extending the ascending sequence upwards instead of leaping an octave lower, as Mozart had noted in his autograph, has been unanimously rejected by the twentieth-century editions examined: all editions reproduce Mozart's original version, without further comment as to the reasons for the discontinuity of the melodic line and its abrupt downward shift (see example 8.I.).

Furthermore, in the same example, featured twentieth-century editions re-introduce the autograph's slurring of the left hand (squared), as well as the distance between the *f* and the *p* in bars 138-139. However, Mozart's separate stemming in these bars has not been preserved by any edition, apart from the Wiener Urtext (1973).

EXAMPLE 8.I: Sonata in B flat major K333, 1st Movement, Bars: 137-147

Autograph Manuscript



AMA



Broder (1956)



Wiener Urtext (1973)



Henle (1977)



Neue Mozart-Ausgabe (1986)



Könemann (1993)



Conclusions

The study of twentieth-century historical editions of Mozart's Piano Sonatas has brought to light intriguing observations and conclusions. As predicted, it has first of all illustrated that, irrespective of their labelling as 'historical', 'scholarly' or 'Urtext' and the century's aspiring quest for authority,[125] all of these editions are inevitably critical and therefore their interpretation of Mozart's text varies.

More specifically, it has been observed that while some of the twentieth century's historical editions examined feature considerable improvements compared to their nineteenth-century predecessors, the vast majority appear to have been influenced to a great extent by the readings of the *Alte Mozart Ausgabe*, either by reproducing its text (as Broder often does, despite his claims of reference to the primary sources), or by merely perceiving and interpreting Mozart's music according to a set of preconceived notions, which have persevered since the appearance of the AMA in the late nineteenth century. This becomes most obvious with regards to the treatment of dynamics and their placement – which has in some instances been regularized (Overview 8.A. and Ex. 8.D.) – as well as to the slurring of passages, which has often been influenced by late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century taste (Ex. 8.A.).

Furthermore, it also appears that the majority of twentieth-century editors – similarly to most of their late-nineteenth-century predecessors[126] and to the contemporary idea that the autograph manuscript represents the composer's purest intentions[127] – regarded the autograph manuscript as the most important source for the preparation of their editions. This is evident where features likely to have been intentionally introduced by the composer in the first editions (such as the ties that had been omitted in the first edition in Ex. 8.F.) were entirely disregarded in their twentieth-century counterparts, or treated as of secondary importance. Henle is perhaps the only edition which presents the first edition rather than the autograph as the primary source for the

[125] See also Introduction and Chapter One.
[126] With the notable exception of Rudorff's *Akademische Ausgabe*, which often paid particular attention to the readings of the first editions and the *Œuvres Complettes* as sources for his edition.
[127] See Chapters Seven and Eight.

main body of text in cases when the reading of the first edition is more elaborated and richer in performance markings than that of the autograph.

Finally, it has been observed that, just as the *Alte Mozart Ausgabe* has been a landmark in the editing of Mozart's works, influencing considerably later perceptions of Mozart's music, so has the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe* affected editions that succeeded it. This is, to a certain extent, evident in the text of the Könemann edition, which in many instances appears to be closely similar, or even identical to the text of the NMA.

That given, could it also be that the impact of the NMA continued to affect editorial practice well into the twenty-first century? The following chapter will present an overview of publishing and editing in the last decade, supported by a case study of twenty-first-century editions of Mozart's piano sonatas from a retrospective stand point – twenty-five years after the appearance of the NMA edition of these works.

– CHAPTER IX –

Music publishing in the last decade

STRUCTURE:

- Introduction
- Advances in music publishing
- Mozart Scholarship of the last decade
- Introduction to the Case Study
- Case Study: Editions of Mozart's Piano Sonatas of the last decade
- Conclusions

Introduction

Technology in the last decade has progressed with such tremendous speed that is incomparable to any of the advances that preceded it. The booming availability of internet access and the possibility to scan and print documents in the comfort of one's household has in turn affected 'traditional' music publishing to a great extent. Printed volumes are now facing serious competition from digital editions available online: the internet not only offers free out-of-copyright editions which have entered the public domain, but also relatively more recent editions – such as the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe*[1] – which have also been made available online free of charge. As we shall see further on, the internet even allows and encourages users to create, modify and upload their own texts, based on primary sources which have already been made available to them online.

This newfound availability of such a multitude of sources, essentially free of charge, is not without its pitfalls: more and more users, taking advantage of the availability of free sheet music, are performing from downloaded out-of-copyright – and consequently out-of-date – editions, published in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century; editions which, as the case studies in previous chapters have indicated, not only include several inaccuracies but also present rather 'romanticized' interpretations of works, having altered or 'enriched' the text with their own incorporated performance directions which, more often than not, went unacknowledged. In a way, then, this wide return to nineteenth- and twentieth-century editions via the internet, renders this thesis' examination of historical editions of Mozart's piano sonatas from the eighteenth-century up until today all the more important and valuable, not only to scholars but also to music students and amateur performers.

In turn, this changed equilibrium gives rise to a number of important questions, as to how present-day publishers are called to handle the demands for changes in format and pricing but also in content: how has the text of Mozart's piano sonatas been formed in the latest editions? To what extent is the editing of musical texts to be

[1] A collaborative online project of the *International Mozarteum Foundation* and the *Packard Humanities Institute*, available at www.dme.mozarteum.at, accessed 21 December 2009, featuring full free access to the complete edition of W. A. Mozart, *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1955-1991, suppl. -2007).

transformed, employing the newfound possibilities offered by digital media? In other words, what are the future perspectives of editing and how can they possibly affect the formation of the text and of music editions in general? Will the opportunity to produce and present several simultaneous readings and interpretations through digital media render editors unnecessary as mediators between the composer and the performer, signifying the much-dreaded 'death of the editor'?

Chapter Nine and the subsequent epilogue intend to explore these issues and to provide answers regarding the present and suggestions regarding the future of the editorial process, always with reference to Mozart's piano sonatas.

Advances in Music Publishing

Approximately five years prior to the new millennium, textual theorists set off to discuss the emerging potentials of a new editorial feature, the *hypertext*,[2] in which 'all variants in all states can be accessed electronically to produce any desired conflation or reconstruction of texts'.[3] The idea behind *hypertext* was soon joined by the concept of *metadata*,[4] granting access to all complementary, explanatory or documentary media that is attached to a digital document. These concepts, along with the explosive technological advances, represented by the attainability and availability of affordable computing, scanning and printing equipment during the first decade of the twenty-first century, have opened up entirely innovative streams in publishing as production and dissemination.

The new technological tools were initially employed for the creation of digital libraries and encyclopaedias,[5] dictionaries, journals, information networks or other online projects regarding literary works or works of fine arts: the *Whitman Archive* (1995-)[6] was a pioneer in the area of electronic scholarship, representing one of the earliest and most influential examples, establishing standards for electronic editing, site construction and digital reproduction, and serving as the model for subsequent projects. A year later, the *William Blake Archive* (1996-) was constructed [7] and three years after that, the *Rosetti Archive* (2000-2008),[8] which was one of the first large-scale academic initiatives, was also launched, providing access to Rosetti's entire

[2] See, for instance, G. Thomas Tanselle, 'Critical Editions, Hypertexts and Genetic Criticism' in *The Romanic Review*, Vol. 86, No. 3 (Columbia University, 1995) and Jerome McGann, 'The Rationale of Hypertext', originally published online (1995) at the University of Virginia Website, http://www2.iath.virginia.edu, accessed 1 January 2010.
[3] David Greetham, *Theories of the Text* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 47.
[4] For the uses of metadata in librarianship and music see Diane Hillman and Elaine Westbrooks, *Metadata in Practice* (Chicago: American Library Association, 2004).
[5] See Judith Andrews and Derek Law, *Digital Libraries: Policy, Planning and Practice* (Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate, 2004).
[6] The *Walt Whitman Archive* (available at www.whitmanarchive.org, accessed 20 November 2010) is freely distributed by the Center for Digital Research in the Humanities at the University of Nebraska–Lincoln.
[7] The *William Blake Archive* project was realized through a collaboration between the IATH, directed by John Unsworth, and three noted Blake experts, the latter of whom also serve as the editors of the *William Blake Archive* website: Morris Eaves, University of Rochester; Robert Essick, University of California, Riverside; and Joseph Viscomi, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The *William Blake Archive* project (http://www.blakearchive.org, accessed 20 November 2010) unifies access to the dispersed prints, paintings and poems of William Blake (1757-1827).
[8] *The complete writings and pictures of Dante Gabriel Rosetti – a hypermedia archive*. http://www.rossettiarchive.org, accessed 1 January 2010.

body of work, encoded for structured search and analysis and transacted with a substantial body of editorial commentary, notes and glosses.[9]

Despite its initial scepticism,[10] Academia gradually employed the benefits of this new information technology for promoting research, dialogue and the exchange of knowledge, while its 'traditional' counterparts (i.e. the dissemination of information through printed matter) were either combined with complementary material and discussion forums in digital form, or ran in parallel with digital versions.[11] This has since been the practice of music journals, most of which now offer online databases and digitized copies of present, recent and older printed articles, sometimes dating from as early as the 1800s,[12] thus forming an immensely rich, reliable and easily accessible database of information that would otherwise require lengthy and costly research to be located and explored.

Naturally, these technological advances also found their way to the field of music publishing: new, improved versions of typesetting software and printing hardware now ensure that the publishing process for the production of 'traditional', hard-copy editions runs more quickly, more efficiently and more economically; at the same time, music publishing in the broader sense of the word (which goes far beyond circulation in hard copies) has also developed dramatically quickly, mostly due to the rapid technological advances in the field of computing, which have opened up vast possibilities through the digital transmission of musical texts.[13] With the use of specifically designed, specialized equipment, such as music printers, scanners, music OCR readers[14] and other music-related hardware and software (such as evolved MIDI interfaces,[15] score-writing and score-reading software etc), new routes in the

[9] Ibid.
[10] For the initial reception of new information technologies see Jerome McGann, *Radiant Textuality: Literature after the World Wide Web* (New York and London: Houndmills/Macmillan, 2001), esp. pp. 53-54.
[11] See also John Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age: The transformation of academic and higher Education Publishing in Britain and the United States* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005).
[12] A detailed listing and archive or nineteenth-century music periodicals is provided online in the *Retrospective Index to Music Periodicals 1800-1950* (RIPM), http://www.ripm.org, accessed 1 January 2010.
[13] On the new perspectives of music publishing see also Ron Sobel and Dick Weissman, *Music Publishing* (New York: Routledge, 2008), esp. chapter titled 'New media, technology and copyright'.
[14] OCR stands for Optical Character Recognition: thus, an OCR music reader is an application which 'scans' and 'reads' (identifies) printed music, turning it into digitally editable, and often playable, formats.
[15] MIDI stands for Musical Instrument Digital Interface, and is essentially a protocol that allows for the transmission of the performance parameters of electronic musical instruments amongst a variety of

publication and dissemination of sheet music have opened up:[16] virtual sheet music, which is essentially a scanned facsimile of the hard-copy texts (usually transmitted in PDF[17] or image formats), and digital sheet music which, having been processed by an OCR reader, allows for music files to be manipulated and altered in ways that their virtual[18] and hard copy counterparts never could. Digital music texts can be transposed, arranged and played back with virtual instruments through a MIDI interface or reworked and printed in hard copy for live performance with real instruments.[19]

It was of course a matter of time before all these advances would bring about an unprecedented form of editing and publishing: The explosive expansion of the world-wide-web during the past decade has turned free downloadable and printable music scores widely popular, since people now own the equipment necessary to access, download and print sheet music. Amongst the first specimens of this new 'race' of music publishing is the so-called *Computerized Mensural Music Editing* (CMME, 1991), an Utrecht University initiative 'to offer free online access to new, high-quality early music scores produced by today's leading experts'.[20] The project, which is constantly expanding, has so far provided one of the most comprehensive interfaces for accessing the material available, essentially generating an entirely new form of critical music editions, in which dynamically generated, user-configured and searchable formats are infinitely produced, enhanced by the application of multimedia, hyperlink structures and semantic data markups, offering a wide array of information concerning alternative readings, musical sources, as well as other historical and analytical material.

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platforms. An excellent guide to MIDI is provided in Joseph Rothstein, *Midi: A comprehensive Introduction* (Madison, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 1995).

[16] See also *The Music Encoding Initiative* (MEI), 'a community-driven effort to create a commonly-accepted, digital, symbolic representation of music notation documents', http://music-encoding.org, accessed 12 July 2010.

[17] PDF: an acronym for Portable Document Format which has been developed by Adobe in 1993.

[18] A thorough discussion of the attributes of virtual music is provided in William Duckworth, *Virtual Music: how the Web got wired for sound* (London: Routledge, 2005).

[19] The impact of digital multimedia and sheet music is discussed in Nigel P. Chapman and Jenny Chapman, *Digital Multimedia* (3rd Edition, Chichester, West Sussex; Hoboken, N.J. : Wiley, 2009), esp. chapters 8 and 9, with online supplements at www.digitalmultimedia.org, accessed 1 February 2010.

[20] *Computerized Mensural Music Editing* project (CMME), http://www.cmme.org, accessed 1 January 2010.

Another, more recent electronic project, is the so-called *Programme Ricercar*:[21] an online initiative of the *Centre d' études supérieures de la Renaissance*, which presents facsimiles, modern transcriptions, scholarly commentaries and other tools for researching sixteen sets of books crafted by the Parisian printer Nicolas du Chemin between 1549 and 1568. The project is constantly expanding through links to databases of the sixteenth-century chanson repertory, a digital project devoted to the reconstruction of pieces with missing vocal parts, and another devoted to the study and editing of the literary text themselves.[22]

In the last few years, the average computer user is also able to even prepare personalised 'editions' through a multitude of music-notation software[23], and upload them on online databases.[24] As far as the uploading of digitized versions of printed editions is concerned, the fact that this is controlled by copyright law means that the majority of these editions available online is a collection of older, out-of-copyright editions, or of editions prepared by internet users themselves.[25] One of the most important online music libraries to date[26] is the *International Music Score Library Project* (IMSLP),[27] which provides free access to tens of thousands of out-of-copyright scores searchable by title, composer and nationality, time period, genre and instrument. A large number of these scores originate from the nineteenth century, and especially from Breitkopf and Härtel's series of composers' complete works. Consequently, the wide availability and free use of these old editions inevitably brought back nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century textual and stylistic perceptions and interpretations of earlier music, which could in turn be increasingly reproduced in contemporary (amateur) performance.

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[21] The project was launched in June 2010, and is hosted at http://ricercar.cesr.univ-tours.fr/3-programmes/EMN/Duchemin/, accessed 15 November 2010.

[22] The expanded features of the project are available at http://ricercar.cesr.univ-tours.fr/3-programmes/0430.htm, accessed 15 November 2010.

[23] The most widely used music notation software available online free of charge is *Lilypond*, available at www.lilypond.org, accessed 10 November 2010, while *Sibelius* and *Finale* remain the most popular software for academic and professional use.

[24] A large number of such 'home-made' editions are increasingly becoming available online, and several such music archives are listed throughout this chapter. Interesting specimens of such editions are also available as part of *Choral-wiki* – a site where everyone is free to upload their own editions of works, at www.cpdl.org, accessed 10 November 2010.

[25] See also Kirstin Dougan, 'Online Sheet Music Projects and Metadata from a Public Service Perspective' in *Music Reference Services Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (2006), pp. 1-11.

[26] Other, smaller-scale initiatives include the *Mutopia* project, available at www.mutopiaproject.org, the *Sheet Music Archive*, available at www.sheetmusicarchive.net, and the *Copy-Us Internet Music Publishing*, available at www.copy-us.com. All online resources accessed 21 December 2009.

[27] A free public domain sheet music collaborative library. Realized in 2006 as part of the *Petrucci Library Project*, at www.imslp.org, accessed 21 December 2009.

Thus, this 'return' to older editions has reintroduced issues that had already been tackled with – at least in scholarly circles – in the twentieth century, such as discussions concerning *Urtext* Editions. For, the average consumers (amateur or student performers) still place their trust on such editions, believing that the reproduced text is closest (if not identical) to the composer's intentions. Any search for product reviews of editions online (nowadays perhaps the most popular means of exchanging comments on products and services), brings to light the views of 'average' consumers regarding the qualities of good editions:

> You should […] be asking just who wrote your favorite editions […] unless of course you own *Urtext* Editions already (*Urtext* indicating that the edition in front of you is faithful to the original and any tampering made is marked as such). [28]

Another source describes *Urtext* Editions as providing

> …a score that respects the composer's original version and is without any of the arbitrary additions from other editors.[29]

Since the commerciality of the term was reinforced by such reviews amongst the online community, most publishers have continued to advertise editions as *Urtext* on their websites. For instance, the website of Editions Peters states:

> Peters Edition has developed beyond its historical and scholarly origins as a publishing venture and became a hallmark of quality in its own right, guaranteeing the user a fully authentic score. At the same time, care has been taken to ensure that, working within *Urtext* principles, the needs of the practical performer are properly and sympathetically addressed. The need for *Urtext Editions* is self-evident. At the same time, they set the standard of modern editorial practice.[30]

Though seemingly reproducing the sort of advertisement that would be successful in the mid-twentieth century, the firm nevertheless promotes its editions according to public demand – and the proportions of the demand for *urtext* are in themselves impressive: ironically, more and more online consumers use free out-of-copyright *Urtext* Editions, presuming that the text, having been advertised as an *urtext*, is not much different than that of more recent editions.

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[28] Patrice Connelly, *What is a Good Edition?* www.saraband.com.au accessed on 7 May 2002.
[29] *Digital Music Scores*, www.vivaldistudio.com accessed on 7 May 2002.
[30] www.urtext.com accessed on 7 May 2002.

A significant response to this problem, of crucial importance to contemporary scholarship and performance, was a project initiated by the Mozarteum in 2001, providing late-twentieth-century Mozart editions, still under copyright, entirely free of charge: the *Digital Mozart Edition*[31] currently grants free online access to digital facsimiles of the complete series of the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe* (1951-2007) including the full critical notes. Though the NMA is far from flawless[32] and in many cases has been outdated after the rediscovery of a number of lost manuscripts, its online availability nevertheless offers considerable textual advantages compared to other, much older editions, and overcomes previously considerable limitations of space, volume, cost and subject matter.

Along these lines, the NMA project collaborators have also announced their intention to expand the online archive into an interactive presentation of a variety of historical source materials, representing different stages in the genesis of a work, along with images, text files, databases of available sources and reference lists. A smaller-scale sample of the usefulness and the application of their upcoming intentions has been made available through the production of an interactive CD-ROM, featuring a visual and audio representation of Mozart's *Fantasia and Sonata in C minor* K475 and 457 respectively.[33] The digital layout of this small scale project was enough to provide insights of the composer's 'compositional process and the performance practice of his time, exceeding the well-known musical text by far'.[34] This example alone was one of the first to indicate the inherent possibilities in the digitization of sources and of related materials, which was soon to be employed by a number of subsequent digital initiatives.

In 2003, the *Online Chopin Variorum Edition* project was also launched,[35] presenting and enhancing 'comparative analyses of disparate types of source material',[36] while

[31] See footnote 1.
[32] Two excellent reviews of the NMA are provided by Marius Flothius, 'The Neue Mozart-Ausgabe: a Retrospect' in *Early Music,* pp. 533-537 (Nov. 1991) and by Cliff Eisen, 'The old and new Mozart editions', in *Early Music* Vol. 19, No. 4 (November 1991), pp. 513-531.
[33] W. A. Mozart. *Fantasia and Sonata in C minor K. 475 and 457: Mozart Digital – Interactive CD-ROM* (Salzburg: International Mozart Foundation, 2006).
[34] Presentation of the CD-ROM in the *Mozarteum*'s website, at www.mozarteum.at, accessed 21 December 2009.
[35] A collaborative project of academics from two UK Institutions, the *Royal Holloway* and *King's College London*. Available at www.ocve.org.uk, accessed 21 December 2009.
[36] Ibid.

one of its cognate projects, *Chopin's First Editions Online* (CFEO),[37] initiated in 2004, provides a virtual collection of all first impressions of first editions of Chopin's works 'with commentary on particularly significant textual features' and employs 'advanced imaging techniques allied with relevant open standards for metadata and interface design'.[38] Various similar online projects are constantly under development and expansion, not only referring to editions of music but also cross-referencing to additional source materials, biographical studies and performance-related issues: one such project is *European Mozart Ways*,[39] a multicultural, collaborative project, essentially functioning as an online analytical archive of Mozart's journeys through Europe, with reference to biographical evidence, extracts from the family's correspondence, and other relevant information. This project is an excellent example of how technological development has opened up the possibilities for publication, exchange and transmission of information in ways that had never before been anticipated. Another Mozart-related project is *Mozart in Italy*,[40] which will be released in early 2011 and aims to provide a complete, four-language, annotated searchable edition of the family's letters. Aside from the identification of people, places and works, the project aims 'to include links to a source catalogue, to recordings of Mozart's works and the works of others and a complete iconographical and documentary record of his life and times'.[41]

Alongside the continuous expansion of online archives of publications and source studies, the year 2000 also saw the production of the first digitized out-of-copyright editions in CD- or DVD-ROM format. According to the production notes of one of the firms, the editions to be digitized were selected through scholarly evaluation, while the scanned pages were processed so that the printed music would appear more clearly, noting that 'while some reorganization, retitling, and touch-up of staff lines is done, we do not proofread the music or fix any of the original errors'.[42] Digitized

[37] A collaborative project funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (UK), available at www.cfeo.org.uk, accessed 21 December 2009.
[38] Ibid.
[39] *European Mozart Ways* is a collaborative project of institutions in ten European cities, available online at www.mozartways.com, accessed 3 January 2010.
[40] An EU Culture Programme developed by the *Humanities Research Institute* of the University of Sheffield (2007-2013).
[41] University of Sheffield *Humanities Research Institute* website, http://www.shef.ac.uk/hri, accessed 21 December 2010.
[42] One of the major companies offering digitized editions in disc format is *CD Sheet Music*, which describes and advertises its productions online at www.cdsheetmusic.com, accessed 22 December 2009.

editions, offered in extremely low cost compared to their printed counterparts, have been warmly received, mostly by amateur performers and students, while the *New York Times* called the series 'a convenient source of music that will not clutter up the piano bench'.[43]

The total production output, which by 2008 already numbered more than sixty extended titles, features complete editions by composer, such as the *Digital Bach Edition*: a collection of four CD-ROMs (and later of one DVD-ROM) which includes the complete forty-six volumes of the nineteenth-century Bach Edition, first published by the *Bach Gesellschaft* between 1851-1900.[44] Apart from the (printable) scores, the collection includes searchable indexes of volumes, BWV numbers and titles in German and English, while the publishing firm has also announced its collaboration with an online audio bank,[45] through which the digital editions' users will be able to listen to recordings of selected works, read liner notes, composer biographies and other relevant information. Additionally, the 1911 Edition of *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* appeared in 2005 in CD- and DVD-ROM format,[46] reviving more than 4400 pages of the now historical collection in digitally searchable format. It may be outdated as reference material but, nevertheless, it offers a fascinating and valuable record of the early-twentieth-century and its perspective of older and contemporary music. For instance, the half-column article on Debussy reads that he has 'perpetrated things likely to offend musicians' prejudices unnecessarily,' while an article on the 'famous composer' Louis Spohr extends over seven full pages and a portrait.[47]

Despite the many evident dangers of misuse of this ever-expanding web of digital tools and information, it could be said that the fruits of this new digital era are the response to a general, growing demand for affordable scores and source materials. Most importantly, the correct and fair use of these newly available materials can be benefiting to both the scholarly and the amateur community; for, these advances present users with unlimited opportunities compared to their traditional printed counterparts, allowing for new methodological, presentational and interpretative

[43] Ibid.
[44] *Digital Bach Edition* (Verona, New Jersey: CD Sheet Music, 2005).
[45] *CD Sheet Music* signed an agreement with *Classical.com*, 'Home of Classical Recordings Online', www.classical.com, accessed 22 December 2009.
[46] *The Digital Grove Edition* (Verona, New Jersey: CD Sheet Music, 2005).
[47] Ibid.

routes which had not been possible in the past: for instance, the employment of meta-data technology not only allows for search through the archives and texts with incredible ease, but also for the exploration of connections and alternatives between selected textual elements and other relevant information, in forms ranging from text to score, audio, image, video or a combination of media. In a sense, then, this new technology enhances research and study, since less time is spent looking for the material itself – a process that could often prove not only time consuming to researchers, but also considerably costly.

Subsequently, this new way of presenting and accessing information has essentially redefined the nature of editing and publishing in ways that could not have been anticipated when this technology was first applied to music: apart from enabling editions to overcome both financial and cultural barriers, rendering them accessible globally, their circulation in electronic form increasingly releases them from the constraints of their printed counterparts. By doing so, they need no longer be limited to a rendition of a sole editor's transcription at a single given time, but are instead given the opportunity to employ simultaneous renditions of indefinite forms and variant versions in user-configured formats. In other words, the new digital tools now provide the editors with unprecedented flexibility in the presentation of their text and the editorial procedures behind it; they are now allowed to edit in a critical view that need not be limited to the production of a single, fixed set of interpretative decisions, but rather, to a whole spectrum of varied and acceptable approaches which, as will be indicated further on, open up infinite possibilities for the future.

Mozart scholarship of the last decade

As post-modern musicology[48] expands continuously into parallel investigations of relevant socio-cultural contexts, further exploring interrelationships with other sciences,[49] such as archaeology, aesthetics, sociology, anthropology, mathematics, literary studies and even with seemingly distant topics, such as engineering, computer science, cognitive and systematic musicology,[50] so has Mozart research expanded considerably, establishing new connections between disciplines, but also re-investigating certain 'traditional' topics from a twenty-first-century scholarly approach. Mozart scholarship has progressed so impressively – not only through the considerable number of academic publications produced, but also through the expanded application of solid methodological and systematic research – that it has been stated from as early as 2004 that 'Mozart studies now enjoy a philological basis that is the envy of the discipline',[51] having produced some of the richest outputs of material in these areas, both in printed and in electronic form.

Highlights in the field of Mozart biography of the last decade include Spaethling's selection of family letters, outlining the composer's life and ideas,[52] and Gutman's cultural biography, attempting to place the composer's life and music within the context of intellectual, political and artistic currents of eighteenth-century Europe.[53] A considerable number of additional biographies or translations of older biographies appeared in the years that followed,[54] as well as revised editions of the famous

[48] An extensive, critical discussion of the term can be found in Giles Hooper, *The discourse of Musicology* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2006), esp. Chapter One: 'A New Musicology?', pp. 5-40.
[49] An excellent introduction to the implications of the various disciplines on current Musicology is provided in David Clive Greer, Ian Rumbold and Jonathan King (eds.), *Musicology and other disciplines* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
[50] The terms cognitive and systematic musicology are defined as the systematic investigations, through computational modelling, of musical thought and action. An excellent introduction to the topic is provided in Marc Leman (ed.), *Music, Gestalt and Computing: Studies in Cognitive and Systematic Musicology* (Berlin and Heidelberg: Springer Verlag, 1997).
[51] Thomas Irvine, 'The Foundations of Mozart Scholarship' in *Current Musicology* No.81 (March 2006), pp. 7-52, p. 15.
[52] Robert Spaethling (ed., transl.), *Mozart's Letters, Mozart's Life: selected letters* (New York: Norton, 2000).
[53] Robert Gutman, *Mozart: A Cultural Biography* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 2001).
[54] Such as Julian Rushton, *Mozart* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006) in the former category, and Piero Melograni, *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: A Biography*, transl. Lydia Cochrane (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007) in the latter category.

biographies by Niemetschek[55] and Abert.[56] Perhaps one of the most innovative developments in Mozart biography, this time in electronic form, has been the launch of the aforementioned *European Mozart Ways* and *Mozart in Italy* online projects.[57]

The twenty-first century also saw the production of extensive musicological compendia of Mozart scholarship, investigating his works and his world, such as *The Cambridge Companion to Mozart*[58] and particularly *The Cambridge Mozart Encyclopedia*,[59] which provides an alphabetical reference to people, instruments, places and concepts, as well as contemporary thoughts on Mozart scholarship and the composer himself. At the same time, studies of eighteenth-century historiography, iconography, portraiture[60] and musical style[61] have also brought to light publications of great interest, such as investigations of the 'golden age' of the Viennese symphony[62] and editions specializing in eighteenth-century music.[63] Other, more specialized studies on aspects of Mozart's music have also been produced, further exploring the composer's operas,[64] piano concertos,[65] instrumental works[66], as well as

[55] Franz Xavier Niemetschek, *Mozart: The first biography*, transl. Helen Mautner (New York and Oxford: Berghann Books, 2007).
[56] Hermann Abert, *W. A. Mozart*, ed. by Cliff Eisen and transl. by Stewart Spencer (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).
[57] For more information on these projects, refer to the previous section.
[58] Simon P. Keefe (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Mozart* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
[59] Cliff Eisen and Simon P. Keefe (eds.), *The Cambridge Mozart Encyclopedia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
[60] Cliff Eisen's recent work on Mozart portraiture is seminal: his article 'A New Mozart Portrait?' in *Coll'astuzia, col giudizio. Essays in Honor of Neal Zaslaw*, ed. Cliff Eisen (Ann Arbor, MI: Steglein, 2009), pp. 226-55, is also available at www.aproposmozart.com as 'Mozart in Italy and the Enigma of a Collection: Newly-Discovered Portraits and Artifacts'. An attempt has been made to create an online archive of Mozart portraiture (listing authentic, inauthentic and controversial works), which has remained largely undeveloped and inaccurate, available at www.mozartportraits.com, accessed 9 January 2010.
[61] Such as Sean Gallagher and Thomas Forest Kelly (eds.), *The century of Bach and Mozart: Perspectives on Historiography, Composition, Theory and Performance* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008) and Robert S. Hatten, *Interpreting Musical Gestures, Topics and Tropes: Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004).
[62] Peter Brown, *The first golden age of the Viennese Symphony: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven and Schubert* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002).
[63] Daniel Heartz, Mozart, *Haydn and early Beethoven, 1781-1802* (New York: Norton, 2008).
[64] Such as David Cairns, *Mozart and his operas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006) and John Rice, *Mozart on the Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), David Levin, *Unsettling Opera: Staging Mozart, Verdi, Wagner and Zemlinski* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007) and Edmund Joseph Goehring, *Three Modes of Perception in Mozart: The Philosophical, Pastoral and Comic in 'Così fan tutte'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
[65] Such as John Irving, *Mozart's Piano Concertos* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2003) and Simon P. Keefe, *Mozart's Piano Concertos: A dramatic dialogue in the age of Enlightenment* (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2001) and Marius Flothius, *Mozart's Piano Concertos* (Amsterdam, Atlanta: Rodopi, 2001).

the framework of selected individual works, such as the Requiem.[67] Mozart's piano sonatas in particular have been further explored in one of the most recent additions to Mozart scholarship, namely John Irving's *Understanding Mozart's Piano Sonatas*[68] (2010), which

> surveys broad thematic issues such as the role of historical writing about music in defining a generic space for Mozart's sonatas, their construction within pedagogical traditions, the significance of sound as opposed to sight in these works (and in particular their sound on fortepianos of the later eighteenth-century), and the creative role of the performer in their representation beyond the frame of the text.[69]

Other interdisciplinary studies related to Mozart and his music explore an exciting variety of topics, ranging from psychology to medicine, philosophy, social science and literature.[70] Studies in the field of psychology are mostly concerned with the so-called 'Mozart effect', investigating the impact of the composer's music on human consciousness in general[71] and children's emotional and intellectual development in particular,[72] while research in this field has extended to the application of Mozart's music in medical research, more specifically concerning its seemingly beneficial role as an alternative to painkillers and anti-depressants.[73] Social studies on the occult concern mostly Mozart's relation with freemasonry, and the impact of this ideology and symbolism on his musical style,[74] as well as the evolution and understanding of

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[66] Such as Simon P. Keefe, *Mozart's Viennese instrumental music: a study of stylistic re-invention* (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2007) and William Kinderman, *Mozart's Piano Music* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

[67] Such as Daniel Leeson, *Opus Ultimum: The story of the Mozart Requiem* (New York: Algora Publishing, 2004) and Simon Keefe (ed.), *Mozart Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2006).

[68] John Irving, *Understanding Mozart's Piano Sonatas* (Burlington and Sussex: Ashgate Publishing, 2010).

[69] Ibid.

[70] Such as the 26 interdisciplinary essays in Vincent Rufino, *Mozart from A to Z: An Interdisciplinary Study of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 2002).

[71] See, for example, Brien Masters, *Mozart: His musical style and his role in the development of human consciousness* (Forest Row: Temple Lodge Publishing, 2007) and Eric Jensen, *Arts with the Brain in Mind* (Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 2001), esp. Chapter 2: 'Musical Arts', pp. 14-48.

[72] Several studies concerning the impact of Mozart's music on child development have been produced in the last few years, such as Don Campbell, *The Mozart effect for children: awakening your child's mind, health and creativity with music* (New York: William Morrow – Harper Collins, 2000).

[73] The effects of Mozart's music on medical patients have been presented in Gordon L. Shaw and Matthew R. Peterson, *Keeping Mozart in Mind* (2nd edition, Michigan: Academic Press, 2000), and more recently in Simon D. Shorvon, Handbook of Epilepsy Treatment (3rd edition, London and New York: Wiley and Blackwell, 2010).

[74] Amongst various studies and approaches on this subject, publications such as Jacques Henry, Jack Cain and Brigitte Massin, *Mozart the Freemason: the Masonic influence on his musical genius* (Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions, 2006) provide a thorough discussion of Mozart's works with reference to the symbolism and principles of Freemasonry.

the concept of musical genius[75] and of other archetypes[76] through references to philosophy, literature and history.

As a whole, Mozart scholarship in the first decade of the twenty-first century has exhibited a large number of publications, both within and outside of the musicological discipline. Most importantly, however, an important set of initiatives in the creation of electronic projects has been ignited by the ongoing international interest in Mozart's life and works, paving the way towards the creation and expansion of electronic projects in the very near future. Ideally, the advances of this new digital era will be exploited to their maximum in order to share, transmit and preserve the ever-growing and multi-faceted amount of information regarding Mozart and his music.

[75] See, for example, Peter Kivy, *The Possessor and the Possessed: Handel, Mozart, Beethoven and the Idea of Musical Genius* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).
[76] For instance, Andrew Ginger and John Hobbs, *Selected Interdisciplinary Essays on the representation of Don Juan archetype in myth and culture* (Lewinston, NY: Mellen Press, 2000).

Introduction to the Case Study

Despite the rediscovery of numerous primary sources of Mozart's works during the past twenty years, and the improved publishing technologies, the last decade has so far witnessed the appearance of only a very limited number of new editions of Mozart's piano works.[77] The majority of firms continue to reproduce and advertise their twentieth-century editions as up-to-date and authoritative, avoiding, in several instances, to provide a publishing date in the product details,[78] probably for commercial reasons (perhaps fearing that if their old publication date is revealed, consumers might find the edition less appealing).[79] Having conducted extensive research in order to locate publications of Mozart's piano sonatas that have been edited in the last decade, I have only identified one edition by Wiener Urtext (Schott/Universal),[80] which includes the complete sonatas, published in two volumes between 2003 and 2004, and which shall be extensively discussed and examined as part of this twenty-first-century case study.

The new edition, appearing almost four decades after the firm's corresponding twentieth-century edition (which has been examined in the respective twentieth-century case study),[81] exploits extensively the improved situation in source materials, establishing new connections between textual variants and extracting further conclusions concerning the importance and the validity of each source. Additionally, its editor, Mozart scholar Ulrich Leisinger,[82] claims to have applied new editorial practices, by breaking away from the scope of reconstructing a definitive original text and eradicating most divergences which were previously only listed in the critical

[77] Other works by Mozart have been privileged with the production of a twenty-first century edition, such as his violin sonatas, which have been re-edited by Cliff Eisen and published by Peters Editions in 2008.

[78] See, for instance, the online presentation of editions by Henle, Peters and Schirmer, failing consistently to mention the publication year.

[79] A clarification is needed here: it was noted in the previous section that amateur performers and students often download and use old out-of-copyright editions, so it may appear as an oxymoron that they would consider the publication date of an edition as criterion for selecting it over another. However, it must be emphasized that the old editions are available online free of charge, while printed editions must be purchased – which means that those who purchase editions may be considerably more meticulous regarding an edition's attributes, including its date of publication.

[80] W. A. Mozart, *Klaviersonaten*, edited by Ulrich Leisinger, fingerings by Heinz Scholz, notes on interpretation by Robert Levin, *Vol. 1*: UT 50226 and *Vol. 2*: 50227 (Vienna: Wiener Urtext, 2003-4).

[81] W. A. Mozart, *Klaviersonaten*, 2 vols., ed. Karl Heinz Füsst and Heinz Scholz (Vienna: Wiener Urtext Edition, UT 50035-6, 1973).

[82] Ulrich Leisinger, Mozart researcher and currently the Director of Research at the *International Mozart Foundation* (Mozarteum) in Salzburg since 2005, had also acted as the editor of 'The Marriage of Figaro' in the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe*.

notes. In this edition, alternative versions, as well as suggested performance directions are presented in brackets, footnotes or in *ossia* staves alongside the main text.

The editor's particular attention to such important presentation issues and practical considerations characterizes most twenty-first-century publications of the firm, rendering the processing of information and the act of interpretation considerably more convenient and effective. For example, another issue of the Wiener Urtext series, Mozart's piano works for four hands,[83] presents the two parts in score format for the first time (i.e. in two parallel systems instead of a separate page for each part). As a result, the two performers can now be more aware of their interaction and their role at any given point, can locate rehearsal marks with more ease and, being able to keep track of both parts in parallel, they no longer need to count empty bars before re-entering. This new, transparent form of presentation not only enhances performance but also the scholarly study of the piano works in question.[84]

Additionally, the edition includes thorough critical notes in German (the firm had also advertised that an English translation would be available on its website),[85] as well as an extensive preface in German, English and French, referring to the inventory of works, the reasoning behind the division of the sonatas in two volumes, as well as the availability of and the relationship between the sources. Fingerings have been provided by Heinz Sholz (who was also responsible for the fingerings of the firm's previous edition of the sonatas in 1973). Furthermore, a valuable set of interpretation notes, written by pianist Robert Levin,[86] provide vital information regarding Mozart's keyboard instruments, tuning, pedalling, dynamics, *rubato* and tempo flexibility, idiosyncrasies of notation and execution, repetitions, ornaments and embellishments,

[83] W. A. Mozart, *Werke für Klavier zu vier Händen*, edited by Ulrich Leisinger, fingerings by Bruno Seidlhofer, notes on interpretation and completion of K357 by Robert Levin (Vienna: Wiener Urtext, 2004). Includes an *Appendix* with the earliest four-hand arrangements of the Fantasies for mechanical organ, K594 and 608.

[84] This layout has not been employed in chamber works for a larger number of instruments, such as string quartets, possibly because such a rendition would have resulted in a considerably bulky volume.

[85] W. A. Mozart, *Klaviersonaten*, edited by Ulrich Leisinger, fingerings by Heinz Scholz, notes on interpretation by Robert Levin, *Vol. 1*: UT 50226 (Vienna: Wiener Urtext, 2003-4), p. 162: 'An English version of these Critical Notes will be available for free download on the *Wiener Urtext* webpage www.wiener-urtext.com from July 2004 on'. The website was accessed last on 20 January 2011, but no English version of the Critical Notes was located online. The only document available that is related to Mozart is a paper by the firm's current Head Editor, Jochen Reutter, titled 'On Mozart's Musical Language', translated by Sibyl Marquardt.

[86] Levin's full biographical information is provided in http://www.music.fas.harvard.edu/, accessed 29 August 2010.

thus compiling a considerably helpful introduction to the approach of the music by the performer.

Since the Wiener Urext edition is, to the best of my knowledge, the only edition of Mozart's piano sonatas produced within the last decade, it will be juxtaposed with the primary sources consulted for its preparation (i.e. the autograph and first edition and, where appropriate, the *Œuvres Complettes*)[87], as well as with the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe*, which is considered, at least for the purposes of this study, one of the most important representatives of twentieth-century historical/scholarly editions of Mozart's *œuvre*. But first, let us see the list of sources consulted by Wiener Urtext for the preparation of the sonatas which are part of our investigation:

TABLE 9.A: SOURCES CONSULTED BY WIENER URTEXT (2003-4)

Abbreviations: **A** = Autograph
FE = First Edition
OC = *Œuvres Complettes* (1799)

SONATA	MAIN SOURCE	ADDITIONAL SOURCES
K284	**A (Complete, 1775)**	**FE (Torricella, 1784)**
K330	**A (Missing final bars of 2nd and 3rd movements, 1780s)**	**FE (Artaria, 1784)**
K331	**A (Fragmented, 1780s)**	**FE (Artaria, 1784) OC**
K332	**A (Up to b. 106 of the Finale, 1780s)**	**FE (Artaria, 1784) OC**
K333	**A (Complete, 1783)**	**FE (Torricella, 1784)**
K457	**A (Complete, 1778)**	**FE (Artaria, 1785) OC**

[87] Concerning the instances where the *Œuvres Complettes* have been consulted by the editors of the new Wiener Urtext, see Table 9.A.

As indicated in this table, the editor has relied primarily on autograph manuscripts for the editing of the sonatas in question; this is also confirmed by the edition's introductory section 'Principles of this edition',[88] which explains that in the preparation of the text

> the autographs form the starting point, as far as they are available, but the performance practice hints from the original prints are regularly taken into account and are identified by brackets as an additional stage in Mozart's revision process.

The first editions of the sonatas have been used as sources of secondary priority, while the *Œuvres Complettes* were only consulted in the case of K331 and K332, the autographs of which survive in fragments, and in the case of K457 which, as previous case studies have indicated, presents a multitude of editorial challenges, due to extensive discrepancies between the text of the autograph and of the first edition.

How did this new approach, adopted by the creators of this edition, affect the printed text and how have certain editorial problems been dealt with? These will be revealed in the ensuing case study, where this new edition will be further explored with relation to primary sources and juxtaposed with other editions of the nineteenth and of the twentieth century.

[88] W. A. Mozart, *Klaviersonaten*, *Vol. 2*: UT50227 (Vienna: Wiener Urtext, 2003-4), Introduction, p. XV.

Case Study: Editions of Mozart's Piano Sonatas of the last decade

Key point 1: Observations on issues of slurring

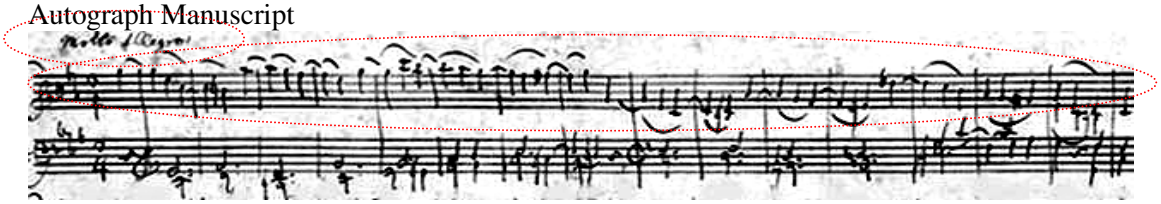
All preceding case studies have referred to the problematic case of the *Sonata in C minor* K457, with respect to the representation of slurs. It had been noted that, while the autograph clearly slurs the descending right-hand patterns in groups of three, the first edition chops the grouping by separating the first beat from the remaining two, while other eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sources seem to complicate the interpretation of the slurring even further. As a result, deciphering the composer's intentions while the autograph manuscript was unavailable became a considerably difficult task for twentieth-century editors: some trusted the reading of the *Alte Mozart-Ausgabe*, while others introduced their own, uniformed slurring, according to their perception of Mozart's intentions. The *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe* was the first to reproduce the slurring of the autograph, combined with the dynamics of the first edition.

The editor of the Wiener Urtext slurs the passage in precisely the same way as the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe*, reproducing the slurring of the autograph manuscript. The edition also includes detailed fingerings which, in this case, have the additional function of supporting the featured slurring. Differences, however, occur in the representation of dynamics: while the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe* includes the dynamics of the first edition without distinguishing their origin on the page, Wiener Urtext places them in parentheses, clearly indicating that this reading is largely based on the autograph manuscript and that the dynamics originate from the first edition.

It is nevertheless contradictory that Wiener Urtext features the tempo direction of the first edition, '*Allegro assai*', at the top of the page and without brackets, while the autograph's '*Molto Allegro*' is only provided at the bottom of the page:

EXAMPLE 9.A: Sonata in C minor K457, 3rd Movement, Bars: 1-15.

Autograph Manuscript



First Edition

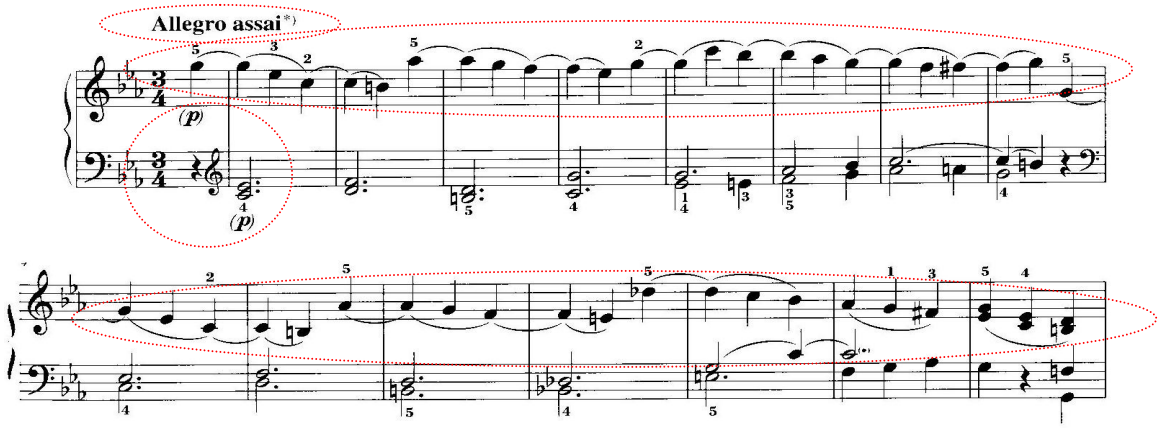


Neue Mozart-Ausgabe (1986)



*) Tempobezeichnung nach dem Erstdruck; in der Widmungskopie und bei André (1802 und 1829): Molto allegro.
**) „agitato" in der Widmungskopie von Mozart nachgetragen.

Wiener Urtext (2003-4)



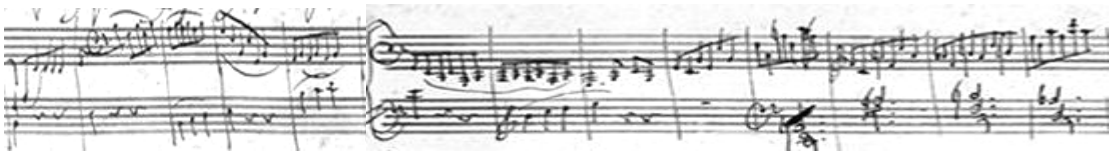
A Molto Allegro

Key point 2: No changes in the presentation of alternative readings

Following the initiative of the *Alte Mozart-Ausgabe* regarding the handling of alternative readings, all twentieth-century sources presented in the corresponding twentieth-century case study had included alternative readings between the primary sources, either as part of their main text, or as part of the endnotes, prioritizing differently according to the availability of sources and the editorial evaluation of each source. This presentational tactic has been preserved in the new edition by Wiener Urtext, which more often than not adopts the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe*'s approach of relying mostly on the autograph manuscripts, and providing the first edition's versions (where appropriate) in smaller type, as in the following example:

EXAMPLE 9.B: Sonata in C minor K457, 3rd Movement, Bars: 89-99.

Autograph Manuscript



First Edition



Neue Mozart-Ausgabe (1986)



Wiener Urtext (2003-4)



1) Lesart der Originalausgabe / Reading of the original edition / Version de l'édition originale
2) Lesart des Autographs / Reading of the autograph / Version de l'autographe

Key Point 3: Indication of dynamics and their sources

As the twentieth-century case study has indicated, a number of editors often mixed certain dynamics of the autograph and the first edition within their edition without clearly marking their origins: for instance, in the case of K284, the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe* includes a *p* in the opening bar on each stave in its rendition of the autograph version, even though Mozart's autograph clearly does not include such a marking. The new edition by Wiener Urtext distinguishes clearly between the autograph manuscript and the first edition, presenting the first edition's text and dynamics in additional, smaller-type staves, just as the firm's previous edition (1973):

EXAMPLE 9.C: Sonata in D major K284, 3rd M., Variation XI:i *Adagio Cantabile*, Bars: 1-6

Autograph Manuscript



First Edition



Neue Mozart-Ausgabe (1986)



Wiener Urtext (1973)



Wiener Urtext (2003-4)



1) Lesart der Originalausgabe / Reading of the original edition / Version de l'édition originale

2) Lesart des Autographs / Reading of the autograph / Version de l'autographe

Another example of the new edition's approach concerning dynamics appears in the last five bars of K284's *Variation VII* (bar 13), where Mozart enters a *for:* in the right-hand part of his autograph, while the first edition features a *p*, with the *f* appearing in the left-hand part of the preceding bar. On the other hand, the first edition introduces additional dynamic indications, such as the *cresc.* in bar 14 and the *sf* in bar 16.

As already discussed, twentieth-century editions dealt with this issue through a variety of approaches, eventually dominated by the practice of indicating the dynamics originating from the autograph in standard fonts and those originating from the first edition in smaller type (as applied by the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe*). Despite the novel intentions behind the use of this notational device, in practice it could easily cause considerable confusion to the reader, and most especially to the performer.

The improved rendition of the new edition by Wiener Urtext seems clearer and much more convenient, as the first edition's dynamics appear in parentheses. This is also a considerable improvement compared to the firm's previous edition of the same work (1973), which had entirely excluded the first edition's dynamics, only annotating the dynamics of the autograph manuscript.

EXAMPLE 9.D: Sonata in D major K284, 3rd Movement (Variation VII), Bars: 13-16.

Autograph Manuscript



First Edition



Wiener Urtext (1973)



Neue Mozart-Ausgabe (1986)



Wiener Urtext (2003-4)



Key point 4: Representation of embellishments, slurs, dots and wedges

In preceding discussions of the first twelve bars of the opening movement of K333, the AMA's integration of the opening appoggiatura and that of bar 10 as part of the main melody was understood as indicative of the ornament's performance *on* the beat (rather than *before* the beat, as nineteenth-century performance practice demanded), and as conforming to the further appearances of grouped semiquavers on the upbeats (such as those of bars 2 and 4). Furthermore, it was observed that the AMA also omitted the articulation dots and wedges of bars 9 and 10 respectively, while the issue of slurring discrepancies appearing between the autograph and the first edition was solved by referring solely to the autograph manuscript's reading.

The investigation of twentieth-century editions proved particularly interesting, since they all claimed to have had relied on identical sources (namely the autograph and the first edition), yet they dealt with these problems in varying ways. The *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe* reproduced the autograph reading, but also added the first edition's slurring in bars 5 and 7 and the respective articulation in bar 10, turned the wedges into dots, and added lightly noted slurs (indicating that they originate from the first edition) in bars 1, 2, 5, 7 and 9.

The new edition by Wiener Urtext provides a much clearer rendition of the passage: the first edition's slurring is presented in brackets, annotated accordingly in footnotes and additionally refers the reader to the critical notes. Furthermore, the new edition re-introduces the wedges in bar 10, also placing them in parentheses.

EXAMPLE 9.E: Sonata in B flat major K333, 1st movement, Bars: 1-12.

Autograph Manuscript



First Edition



Neue Mozart-Ausgabe (1986)



Wiener Urtext (2003-4)



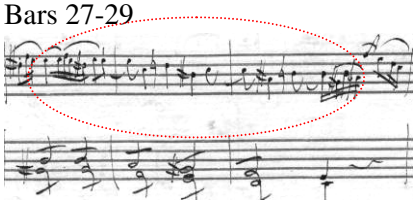
Key point 5: On perceived 'textual corruptions'

It was observed in Chapter Eight that the twentieth-century editions examined had dealt with certain discrepancies between the autograph manuscript and the first edition in a unanimous manner, referring to the following example from the first movement of K284, where the first edition's consistent omission of ties in bars 27-29 and 99-101 raises at least a question-mark as to whether this was a conscious alteration on behalf of the composer. Despite the evidence, all twentieth-century editions reproduced the ties according to the autograph, while at the same time excluding the wedges which appear in both the autograph and the first edition on the final note of bars 27 and 99, or replacing them with dots. The only instance where the wedges were preserved was in the reading of the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe*, and in the relevant explanatory footnote of the Wiener Urtext (1973).

Interestingly, the twenty-first-century edition by Wiener Urtext is innovative in that it does not provide the reader with a definitive solution to the problem – while employing the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe*'s reading as part of the main text, the editor also provides the reading of the first edition (without slurs) in footnote form. It appears that Leisinger, acknowledging that the repeated alteration of the passage in the first edition may have been intentional, provides all relevant evidence, thus encouraging a more critical participation in the interpretative process on behalf of the reader. As already mentioned, this tactic was acknowledged in the edition's preface, where it was emphasized that this edition would involve the musician in the decision-making process, on issues which the editor has decided there can be no definitive solution.[89]

EXAMPLE 9.F: Sonata in D major K284, 1st Movement, Bars: 27-29 and 99-101.

Autograph Manuscript
Bars 27-29

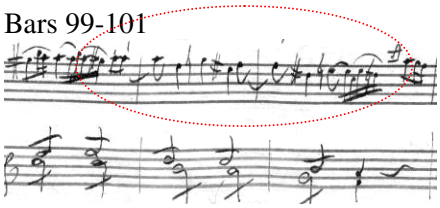


First Edition
Bars 27-29

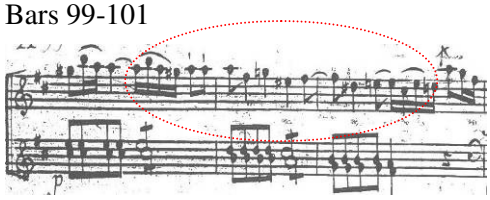


[89] W. A. Mozart, *Klaviersonaten*, *Vol. 1*: UT 50226 (Vienna: Wiener Urtext, 2003-4), Preface, p. XVI.

Bars 99-101



Bars 99-101



Broder (1956)

Bars 27-29



Bars 99-101

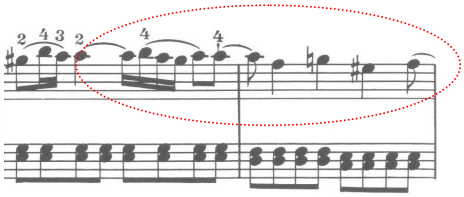


Wiener Urtext (1973)

Bars 27-29



Bars 99-101



Neue Mozart-Ausgabe (1986)

Bars 27-29



Bars 99-101



Wiener Urtext (2003-4)

Bars 27-29



Bars 99-101

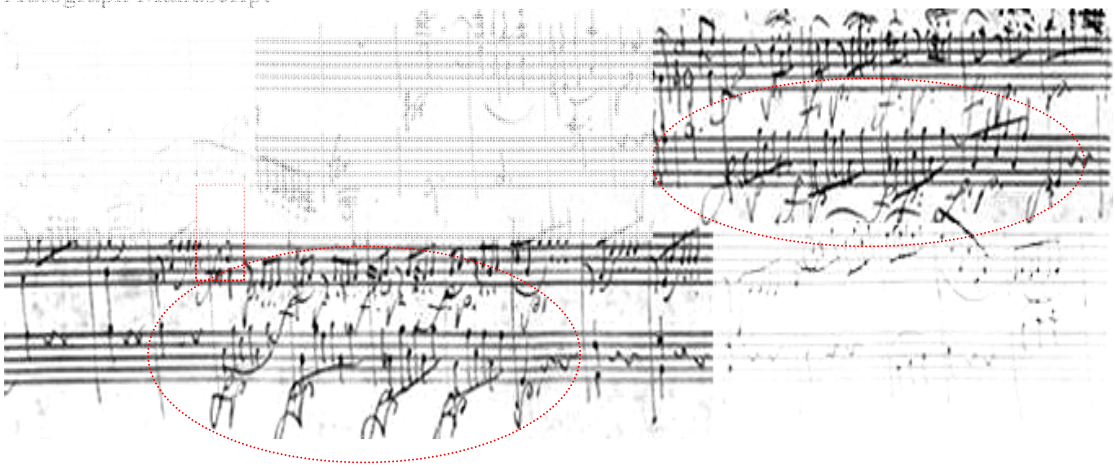


Key Point 6: On ambiguities in dynamics

The third movement of K457 which, as we have seen, presents substantial problems in the placement of dynamics, was approached variably by twentieth-century editions: the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe* merged the *f* and the *p* into a *fp* without any annotation on the page – even though Mozart in the first occurrence of this series of dynamics preserves a gap between the *f* and the *p* and in the second occurrence joins the two dynamics together. The new edition by Wiener Urtext presents a rendition that is closer to the notation of the autograph manuscript, while also annotating the two alternative readings in footnotes at the bottom of the page. Additionally, the edition re-introduces Mozart's wedges in the right-hand part, which had been replaced by dots in preceding editions.

EXAMPLE 9.G: Sonata in C minor K457, 3rd Movement, Bars: 74-86

Autograph Manuscript



First Edition



Neue Mozart-Ausgabe (1986)



Wiener Urtext (2003-4)

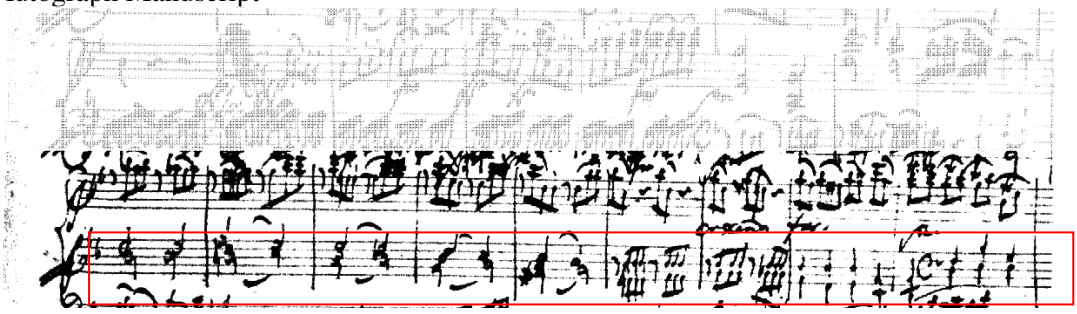


Key Point 7: On Mozart's separate stemming

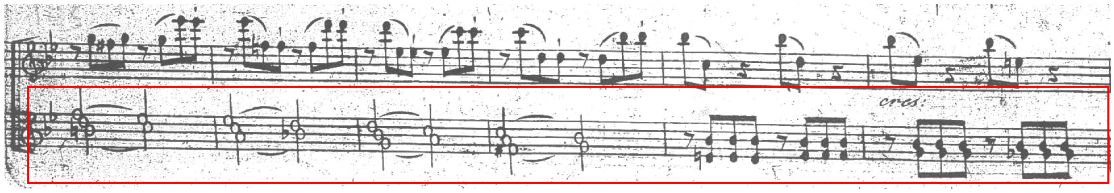
Previous discussions of the issue of separate stemming indicated that Mozart paid particular attention to the voice leading within chords or multi-layered textures in a large number of instances. However, his explicit annotation by employing separate stems, though originally retained by most early editions (such as in most first editions and, more often than not, in the *Œuvres Complettes*), appeared only occasionally in later nineteenth-century editions, including the *Alte Mozart Ausgabe* (with the important exception of Rudorff's *Akademische Ausgabe* of 1895). Reproducing the editorial stance of the AMA on this issue, twentieth-century editorial practice brought on the complete omission of Mozart's separate stemming, possibly for the sake of uniformity, and therefore depriving the text of an important compositional and interpretational tool. On the contrary, the twenty-first-century edition by Wiener Urtext re-introduces several instances of separate stemming, such as that in the first movement of K333:

EXAMPLE 9.H: Sonata in B flat major K333, 1st Movement, Bars: 137-147

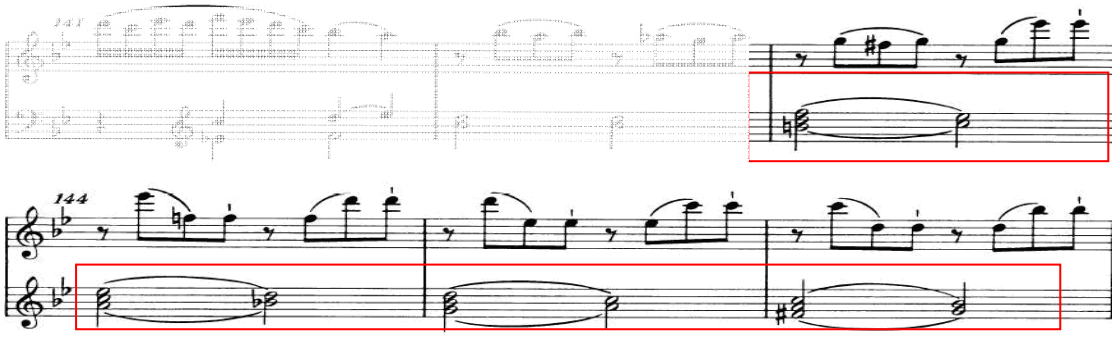
Autograph Manuscript



First Edition



Neue Mozart-Ausgabe (1986)



Wiener Urtext (2003-4)



Conclusions

Even though the source situation regarding Mozart's Piano Sonatas changed considerably in the last ten years of the twentieth century, new editions of these works hardly appeared in the two decades that followed: first, the Henle edition (1992), which was essentially a reproduction of its 1977 predecessor; second, the Könemann edition (1993), whose editor seemed in certain instances unaware of the newly re-discovered sources – or, in any case, he did not take advantage of the new improved source situation – and whose readings seemed to rely heavily on the readings of the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe*. Third and last, the Wiener Urtext edition (2003-4) which, to the best of my knowledge, is the only twenty-first-century edition of Mozart's Piano Sonatas produced thus far.

The edited text of the Wiener Urtext edition carries several improvements compared to its twentieth-century predecessors, in the sense that its interpretations are closest to the contemporary theoretical framework regarding the editorial task as a critical act. As such, it could be said that the Wiener Urtext has succeeded in providing:

a) a clear distinction between elements of the text that have been derived by more than one source (by marking these elements in brackets or parentheses instead of the previous, problematic use of smaller fonts or italics).
b) an invaluable description of the source situation and of the editorial framework applied during the preparation of the text.
c) an important contribution of helpful notes which contextualize Mozart's piano sonatas, allowing the reader to understand more about the nature of the work, the text and its performance.
d) a rendition of the text that is by no means intended as definitive, and therefore provides the readers with alternative readings as clearly and conveniently as possible, encouraging their active critical involvement in the interpretational process – acknowledging clearly that editing is in itself an interpretation which should interfere as little as possible to the decision-making process that ultimately rests with the readers/performers.

Yet, despite the fact that the editors of the Wiener Urtext have applied as extensively as possible the theoretical procedures of their contemporary editorial framework, the last seven years following the publication of this dual-volume edition brought on radical changes in the field of textual presentation – and, as an extension, to editing itself. As already discussed, the rapid advances in digital technology and its wide availability around the globe through the use of computers and other peripheral equipment has opened up a vast array of new opportunities for the presentation and the editing of musical texts.[90]

Of course, this is not to say that the editorial decisions presented within the latest edition of Mozart's piano sonatas by Wiener Urtext will be discredited due to the new opportunities offered by technology, but rather, that their presentation can be enhanced through the use of digital media, which allows for more space, coherence, and cross-referencing, thus eliminating the 'traditional' limitations in the form and amount of information to be disclosed to the readers. In fact, it is quite probable that the 2003-4 Wiener Urtext may be the last edition of Mozart's piano sonatas strictly appearing as printed sheet music: reprints of this and of other editions may continue to be produced, but their future reproductions or the newly-edited texts of Mozart's piano sonatas will most likely employ (or even rely entirely on) the extensive possibilities of digital media.

[90] These will be explored in the following and final section of the thesis, titled 'Going digital: Perspectives for the future".

Epilogue: Going Digital – Perspectives for the future

The narrative of the evolution of editorial, publishing and presentation theory and practice from the late-eighteenth century until today has touched upon various important issues exploring not only each century's perceptions regarding works and their representation through texts, but also sociological, technological and musicological changes that affected the nature, the features and the appearance of printed editions. The outcomes extracted from the comparison of the eighteenth-century primary sources of Mozart's piano sonatas (presented in Chapter Three), have served as groundwork for the further exploration of sources in the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first century – an exploration which has produced revealing evidence regarding the editorial practices of each era, while also serving as an invaluable comparison of an unprecedented number of historical editions of these Mozart works through time. Yet the narrative of this evolution does not stop here nor is in itself definitive: for, even though the past cannot be undone or modified, our perception and understanding of it may change, and with it our future perspectives of Mozart's works and of their implementation in editorial practice.

In the field of textual appearance and presentation, however, certain transformations of music editions in the near future can be predicted with considerable certainty, taking into consideration the first online initiatives related to source studies and sheet music and the vast array of digital technologies already available to the public today. While printed editions will continue to be available, more and more publishers will pursue the parallel digitization of editions and their commercial availability either online or in the form of digital data stored on CD, DVD, Blu-ray discs or USB sticks, or even perhaps on portable devices/applications similar to *Kindle*[1], the *iPad*[2] or to digital music stands.[3] Provided that the necessary collaborations will be established

[1] *Kindle* is currently one of the most well-known combinations of software, hardware and network platforms allowing users to access, render and display electronic books and other digital media.
[2] The *iPad* is essentially a tablet computer, developed by Apple, and marketed mainly as a platform for audio and visual media books, videos, music, games and web content.
[3] Such as the *SmartStand*, which serves not only as a hands-free digital sheet music viewer with a foot pedal, but also provides a family of interactive features: an interactive sheet music library, a composition application which allows students to compose their own music in MIDI sheet music format, an integrated webcam, giving students the opportunity to learn any musical instrument despite their location. This application could be expanded further to accommodate for the needs of scholarly use. See also http://www.theloop.com.au/aLancuba/project/14503/industrial-design/smartstand.

between certain institutions, commercial organizations and manufacturers, it could be possible for music editions to become available to the public in digital form, along with all critical notes, alternative textual versions, complementary performance notes, composer biographies, work context, instrument details, performance recordings, all kinds of relevant information in the form of text, audio or video, and even the primary sources themselves.

Of course, one could reasonably argue that the digitization and the combination of all this material can be a considerably costly and complicated process that requires highly specialized technicians, programmers and software developers to be set in action – meaning, consequently, that the majority of music publishing houses will most likely not be able to realize such an ambitious project by themselves. However, an ideal solution to these reasonable problems could be that the digitization of all this material (both of existing as well as of future editions) is undertaken by a central scheme: an institution or organization that will create the appropriate software platform, offering interactive access to all information. Next, this central institution can form commercial collaborations with music publishers, so that it is assigned the digitization of their material.

By doing so, music publishing houses will not only ensure that their invaluable musical archives will be preserved for years to come, but also that their editions will become more widely accessible and increasingly popular, as the new multimedia interfaces are continuously reaching more and more users. At the finish line, everybody wins: music publishers and, along with them, record labels and multimedia production labels which may be involved in the audio/video aspects of the project will profit from the increased sales of their existing material and also considerably reduce manufacturing costs for upcoming products; the central organization will also profit from the percentage of revenues offered in return for the digitization and sales of the material; lastly but most importantly, people worldwide will profit from the wide availability and the preservation of all this material in a coherent, convenient, multi-faceted, cross-referenced and cost-effective form.

But what could all these advances mean to the future of music editing? Does this newly available opportunity to store and display a multitude of information leave the

need for editorship out of the equation, signifying the much-dreaded 'death of the editor'?[4] Have editors become an unnecessary part of the music publication chain, now that the material on which their scholarly work has been based on is available for anyone to view and decide upon? James Stephen Murphy, referring to some of the largest online archives of literature and art,[5] accuses such digital projects of having 'killed the editor', as he observes that more emphasis has been placed on the abundance of information presented, rather than on the provision of a usable reading text:

> If a user consults a site like the *Rossetti Archive* in the process of looking for 'The Blessed Damozel'… or the *Whitman Archive* looking for 'When lilacs last in the dooryard bloom'd'… he will find multiple versions of each poem and a wealth of textual and critical information, but he will find no guidance as to the version he's likely to be reading in class the next day. Neither site designates a base-text, and I am unaware of any electronic archive that presents a copy-text edited version…My point is not to fault the Blake Archive in particular or to condemn electronic archives in general. They are an amazing resource for literary study at all levels, providing unprecedented access and new ways of looking at historical texts. . . The problem is that, while we might be preserving texts to an unprecedented degree, if the only online options are electronic archives and transcriptions of outdated, flawed editions, we run the risk of losing something valuable as well: not just the editor, who has been turned into an archivist, but also an understanding of texts as objects of interpretation and argument, or the products of interpretation and argument.[6]

Surely, Murphy raises valid questions regarding the practicality of these digital projects and their current uselessness as a source of a 'reading text'. He also argues that the philological importance of the 'reading text' itself, as a product of interpretation and as an ignition of further interpretative dialogue, is at loss. As an extension of this last observation, Murphy has identified what he considers as the most important fault in the making of these digital archives, which in most instances appear to have reduced the work of the editor to that of a mere collector of information, rather to that of an interpreter.

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[4] See also James Stephen Murphy, 'The Death of the Editor' in *Essays in Criticism*, Vol. 58, No. 4 (Oct. 2008), 289-310.

[5] Ibid. Namely, the *Rosetti Archive* (available at www.rosettiarchive.org, accessed 20 November 2010), the *Whitman Archive* (available at www.whitmanarchive.org, accessed 20 November 2010) and the *William Blake Archive* (available at www.blakearchive.org, accessed 20 November 2010).

[6] Murphy, 'Death of the Editor'.

Admittedly, it does seem that the creators of these first digital projects in the fields of literature and art did not escape the pitfalls involved in the preparation of such ambitious large-scale collections – in fact, an interesting parallel can be drawn between this contemporary initiative and the first efforts of the nineteenth century towards the creation of large-scale editions: just as those large editions were more concerned with completeness rather than with the quality, the usefulness and the accuracy of the text they offered,[7] so do these new ambitious first attempts in creating digital archives appear to have been more concerned with collecting material; eliminating, in a sense, the editor's role and handing over the text directly to the readers. Of course, though entrusting the reader with this abundance of information is not at all negative, what Murphy rightfully asserts is that it can be intimidating to non-specialized users, and that these digital archives have so far failed to fulfill the demand of the vast majority, who still want to view and refer to a 'reading text', a critical edition; and by doing so, Murphy continues, these archives have brought on the 'death of the editor' as an advocate of the composer's text and intention.

Yet, despite Murphy's insightful observations, the situation does not necessarily have to be as gloomy as he perceives: for, identifying the weaknesses of these initiatives does not necessarily mean that they should be dismissed in their entirety, but rather, that there is still room for improvement. Constructive criticism is in fact the most vital element in the development of the ideal digital formula which will bring about a balance between matter and presentation. Primarily, the nature of these digital archives needs to be grasped and redefined: what is the role and the need that they have been created to fulfill? Are they essentially a database of information for scholarly use, or could they in fact be more widely useful, practical and ergonomic?

Fortunately, the implementation of these new technological tools means that, instead of sacrificing the scholarly attributes for the sake of the commercial attributes, both aspects can now co-exist, without imposing on or eliminating each other's individual importance. In other words, these digital editions/archives can ideally offer both the

[7] On the attributes of nineteenth-century collected editions see Harold E. Samuel, 'Editions, historical' in Don Michael Randel (ed.), *The Harvard Dictionary of Music*, 4th Edition (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 280-283 and Sydney Robinson, Charles Hill, George Hill, Norris Stephens and Julie Woodward, 'Editions, historical' in *Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, www.oxfordmusiconline.com, accessed 4 September 2009.

'raw data' (for scholarly use) as well as the 'critically assessed' data (for performance or less specialized use); in fact, there is no reason why any amount of raw data and metadata cannot be transformed into a comprehensive and user-friendly web of information documenting the editorial interpretation presented within the supplied critical edition(s) to date, at the same time providing users with the option of a single reading or of a multi-layered text.

Thus, in essence, through the correct manipulation of the tools available to us today the editor's role need not be reduced or eliminated at all; it will in fact be reinforced, since the digital technology will allow editors to supply readers with any amount of information desired as evidence in support of an editorial decision (or the lack of one) without the previous limitations of space, volume or budget. In that light, the editor's task and the currently agreed editorial standards are in no way out of the equation, but rather, they have been elevated to a new, less limited sphere of existence: the editor is now supported by a team of specialists in the fields of programming and digital media, so that the desired editorial outcomes can be projected as clearly and effectively as possible. Admittedly, the demand for critically assessed 'performance' texts will always be high, and by no means could they be replaced by archival documents alone: therefore, what digital media can offer is the combination of a wealth of information that can co-exist with the 'read text', without necessarily cramming it or overwhelming the user with information.

Though discussions regarding digital projects are, for the time being, largely concerned with literature rather than with music, it is nevertheless evident that the current trials and errors in the process are paving the way towards the creation of the first large-scale digital music editions. Just as the process of producing the nineteenth century's monumental music editions was to a large extent based on the processes that had already been tried and tested in the production of monumental editions of literature, philosophy and other disciplines, so can the process of producing the twenty-first century's first large-scale, music-related digital editions and archives be informed by the recent attempts in creating literature- and art-related digital archives. For, the majority of problems faced during the production of the latter – such as issues of presentation, structure, organization, archiving and, of course, of editorial

intervention – could and should be taken into account as directly relevant to any attempt in creating a digitally enhanced (or entirely digitally-based) edition of music.

As a composer whose music has remained consistently popular throughout two and a half centuries, it is highly likely that some of the first digital editions/archives of music to be created will be of Mozart's life and works. This possibility is plausible, considering that there already exist Mozart-related digital projects, such as the *European Mozart Ways*,[8] the CD-ROM featuring the manuscript and information of the Fantasia K475[9] and the *Digital Mozart Edition*,[10] which for the time being only offers scanned versions of the complete (and rather outdated, for that matter) *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe*. These existing projects will expand further, possibly through the formation of new collaborations and through participation in a network of cross-references with a variety of related digital media. Yet, the outcome should not only guarantee the preservation and the archiving of information / editions already available; on the contrary, it should enhance and promote what has diachronically proven to be the most crucial element of interpretation in all of its forms: the continuation of dialogue.

[8] Available at www.mozartways.com, accessed 23 November 2010. See also extensive references to all available digital and online projects related to Mozart in Chapter Nine: 'Advances in Music Publishing'.
[9] CD-ROM of *Fantasia and Sonata in C minor K 457 and 475* (Salzburg: Mozart Digital Edition, Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, 2006).
[10] Available at www.nma.at, accessed 23 November 2010. See also Chapter Nine.

Appendix

Index and Information on Mozart's Keyboard Sonatas and other works

Mozart Autograph Manuscripts (henceforth abbr. MS)

Sonata in C major, K189d (279). 2nd & 3rd movements only. Original MS formerly owned by the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, now in Jagiellońska Library, Kraków.

Sonata in F major, K189e (280). Original MS formerly owned by the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, now in Jagiellońska Library, Kraków.

Sonata in B flat major, K189f (281). Original MS formerly owned by the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, now in Jagiellońska Library, Kraków.

Sonata in E flat major, K189g (282). Original MS formerly owned by the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, now Jagiellońska Library, Kraków.

Sonata in G major, K189h (283). Original MS formerly owned by the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, now Jagiellońska Library, Kraków.

Sonata in D major, K205b (284). Original MS formerly owned by the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, now in Jagiellońska Library, Kraków.

Sonata in C major, K284b (309). MS Copy by Leopold Mozart. [Facsimile]. Bibliotheca Mozartiana, Salzburg. MS private ownership, Switzerland.

Sonata in A minor, K300d (310). [Facsimile]. Original MS formerly owned by the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, now in Jagiellońska Library, Kraków.

Sonata in D major, K284c (311). Original MS formerly owned by the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, now in Jagiellońska Library, Kraków.

Sonata in C major, K330. 2nd and 3rd movements incomplete. Original MS in Jagiellońska Library, Kraków.

Sonata in A major, K331. Fragmented. [Facsimile]. Bibliotheca Mozartiana, Salzburg.

Sonata in F major, K332. Last movement incomplete. [Facsimile]. Scheide Music Library, Princeton University, New Jersey.

Sonata in B flat major, K333. [Facsimile]. Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin

Fantasia and Sonata in C minor, K475/457. [Facsimile Edition]. Salzburg: Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, 1991

Sonata in F major, K533/494. Opening bars only, in Mozart's *Verzeichnüß aller meiner Werke*. Also, MS of Rondo K 494, later extended and used as part of Sonata K533.

Sonata in C major, K545. Opening bars only, in Mozart's *Verzeichnüß aller meiner Werke*.

Sonata in B flat major, K570. Fragmented. British Library, London.
Also, opening bars only, in Mozart's *Verzeichnüß aller meiner Werke*.

Sonata in D major, K576. Opening bars only, in Mozart's *Verzeichnüß aller meiner Werke*.

Variations in C major for clavier, "Ah, vous dirai-je Maman", K256. Available in PDF at www.pianostreet.com

Trio for clavier, violin and cello, in E major, K452. British Library, London.

"Das Veilchen", K476. Facsimile edition. British Library, London.

First / Early Editions

Sonata in C major, K279: André, Offenbach: 1841.
First Edition: Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig;
Part of the *Œuvres Complettes*: 1799.

Sonata in F major, K280: First Edition: Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig;
Part of the *Œuvres Complettes*: 1799.

Sonata in E flat major, K282: First Edition: Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig;
Part of the *Œuvres Complettes*: 1799.

Sonata in G major, K283: First Edition: Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig;
Part of the *Œuvres Complettes*: 1799.

Sonata in D major, K284: First Edition: Toricella, Vienna: 1784.

Sonata in C major, K309: First Edition: Heina, Paris: c. 1782.

Sonata in D major, K311: First Edition: Heina, Paris: c. 1782.

Sonata in A minor, K310: First Edition : Heina, Paris: c. 1782.

Sonata in C major, K330: First Edition (3rd Imprint): Artaria, Vienna: 1784.

Sonata in A major, K331: Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig;
Part of the *Œuvres Complettes*: 1799.

Sonata in F major, K332: Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig;
Part of the *Œuvres Complettes*: 1799.

Sonata in B flat major, K333: First Edition: Torricella, Vienna: 1784.

Fantasia and Sonata in C minor K475/457:
First Edition (1st of 7 imprints): Artaria, Vienna: 1785.
Johann Julius Hummel, Berlin: 1791.
André, Offenbach: 1802.
Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig; Part of the *Œuvres Complettes*: 1799.

Sonata in F major, K533/494: First Edition: Hoffmeister, Vienna: 1788.
Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig;
Œuvres Complettes: 1799.

Sonata in C major, K545: Early Edition: Bureau d'Arts et d' Industrie,
Vienna: 1805.
André, Offenbach: 1788.
Cappi, Vienna: 1809.

Sonata in B flat major, K570: Early Edition: Artaria, Vienna: 1796.
Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig;
Part of the *Œuvres Complettes*: 1799.

Sonata in D major, K576: Early Edition: Bureau d'Arts et d' Industrie,
Vienna: 1805.
André, Offenbach: 1789.

Sonata K Anh. 135 (K547a): Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig; *Œuvres Complettes*: 1799.

Variations in C major for clavier, "Ah, vous dirai-je Maman", K256: Available in
PDF at www.pianostreet.com.

Trio for clavier, violin and cello in E major, K452: Artaria, Vienna: 1788.

'Das Veilchen', K476: First Edition: Artaria, Vienna: 1789. As part of *Zwey Deutsche Arien zum Singen beym Clavier in Musick gesetzt von Herrn Kapellmeister W. A. Mozart*

SELECTED BAR-TO-BAR COMPARISONS OF SOURCES

The comparisons presented in this section have been selected according to their relevance to the conclusions drawn within this thesis, but most importantly according to the apparent rarity and unavailability of this data in musicological or editorial documents.

Only certain elements derived from the comparisons between the primary sources and their cross-reference with nineteenth-century sources have been included in this Appendix. The comparisons of the primary sources with twentieth- and twenty-first-century editions have been excluded, since these are largely accessible as part of the critical notes of the editions examined.

Finally, it should be emphasized here that the information presented is the outcome of my own comparisons of the sources, and have not been derived by any other existing comparison or relevant critical notes.

Bar-to-bar comparison between Autograph manuscripts and First Editions

Abbreviations: MS = Autograph Manuscript FE = First Edition

RH = Right Hand LH = Left Hand

Sonata in A minor K310

Autograph Manuscript: Paris, 1778.
First Edition: Heina, 1782?

1st Movement - *Allegro maestoso*

Bar(s):	
1-5	tenor clef in left-hand part of MS.
5	Staccato dots in RH part of MS not in FE. Also in bar 7.
6	*for:* in FE, *pia:* in MS.
9	*for:* in MS not in FE. Tenor clef in LH until bar 14.
49	*f* in FE not in MS. Also in bars 71, 131.
50-56	tenor clef in LH part of MS.
55	*f – p* in MS, only *f* in FE.
90	notes E and D in RH part of MS, F and D in FE.
91	slurs and staccato marks in LH part of MS, none in FE.
100	*f* in FE not in MS.
102-3	tenor clef in LH part of MS.
106	LH part an octave higher in MS.
109	LH final chord G and B# in MS, G and D# in FE.

2nd Movement - *Andante Cantabile*

Bar(s):

Upbeat:	Starts off with a *pia:* in MS, nothing in FE.
1	*pia:* on second beat of MS not in FE.
4	slur connecting E and F in RH part of MS, F grouped with the following demi-semiquavers in FE.
5	*fp* on first beat in MS, only f in FE with p following at the second beat.
6	tie in LH part sustaining the octave D's in MS (crotchet and quaver). No tie in FE, and octaves are both crotchets followed by a quaver rest – the bar lasts a quaver longer than it should. In RH part, slur grouping all semiquavers together in MS, separated in groups of four in FE. *for:* in last beat of left-hand part in MS not in FE.
6-7	Tenor clef in LH part of MS, bass clef in FE.
11	*fp* in third beat in MS not in FE.
15	*pia:* in MS not in FE.
15-18	Tenor clef in LH part of MS, bass clef in FE. Also bars 28-30, 36, 66-67, 70-72,
23	*fp* and *crescendo* in MS not in FE.
27	*for:* at first and second beat in MS not in FE.
28	*pia:* in MS not in FE.
31	*for:* in MS not in FE. Also in bars 79, 83.
38	*pia:* on second beat in MS not in FE. Also in bar 40.
42	*for:* on second beat in MS not in FE.
46	only trill on second and third beats in MS, F added in FE.
50	slurring in RH part of MS not in FE.
51	*pia:* in MS, *for:* in FE.
52	*pp* in MS not in FE.
65	*crescendo* in MS not in FE.
80	three *fp* in MS, *p*, *f*, *p* in FE.
82	*for:* and *pia:* in MS not in FE.
84	*pia:* on third beat of MS not in FE.
85	*for:* on third beat of MS not in FE.

3rd Movement - *Presto*

Bar(s):

1	*p* in MS not in FE. Also in bars 21, 64.
29	*pp* in MS not in FE.
43-44	tie linking final crotchet D to quaver D in top part in MS not in FE.
72	*f* in MS not in FE.
77-78	tie linking final crotchet G to crotchet G in LH part, slur in FE. Also in bars 84-85.
95-96	tie linking crotchet E to quaver E in top part in MS not in FE.
98	F# in RH part in MS not in FE.
146	A natural in LH part of MS, A# in FE.
167-173	tenor clef in LH part of MS, bass clef in FE.
223-224	tie linking final crotchet E to crotchet E in LH part of MS not in FE.
230	G# in top part of MS not in FE. *f* in FE not in MS.

Sonata in D major K311

Autograph Manuscript: Munich and Mannheim, 1777.
First Edition: Heina (Paris, 1782).

1st movement - *Allegro con spirito*

Bar(s):	
7	*pia:* and staccato in MS not in FE
41	*fp* in MS not in FE
42	B# in LH part of FE not in MS
60	*pia:* in MS not in FE
86-87	*for:* in MS not in FE

2nd Movement - *Andante con Espressione*

Bar(s):	
3	Staccato marks in RH part in MS not in FE. Also bar 18.
7	Staccato marks and *pia:* in MS not in FE.
14	*p* in FE not in MS. Probably accidentally copied out from bass part of the previous stave.
31	*pia:* and *for:* in MS not in FE.
35	*for:* in MS not in FE.
36	*pia:* in MS not in FE.
43	*for:* in MS not in FE.
65	*for:* in MS not in FE.
69	*pia:*, for: and trill in MS not in FE.
70	*for:* and *pia:* in MS not in FE.
77	*for:* and staccato dots in MS not in FE.
81	*pia:* in MS not in FE.
83	first note of RH in MS is A, in FE it is F#.
84	trill in MS not in FE.
90	*pia:* in MS not in FE.
92	*f:* in MS lower part not in FE.

3rd Movement - *Rondeau Allegro*

Bar(s):	
1	*p* in FE earlier than *pia:* in MS.
4	staccato dots in RH part of MS not in FE. Also in bars 12, 31.
9	*pia:* in MS not in FE. Also in bars 59, 60, 87, 94, 114, 139, 140, 192, 260, 265.
27	*for:* in MS not in FE. Also in bars 74, 75, 113, 127, 152, 189, 193.
37	G# in MS not in FE.
98	A in FE RH part, G in MS.
112	G, C, E in RH part of MS, only C, E in FE. *f:* in MS not in FE.
130	trill in LH part of MS not in FE.
152	LH part one octave higher in FE.
171	'*Andandante*' in FE instead of *Andante*.
173	*fp:* in MS not in FE. '*tempo 1o*' not in MS.
195	C natural in RH part of MS.
218	C# in MS LH chord, D in FE.

Sonata in D major K284 (205b)

Autograph Manuscript: Munich, 1775.
First Edition: Torricella, Op. 7 (Vienna: 1784).

1st movement - *Allegro*

Bar(s):

7-8	slurring in both hands longer in FE than in MS
11	placement of *p* in RH different
22, 25-26	slurring in RH longer in MS
26	*cresc.* and *p* added in FE
27	*p* not in MS, only in FE
27-28	note E tied in MS, not tied in FE
28-29	note C tied in both sources
34-35	tie in RH note D# in MS?
40,43	*f* in MS not in FE, octaves missing in LH
44	phrasing not in MS
47	phrasing longer in MS
61, 65	*f* in LH starts from first beat of bar in MS
66	*f* and phrasing in RH missing from FE
70-71	*cresc.* in MS not in FE
78	*f* missing in FE
79	slurring longer in MS
96	slurring missing in RH of FE
97-98	*cresc.* and *p* not in MS
99-100	tie in MS not in FE
100-101	tie in both sources
108-109	slurring not in FE
112, 116	*f* in MS not in FE
119	*f* not in MS

2nd movement – *Rondeau en Polonaise*

1	*sf* not in MS
3	*f* in MS, *sf* in FE
5, 6	*sf* and *p* ?
7-8	*cresc*. and *p* not in MS
13-14	*sf* instead of *f*, but placement of *p* the same
25-28	slurring shorter in FE
37-8	*cresc.* and *f* in FE, *pia:* in MS
41	*f* in MS not in FE
43-44	different placement of *p* & *f*
65	*sf* in FE, *f* in MS, but placement is the same
67	*pp* in FE, *p* in MS
71,73	slurring longer in MS
78	octaves in LH and slurring in RH of MS missing in FE
79-80	slurring longer in MS, (for: on last group?)
81	*pia:* in MS not in FE, slurs in LH of MS not in FE
85,87	*sf* instead of *for:* and different placement
87	G natural in RH of MS not in FE
90	shorter slurs in R.H of MS

3rd movement – Theme and Twelve Variations

Bar(s):

THEMA

2	slurs in RH shorter in MS
4,11	articulation in MS not in FE
12	*fp* in FE not in MS
15	*pia:* in MS not in FE, slurring different
16	*for:* in MS not in FE, slurring different

VAR. I

1-3	smaller slurs in MS
5	grouping / slurring in RH different in MS
9	G natural in MS not in FE
10	articulation is different
11	*pia:* in MS, appears in the next bar in FE
14-15	smaller slurs in MS

VAR. II

Final bar	articulation different

VAR. III

9	longer slurring in MS

VAR. IV

1	note A in bass is erased in MS, included in FE?

VAR. V

1	*p* in FE not in MS
5	*cresc.* and longer slurs in FE
7	*f* in FE not in MS

VAR. VI

No discrepancies

VAR. VII

6	double sharp in FE, single sharp in MS
13	*p* in FE, *f* in MS
14	*cresc.* in FE not in MS
15	*f* in FE not in MS
16	*sf* in FE not in MS

(These appear to be a misread of dynamics from the previous stave of MS.)

VAR. VIII

No discrepancies

VAR. IX

No discrepancies

VAR. X

9	Natural sign in FE (correction of Mozart's MS?)
12	*pia:* in MS not in FE
13	FE has *decrescendo*

VAR. XI

All dynamics appearing in the FE are non existent in the MS

2	addition of F# in RH of FE as passing note
3	additional passing notes in RH of FE
5,6	accented dissonant and added / altered notes in RH of FE
10,13	embellished RH melody in FE
14	additional notes at the beginning of each group in FE
15	additional articulation details in FE
19	additional notes in RH in FE
26	additional chromatic passages in FE
31	additional notes and trills in FE

VAR. XII

1,4,5	dynamics in FE not in MS
26	*p* in MS not in FE
28	*pp* in MS?

Sonata in C major K330 (300h)

Autograph Manuscript: Early 1780s?
First Edition: Artaria, Vienna: 1784.

Note: Mozart's autograph is written in the C clef, while the edition features the standard Treble and Bass clefs.

1st movement – *Allegro Moderato*

Bar(s):	
5, 9, 15, 17, 19, 23, 27, 29, 32, 36	*p* not in MS
11, 14, 16, 18, 25, 28, 41, 46, 48, 52, 64, 73	*f* not in MS
44,47,50,53,59,66-7,70,74,75,78,83,85,91	*p* not in MS
78,82,84,89,93,97,100,102,104,111,114,116	*f* not in MS
21,107	*mf* not in MS
30-1, 34, 38, 54-7, 62-3, 117, 120, 140-8	dynamics agree in both sources
40, 45, 51, 69, 72, 76, 80, 126, 131, 137	*cresc.* not in MS
95,99,101,103,105,109,113	*p* not in MS
115,118,122,130,133,136,139	*p* not in MS
124	different placement of dynamics
127, 132, 134, 138	*f* not in MS
149	*sf – p* not in MS

2nd movement – *Andante Cantabile*

Bar(s):

30	*f* not in MS
31	*sf* in RH, *f* in LH in MS
35	*p* not in MS

3rd movement – *Allegretto*

Note: The movement breaks off at bar 161 in MS, 9 bars before the end.

Bar(s):

1, 22, 27, 33, 37, 53-4, 57-8, 61, 67-8,	*p* not in MS
9, 29, 47, 55-6, 59, 123, 134, 145, 153-4, 157	*f* not in MS
25, 35, 133	*cresc.* not in MS
36	*f* exists in both sources
65-66	*mfp* not in MS
79, 81, 83	*fp* not in MS
93	*pp* not in MS
131, 135, 151, 156, 159	*p* not in MS

Sonata in Bb major K333 (315c)

Autograph Manuscript: Linz?, 1783.
First Edition: Torricella, Vienna: 1784.

1st movement - *Allegro*

Bar(s):

1-4	slurring in LH longer in MS
10-11	*staccato* not in MS
13,15,18	slurring in LH longer in MS
16,17	slurring in RH longer in MS
19	slur in LH missing in FE
20	slurring in RH longer in MS
21	slurring in LH longer in MS
24,28,30,32	slur and *staccato* in RH different
35,55,61-62	slur in LH different
66-69, 71	slur in LH different
88-92	slur in RH different
106-7, 109	slur in LH different
111,125-7,138	slur in RH different
115-6, 124	slur in LH different
121,129	slur and *staccato* in RH different
133	slur and *staccato* LH different
163-165	slurs in LH different

2nd movement – *Andante Cantabile*
Bar(s):

9,11	*sf – p* not in MS
21, 25	*sf – f* not in MS, slurs in LH different in MS
22, 26	slurs in LH different in MS
23	*p* not in MS
30-31	*cresc.*, *f* & *p* different in MS
32,54,77	slurs RH different in MS
42,51	slurs LH different in MS
58-60	*sf – p* not in MS
70, 74	*sf – f* not in MS
71	slurs in LH different in MS
72,76,80	*p* not in MS
79	*cresc.* and *f* not in MS, slurs LH different in MS
81	*pp* in both sources – point of structural importance

3rd movement – *Allegretto Grazioso*
Bar(s):

16, 105, 164	*p* not in MS
20, 64,80	*f* not in MS
21-22,77	slurs in LH different in MS
88	*p:* in bar 87 in MS
98	note D in LH in MS
131	*f* not in MS, but *p* in next bar?
135-6, 137-8	*f* not in MS, *p* not in MS
172-173	slurs in MS not in FE
178-180	*f* & *p* not in MS
183	*f* not in MS
185-6	held note?
187	*p* not in MS
199	*ad libitum* not in MS
202-3,217	slurs in RH different in MS
219-221	slurs in LH different in MS

Sonata in C minor K457

Autograph Manuscript: Munich?, 1778.
First Edition (with Fantasia K475) Op.11: Artaria (Vienna, 1785).

1st movement – *Allegro*

Bar(s):	
23-25	slurring longer in MS
57-58	*p* not in MS
72	*p* in middle of staves in MS – not in the Bass
74	sources now agree in placing the *p* in Bass
83	*for:* in MS not in FE
126	*p* in LH appears earlier in MS, absent in F.E.
146	octave in RH not in F.E.

2nd movement – *Adagio*

Bar(s):	
2	*f* & *p* not in MS, lower turn not in MS
3	dynamics, slurring not in MS
5,6	dynamics, articulation not in MS
5	note F missing in treble clef
7,9,12-15	dynamics not in MS
12-13	turns not in MS
16	dynamics in both sources – point of structural importance
24-37	dynamics not in MS
34	note D in FE, B in MS (first not RH)
38	articulation not in MS
41-48	*Da Capo* in MS, embellished recapitulation in FE
41, 46-48	additional notes
45	added octaves in LH
48-end	dynamics not in MS (except in bar 54)
54	*p* in both sources – point of structural importance

3rd movement – *Molto Allegro*

Bar(s):	
1	dynamics not in MS
16	*f* in both sources
26	*p* in both sources etc.
51-54	dynamics not in MS
74-78, 82-86	placement of *f* and *p* at different points
92-99	passage different in FE, moving downwards to other register – exchange of crossing hands for more convenience
154	ambiguous placement of *f*
177	*f* in MS, delayed to 178 in FE

190 *f* in MS not in FE
197-200 ambiguous dynamics in MS – FE different
205-210 ambiguous dynamics in MS – FE different
216-217 *f* not in MS
221 *p* not in MS
230,234, 238 *fp* not in MS
291-6, 304-9 RH crossing parts at higher register in FE

Variations for piano in C major, "Ah, vous dirai-je Maman", K256

Autograph Manuscript: Paris, 1778.
First Edition: Torricella (Vienna, 1785).

THEMA
No discrepancies

VAR. I
Bar(s):
22 Slur missing in first two notes in FE.
24 Bass note C missing in FE (3rd Quaver only has E, MS has E and C)

VAR. II
Bar(s):
33 trill sign in RH MS not in FE
39 F# in MS, F natural in FE.
41-42 tie linking C in MS not in FE. Same in bars 45-46.
43 trill in MS RH first note E not in FE. Exists in both sources in bar 47
51 p in FE not in MS.

VAR. III
Bar(s):
59 trill in RH A in MS not in FE
64 slur linking second and third quaver of LH in MS not in FE.
65 trill in RH G in MS not in FE. Same in bar 69.

VAR. IV
Bar(s):
79 Slurs in LH MS missing in FE. Probably due to lack of space and since it is the same pattern as previously.
81-2 tie in RH MS linking E not in FE. Same in 85-6.

VAR. V - X
No discrepancies.

VAR. XI
No variation in MS??

VAR. XII
No discrepancies. MS breaks off 5 bars before the end.

Das Veilchen K476

Autograph Manuscript: Mozart / Goethe, Vienna, 1785.
First Edition: Artaria (Vienna, 1789) as part of *Zwey Deutsche Arien zum Singen beym Clavier in Musick gesetzt von Herrn Kapellmeister W. A. Mozart.*

Bar(s):

2 G in right-hand part of MS, missing in FE! Also in bar 9 and bar 11. Introductory notes to the facsimile edition claim that "Mozart discarded the protracted notes in favour of the livelier and more fluid embellishments, which struck him as more in keeping with the lively spirit of the song."
6 dotted quaver in right hand part of MS, semiquaver rest in FE. p in FE not in MS. Slur only for two last notes in MS, for all four in FE.
9 slurring 2nd and 3rd note in FE, not in MS.
12-13 tie linking middle D to bar 13 in MS, not in FE.
20 two slurs in RH of MS, one in FE for all notes.
24 two slurs in RH of MS, one in FE for all notes.
32 Bb in MS RH, no flat in FE.
33 G in bass minim in MS, two crotchet G's in FE. G grace note in voice part of MS, not in FE.
34 Grace note in voice part of FE, not in MS. Introductory notes to the facsimile edition claim that this change provides an "airier quality to the rhythm".
36 turn between first and second notes in RH MS, on the first note in FE.
38 turn between first and second notes in RH MS, no turn at all in FE. Fourth interval in voice part (ach) slurred in MS, no slur in FE.
39 sharp missing in bottom octave F in FE. Fourth interval in voice part (ach) slurred in MS, no slur in FE.
43 Bb in RH chord in MS, missing in FE! Slur missing in LH
52-52 Rallentando in FE not in MS.
55-57 Stringendo in FE not in MS.
56 crescendo starting on start of bar in MS, in middle of bar in FE.
58 Tie missing in voice part. Obvious mistake, since there is no syllable under second note. Slurs in FE not in MS, but a continuation of previous pattern. Rallentando in FE not in MS.

Overview: There are some changes in the FE compared to the MS, but most of these cannot be regarded or proven as intentional 'improvements' on behalf of the composer.

The only point in support of such an argument would be the note that has been missed out three times in relevant passages (bars 2, 9 and 11); the repetitive exclusion of these notes may indicate intentionality.

But intentionality on behalf of whom? The piece was composed at the same time as Mozart's Fantasia K. 475, but was seen through the press in 1789 – could it be linked with Auernhammer's supervision?

Trio for clavier, violin and cello in E major K542

Autograph Manuscript: Vienna, 1788.
First Edition: Artaria (Vienna, 1788), published as Sonata II, with K502 and K548.

First Movement - *Allegro*

Keyboard Part:

Bar(s):	
16-17	tie linking B as well as high A in MS, only tie for high A in FE. Also in recap, bb. 140-1. However, in bar 5, where a similar passage occurs, both ties are noted in both sources.
28	Mozart notes and 8ve duplication line in bar 27, reaching C# bar 28; FE stops the duplication at the end of bar 27.
40	Turn after note in RH MS, on note in FE.
75	Natural in lower 8ve C left out in FE.
76	There are no naturals in MS on the D notes, both in the RH and the LH, but naturals in FE. The chord is entirely different! But, there is no D natural in the RH of the following bar, even though the bass is tied from the previous bar with D natural.
141-2	tie linking bass B (compared with the Da capo MS bb. 6-7) omitted in FE. However, it exists in both sources in the exposition (bb. 6-7).
142-3	Slurring in LH omitted in FE.
175, 179	turn between notes in RH of MS, on first note in FE.

Violin Part:
There are no discrepancies between the two sources.

Violoncello Part:
There are no discrepancies between the two sources.

Second Movement – *Andante Grazioso*

Keyboard part

Bar(s):	
7	trill sign in FE not in MS. Similar passage in bars 15, 23, 54, 106 etc. trill sign in both sources.
33	triplet sign in MS not in FE. Similar passage in bars 35, triplet sign in both sources
94	trill sign in MS not in FE

Violin part

Bar(s):	
108-9	tie linking RH F# in MS not in FE.

Cello Part

Bar(s):	
98	Two quavers and crotchet in FE, crotchet and two quavers in MS!

Third Movement - *Allegro*

Time Signature in MS is 2/2, 4/4, in FE (C sign with line in MS, without line in FE)

Piano Part

Bar(s):	
41	*p* in FE not in MS. Strokes in MS not in FE.
107	*for:* in MS not in FE
162	*f* in FE not in MS – probably treble clef in LH MS mistaken for a *f*
169, 191	*p* in FE not in MS
217	*f* in FE not in MS

Violin part

Bar(s):	
36	*f* in FE not in MS
91	slur in MS not in FE
95	A# in MS, A in FE, probably keeping it from previous bar.

Cello Part

Bar(s):	
191	*p* in FE not in MS

Bar-to-bar comparison between First Editions and the *Œuvres Complettes*

Abbreviations: FE = First Edition OC = *Œuvres Complettes*
RH = right hand LH = left hand

Overall: improved appearance, neatness in engraving in OC compared to FE

Sonata in D major, K284

1st movement - *Allegro*
Overall: LH octaves written out in OC
1, 18, 37, 65, 70-72, 96: added slurs in RH OC
4 ommission of LH slurs in OC
60, 62, 64 *sf* in FE, f in OC
71 added *cresc.* in OC
115 *f* omitted in OC

2nd movement – *Rondeau en Polonaise*
5, 6, 13, 14 *sf – p* on 2nd-3rd beat in FE, on 1st and 2nd in OC
29 ambiguous placement of *p-sf* in FE, 'regularized' in OC
41 *f* added in OC imitating bar 39

3rd movement – Theme and Twelve Variations
VAR. I
No discrepancies

VAR. II
8 *p* added in OC

VARs. III-VI
No discrepancies

VAR. VII
4 *f* in FE, *cresc.* in OC with *f* appearing in the next bar

VARs. VII-XI
No discrepancies

VAR. X
14-15 added slurs in RH OC

VAR. XI
7 added *pf* on two first semiquavers
12 *cresc.* added in OC
13 *f – decresc. – cresc.* added in OC
14 *f – decresc.* added in OC
16 f-p added in OC

VAR. XII
10-11, 13-14, 26-27, 31-36 added slurs RH OC

Sonata in C major, K330

1st movement – *Allegro Moderato*

Bar(s):
1 *mf* added in OC
1-6 added slurs LH OC
3 *fp* added in OC
26 *p* added in OC
41 *f* on first beat in RH FE, on 2nd beat in OC, *p* added on 3rd beat in OC
42 *f* added in OC
78 *f-p* in FE, *p* in OC
84 *f* in FE, *cresc*. in OC and *f* in following bar
86-87 *cresc.* – *mf* added in OC
89 *f* in FE, *fp* in OC
117 *fp* in FE, *pf* in OC
147 *sf* on 2nd and 6th semiquaver in FE, on 3rd and 6th semiquaver in OC

2nd movement – *Andante Cantabile*

Bar(s):
26 *f* on 2nd beat of the bar in FE, on 1st beat in OC
44 *f* in FE omitted in OC

3rd movement - *Allegretto*

Bar(s):
21 *p* in OC, appears in 22 in FE
28 *fp* added in OC
57 *p* on 3rd semiquaver in FE, on 1st semiquaver in OC
71 *f-p* added in OC
73-74 *sf-p* added in OC
79 *fp* in FE, *f – p* in OC in accordance with bar 83
115 *p* in OC, appears in 116 in FE
120 *p* on last semiquaver in FE, in middle of the bar in OC
130 *p* in OC appears in 131 in FE
141 added slur in RH OC
151 *p* on first semiquaver in OC, on first in FE
155 *p* in OC, appears in 156 in FE
165-6 *mfp* added in OC

Sonata in Bb major, K. 333

1st movement – *Allegro*
No discrepancies

2nd movement – *Andante Cantabile*

Bar(s):

11, 45, 46, 58, 60	delayed placement of *p* in RH OC – more 'regularized'
70, 79	*f* in RH omitted in OC

3rd movement – *Allegretto Gracioso*
Bar(s):

88	*p* in FE placed on last beat of 87 in OC – more 'regularized' according to bar 89
98	*f* omitted in OC
100, 110, 131, 134	*cresc.* added in OC
102-105	*f* , *decresc.* pins and *p* added in OC
148	*p* added in OC
153	*f* added in OC
199	*ritard.* added in OC

Bar-to-bar comparison between *Œuvres Complettes* and 19th-century editions

MIC = Au Magazin de l' imprimerie chimique J. R. priv sur le Graben, Vienna: 1804?
OC = *Œuvres Complettes* (Breitkopf and Härtel, Leipzig: 1798-1806).

Sonata in D major, K284

1st movement - *Allegro*
Bar(s):
1 *f* added in MIC
26 *cresc.* and *p* in OC, only *cresc*. in MIC
41 *f* added in MIC
53 *sf – f* in OC, only *f* in MIC
98 *p* in OC, *dim.* in MIC leading to *p* in the following bar
124 *f* in OC, *cresc.* pin MIC

2nd movement – *Rondeau en Polonaise*
Bar(s):
23, 59 *p* omitted in MIC
37 *cresc.* in OC, *cresc.* pin RH and *dim.* pin LH MIC
64 *p* in OC, *f – p* in MIC
65 *sf-psf-p* in oc, *fz-p-fz* in MIC
76 *cresc.* pin added in MIC
81 *p* added in MIC

3rd movement - *Theme and Twelve variations*
(note: pagination is the same)

THEMA: No discrepancies

VAR. I
15 *p* in OC omitted in MIC
16 *f* in OC omitted in MIC

VAR. II – IV: No discrepancies

VAR. V
14 *f – p* in OC, only *f* in MIC
15 *f* in OC omitted in MIC

VAR. VI – X and VAR. XII: No discrepancies

VAR. XI
2 *p-sf* in OC, *p-fz-p* in MIC
9-10 *p – cresc. - f* in OC omitted in MIC
22 *sf – p* in OC, *fz – cresc.* pin MIC
23 *f* added in MIC
24 *p-sf-p-sf-p* in OC, *p-fz—fz-p* in MIC
29 *sf-p-sf-cresc.* in OC, only *p* and *cresc.* in MIC

Sonata in C major, K330

1st movement – *Allegro Moderato*
Bar(s):
15 *p* in both hands in OC, only in bass part in MIC
21 *mf* in both hands in OC, only in bass part in MIC
26 *p* in OC omitted in MIC
34 *sf-p* in OC, *fp* in MIC
70 *f* added in MIC
71 *p* on second beat in OC, on first in MIC
78 *cresc.* and *dim.* pins added in MIC
116 *p* in both hands in OC, only in left hand in MIC
118 *pf* in OC, *fp* in MIC
140 *p* in OC omitted in MIC
145 *cresc.* in MIC appears a bar later in OC
149 *p* in OC omitted in MIC

2nd movement – *Andante Cantabile*
Bar(s):
1 *p* added in MIC
4 *f* in OC, *cresc.* pin in MIC
5 *fz-p* and *cresc.* pin added in MIC
6 *p* in OC, *fz-p* in MIC
11 *cresc.* in OC, *cresc.* and *dim.* pins in MIC
12 *p – f* in OC, *p – cresc.* pin in MIC
15 *sf* in OC, *dim.* pin on MIC
16 *p – cresc*. in OC, only *cresc*. in MIC
17 *f* on first beat of the bar in OC, on second beat in MIC
44 *fz-p* and *cresc.* pin added in MIC
45 *p* in OC, *fz p* in MIC
50 *dim.* pin added in MIC
51 *cresc.* pin added in MIC
54 *p* added in mic
55 sf in OC, *fp* in MIC
56 *p – cresc*. in OC, only *cresc*. in MIC
61-62 *cresc*. pin – *pp* added in MIC

3rd movement - *Allegretto*
(note: pagination is exactly the same)
Bar(s):
25 *cresc*. in OC appears two bars later in MIC
27 *p* in OC, *cresc*. in MIC
32 *cresc.* pin added in MIC
33, 37 *p* in OC, *fp* in MIC
76 *fp* added in MIC
120 *cresc.* in OC appears two bars later in MIC
121 *p* in OC omitted in MIC
131, 135 *cresc*. pin added in MIC
132 *fp* added in MIC
136 *p* in OC, *fp* in MIC

Sonata in Bb major, K333

1st movement – *Allegro*

Bar(s):

1	*mf* added in MIC
8-10	*cresc.* pin, *f*, *p* added in MIC
13	*cresc.* and *dim.* pins added in MIC
18	*f* added in MIC
23, 24, 31, 32	*fz-p* added in MIC
34-35	*cresc*. pin and *f* added in MIC
45, 46	*f* and *p* added in MIC
49	*cresc*. pin and *p* added in MIC
51-52, 55-56	*cresc. – f* added in MIC
53, 61	*p* added in MIC
62	*cresc*. and *dim*. pins added in MIC
63	*fp* and *p* added in MIC
64, 66	*cresc*. pin added in MIC
65	*p* added in MIC
67	*dim.* and *cresc.* pin added in MIC
68	*f* added in MIC
71-72	*p*, *cresc*., *f* added in MIC
83-85	*dim*. and *p* added in MIC
86, 93	*cresc*. pin added in MIC
87, 88	*dim*. pin RH and *cresc*. pin LH added in MIC
89	*dim*. pin added in MIC
91	*fz* added in MIC
92	*dim*. added in MIC
94	*mf* added in MIC
101-102, 130	*cresc.* pin and *f* added in MIC
103-104, 142	*p* added in MIC
114, 141	*f* added in MIC
119-120, 127-8	*fz – p* added in MIC
153-4, 157-8	*cresc.* and *f* added in MIC
155, 163	*p* added in MIC
164	*cresc*. and *dim*. pins added in MIC
165	*fp* added in MIC

2nd movement –*Andante Cantabile*

(note: pagination is the same)

Bar(s):

12-13	*cresc*. pin – *fp/f* added in MIC
14	*mf* added in MIC
21	*sf* in OC, *cresc. – f* in MIC
25	*sf* in OC, *f* in MIC
28	*cresc.* pin and *p* added in MIC
29	*cresc*. in MIC appears a bar later in OC

31	*dim*. and *cresc*. pins added in MIC
32	*fp* added in MIC
40-41, 62-63	*cresc*. pin and *f* added in MIC
42, 63	*p* added in MIC
59	*sf – p* in OC, *fz* in MIC
64	*mf* added in MIC
71	*f* in OC, *cresc. – f* in MIC
78	*cresc. – p* added in MIC
79	*cresc.* in MIC appears a bar later in OC, followed by *f*
83	*fp* added in MIC

3rd movement – *Allegretto Grazioso*
(note: pagination is almost the same – excluding last two pages)

Bar(s):

8	*f* in OC, *cresc.* pin in MIC
24, 36	*p* added in MIC
29	*f* added in MIC
37-39	*crescendo - f* added in MIC
40	dim. added in MIC
48	*f* in OC, *crescendo* pin in MIC leading to *f* in 49
62	*fz – p* added in MIC
108-109	*crescendo* in MIC
110	*f* in MIC, *cresc.* in OC
111	*dim*. added in MIC
119	*f* in OC, *cresc*. pin in MIC leading to *f* in 120
131	*cresc.* in OC, omitted in mic
153	*f* in OC omitted in MIC
165-167, 180-181, 187-188	*crescendo* added in MIC
183-184	*dim. - p* added in MIC
199-200	*fz* added in MIC
200	*ritard*. in OC, *ritard*. and *dim*. in MIC
119	*cresc*. pin added in MIC
120	*dim*. pin added in MIC

LVG = *Nouvelle Editions des Œuvres de Mozart* (Paris, Lavignée: c. 1854 -1863).
OC = *Œuvres Complettes* (Leipzig, Breitkopf and Härtel: 1798-1806).

Sonata in D major K284

1st movement - *Allegro*

Bar(s):	
1	*f* added in LVG
26	*p* in OC, *dim.* pin in LVG
63	*sf* in OC omitted in LVG
98	*p* in OC appears in 99 in LVG

2nd movement – *Rondeau en Polonaise*

Bar(s):	
14	*p* appears slightly earlier in LVG
23	*p* in OC omitted in LVG
64	*f* added in LVG
81, 90	*p* added in LVG

3rd movement – Theme and Twelve Variations

THEMA

13	*f* in OC, *p* in LVG *

VAR. I

16	*f* in OC omitted in LVG

VAR. II

13	*p* in LVG appears a bar later in OC
15	*f* on first beat of the bar in OC, appears later only in LH in LVG

VAR. III
No discrepancies

VAR. IV

4	*f* added in LVG

VAR. V

14	*p* in OC omitted in LVG
15	*f* in OC omitted in LVG

VAR. VI
No discrepancies

VAR. VII

4	*dim.* pin added in LVG
13	*p* in OC omitted in LVG

VAR. VIII - X
No discrepancies

VAR. XI

1	*f* on first beat of the bar in RH OC, on second beat of the bar in LVG
2	*p-sf* in OC, *p-fp* in LVG
6	*sf-p* spread out in OC, *sfp* in LVG
9	*p – cresc*. leading to *f* in the next bar in OC, only *f* in LVG
11	crushed octave note in RH omitted in LVG
19	*sf – p* spread out in OC, closer in LVG
21	*sf – p* in OC, *sf – cresc*. in LVG
22	*cresc*. in OC, *f* in LVG
23	*p-sf-p-sf-p* in OC, *f-p-sf-p* in LVG
24	*p-f-p-f-p-f-p-f-p* in OC, *f-p-f-p-f-p-f-p-f-p* in LVG
30	*cresc*. in OC omitted in LVG
32	*sf-p* in OC, only *sf* in LVG

VAR. XII
No discrepancies

Sonata in C Major K330

1st movement – *Allegro Moderato*

Bar(s):

17	*dim*. pin added in LVG
26	*p* in OC omitted in LVG
31	*fp* on second beat in OC, on first beat in LVG
34	*sf – p* spread out in OC, *sfp* in LVG
46	*dim*. pin added in LVG
70	*f* added in LVG
71	*p* on second beat in OC, on first beat in LVG
78	*cresc*. and *dim*. pins added in LVG
104	*dim*. pin added in LVG
118	*pf* in OC, *fp* in LVG
125	*sf* added in LVG
128-129	*p – f* added in LVG
133, 139	*dim*. pin added in LVG
135	*f* on first beat in OC, on second beat in LVG
140	*p* on second beat in OC, on first beat in LVG
145	*cresc*. in LVG, appears a bar later in OC

2nd movement – *Andante Cantabile*

Bar(s):

1	*p* added in LVG
4	*f* in OC omitted in LVG
6	*sf* added on first beat in LVG, *p* appearing earlier in LVG
11	*f* in OC, *cresc*. pin in LVG
15	*p* in LVG appears a bar later in OC
17	*f* on first beat in OC, on second in LVG
25	*dim*. pin added in LVG
30	*sf – p* spread out in OC, *sfp* in LVG
31	*cresc*. in OC appears a bar later in LVG
43-44, 51	*cresc*. pins added in LVG
45	*sf* added in LVG
54	*p* added in LVG
55	*sf* in OC, *sfp* in LVG
57	*f* on first beat in OC, on second beat in LVG

3rd movement – *Allegretto*

Bar(s):

2	appoggiatura in RH OC omitted in LVG
25	*cresc*. in OC appears two bars later in LVG
27	*p* in OC, *cresc*. in LVG
32	*cresc*. pin added in LVG
33	*p* in OC, *fp* in LVG
37	*p* in OC, *ff* in LVG
120	*cresc*. appears two bars later in LVG
121	*p* omitted in LVG
131	*p* on last beat in OC, on first beat in LVG, *cresc*. pin added in LVG
132	*fp* added in LVG
135	*f* in OC, *cresc*. in LVG leading to a *f* in the following bar
136	*p* in OC, *fp* in LVG
152-153	*p* in OC omitted in LVG
153	turn added in LVG
157	*cresc*. pin added in LVG

Sonata in B-flat major, K333

1st movement – *Allegro*

Bar(s):

7-9	*cresc. – f – p* added in LVG
13	*cresc*. and *dim*. pins added in LVG
18	*f* added in LVG
23, 24, 31, 32	*sf – p* added in LVG
34	*cresc*. pin added in LVG
35	*f* added in LVG
45-46	*f-p* added in LVG
49	*p* added in LVG
51-53	*cresc. – f - p* added in LVG
55-56, 71-72	*cresc. – f* added in LVG
61	*p* added in LVG
66	*p – cresc*. pin added in LVG
68	*f* added in LVG
86	*cresc*. pin added in LVG
87, 88	*dim*. pin added in LVG
91	*sf* in LH added in LVG
93-94	*cresc. – dim*. pins and mf added in LVG
101-2	*cresc.* pin and *f* added in LVG
103	*p* added in LVG
105	*cresc*. pin added in LVG
114	*f* added in LVG
119,120,127-8	*sf-p* added in LVG
131	*f* added in LVG
141-142	*f – p* added in LVG
152-154	*p – cresc. – f* added in LVG
155, 163	*p* added in LVG
157-158	*cresc. – f* added in LVG
164	*cresc. – dim*. pins added in LVG
165	*fp* added in LVG

2nd movement – *Andante Cantabile*

Bar(s):

12-13	*cresc*. pin – *fp* added in LVG
14	*mf* added in LVG
21	*sf – f* in OC, *cresc. – f* in LVG
25	*sf – f* in OC, only *f* in LVG
28	*p* added in LVG
29	*cresc*. in LVG appears a bar later in OC
31	*dim*. and *cresc*. pins added in LVG
32	*fp* added in LVG
36	*p* and *cresc*. pin added in LVG

38, 40	*cresc*. pin added in LVG
39	*dim*. pin added in LVG
41-42	*f – p* added in LVG
62-63	*cresc*. pin and *fp* added in LVG
64	*mf* added in LVG
71	*ff* in OC, *cresc. – f* added in LVG
78	*cresc*. pin and *p* added in LVG
79	*cresc*. in LVG appears a bar later in OC
83	*fp* added in LVG

3rd movement – *Allegretto grazioso*

Bar(s):

8	*f* in OC, *cresc*. pin in LVG
24, 36	*p* added in LVG
28-29	*cresc*. pin and *f* added in LVG
37-38	*cresc*. added in LVG
39	*f* added in LVG
40	*dim*. added in LVG
48	*f* in OC, *cresc*. leading to *f* in the next bar in LVG
62	*sfp* added in LVG
80	*f* in OC omitted in LVG
108-109	*cresc*. in LVG appears two bars later in OC
110	*f* in LVG, *cresc*. in OC
111	*dim*. in LVG
119	*f* in OC, *cresc*. leading to *f* in the next bar in LVG
153	*f* in OC omitted in LVG
165-7, 180-1	*cresc*. added in LVG
187-188	*cresc*. added in LVG
199	*sf* added in LVG
200	*ritard*. in OC, *ritard.* and *dim.* in LVG
219-220	*cresc.* and *dim*. pins added in LVG

PL = *Collection Complette des Œuvres de Piano* (Pleyel, Paris: 1795-1824).
OC = *Œuvres Complettes* (Leipzig, Breitkopf and Härtel: 1798-1806).

Overall: numerous additions of dynamics in Pleyel edition, mostly involving gradation of tone, linking the basic dynamics appearing in the FE and the OC. Additions are not distinguished as such by the editor.

Sonata in D major, K284

1st movement – *Allegro*

Bar(s):

1	*f* added in PL
9, 11	*f* placed earlier in LH PL
26	added slur RH PL
41	*f* added in PL
63	*sf-f* in OC, only *f* in PL
72	*f* in OC omitted in PL
98	*p* in OC, *dim.* pin in PL leading to *p* in the following bar
123	*crescendo* pin added in PL

2nd movement – *Rondeau en Polonaise*

Bar(s):

18	crushed note in OC omitted in PL
23	*p* in OC omitted in PL
76	*crescendo* pin added in PL
82	*p* in PL delayed one bar in OC
88	*p* in OC delayed one beat in LH

3rd movement – Theme and Twelve Variations

THEMA
14 *f* in LH OC, *p* in PL

VAR. I
15-16 *p - f* in OC omitted in PL

VAR. II
12 # on RH G omitted in OC

VAR. III
8 *p* in OC omitted in PL

VAR. IV
No discrepancies

VAR. V
14 *p* in OC omitted in PL
15 *f* in OC omitted in PL

VAR. VI-VII
No discrepancies

VAR. VIII
13 *f* in OC delayed until next bar in PL

VAR. IX-X
No discrepancies

VAR. XI
9 *f* in PL, *p - cresc*. in OC
10 *f* in OC omitted in PL
11 crushed note in RH OC omitted in PL
22 *sf – p* in OC, *sf – cresc*. in PL
23 *f* added in PL
25 *p-f-p-f-p-f-p-f* in OC, *f-p-f-p-f-p-f-p-f* in PL

VAR. XII
6 *p* in OC omitted in PL
18 *f* in OC omitted in PL

Sonata in C major, K330

1st movement – *Allegro Moderato*

Bar(s):	
26	*p* in RH OC omitted in PL
70	*f* added in PL
90	addition of articulation strokes in RH PL
91	addition of *fp* in PL
118	*pf* in OC, *fp* in PL
123, 128	*p* added in PL
129	*f* added in PL
145	*cresc*. in PL, appears a bar later in OC
149	*p* omitted in PL

2nd movement – *Andante Cantabile*

Bar(s):	
3	delayed *p* in PL
4	added *crescendo* in PL
5, 6	added *sf-p* in PL
6	*p* placed in middle of the bar in OC
11	*f* in OC, *crescendo* pin in PL
15	*sf* in OC, *sf –p* in PL
17	*f* on first beat of the bar in OC, delayed in PL
40	*p* added in PL
41	*f* added in PL
42	*p* delayed in PL
44-45	*sf-p* added in PL
56	*p* omitted in PL
57	*f* delayed in PL
62	*pp* added in PL

3rd movement – *Allegretto*

Bar(s):	
2	appoggiatura omitted in PL
10	appoggiatura in OC, crush note in PL
22	longer slur LH PL
25	*cresc*. in OC appears two bars later in PL
27	*cresc*. in PL, *p* in OC
32	*crescendo* pin in PL
33	*fp* in PL, *p* in OC
37	*ff* in PL, *p* in OC
107	*tr* omitted in PL
120	*cresc*. in OC, appears two bars later in PL.
131	*p* on first beat of the bar in PL, appears later in OC
131-132	*crescendo* pin and *fp* added in PL
135	*f* in OC, *cresc*. in PL
136	*p* in OC, *fp* in PL
152-153	*p* in OC omitted in PL, 153 turn added in PL

Sonata in Bb major, K333

1st movement – *Allegro*

Bar(s):

1	*mf* added in PL
8-9	*crescendo* pin and *f* added in PL
9	articulation strokes RH omitted in PL
10	*p* added in PL
13	*cresc.-dim.* pin added in PL
18, 35	*f* added in PL
23-24, 31-32	*sf-p* added in PL
45-46	*f – p* added in PL
49	*cresc.* pin added in PL
51-52, 55-56	*f* added in PL
53	*p* added in PL
61-63	*p – cresc.* pin – *fp* added in PL
64-66	*cresc.* pin – *dim.* pin – *p* added in PL
67-68	*dim.* pin – *f* added in PL
71-72	*cresc. – f* added in PL
83-85	*dim. – p* added in PL
86-88	*cresc. – dim.* pins added in PL
92-94	*dim., cresc., dim., mf* added in PL
101-103	*cresc., f, p* added in PL
114	*sf-p* added in PL
119-120, 127-128	*sf-p* added in PL
131	appoggiatura and *f* added in PL
141-142	*f – p* added in PL
152-154, 155-158	*p – cresc. – f* added in PL
163 - 165	*p, cresc.* pin , *dim.* pin, *pp* added in PL

2nd movement – *Andante Cantabile*

Bar(s):

12-14	*cresc.* pin, *fp, mf* added in PL
25	*sf* and *f* in OC, only *f* in PL
28-29	*p, cresc.* added in PL
31	*dim.* and *cresc.* pins added in PL
32	*fp* added in PL
40-42	*cresc.* pin, *f, p* added in PL
63-64	*fp, mf* added in PL
71	*sf* in OC, *cresc.* and *f* added in PL
78-81	*cresc.* pin, *p, cresc., f* added in PL, delayed one bar in OC
83	*fp* added in PL

3rd movement – *Allegretto Grazioso*

Bar(s):

7	slur in RH omitted in PL
8	*f* in OC, *cresc.* leading to a *f* in the next bar in PL
24	*p* added in PL
29	*f* added in PL
36-38	*p – cresc*. added in PL
40	*dim*. added in PL
48	*f* in OC, *cresc*. leading to *f* in the following bar in PL
62	*sf-p* added in PL
72-73	*fp* in OC omitted in PL
108-111	*crescendo – dim*. in PL, *crescendo* only in OC
119	*crescendo* pin in PL, *f* in OC
153	*f* in OC omitted in PL
164	*p* delayed in PL
165-167, 180-181, 187-188	*crescendo* added in PL
184	*p* added in PL
199-200	*sf* added in PL
200	*ritard.* in OC, *ritard. e dim*. in PL
219-220	*cresc*. and *dim*. pins added in PL

OC = *Œuvres complettes*
MOS = *Hallberger's Pracht-Ausgabe der Classiker Beethoven, Clementi, Haydn, Mozart, in ihren Werken für das Pianoforte allein / Neu herausgegeben mit Bezeichnung des Zeitmasses und Fingersatzes von I. Moscheles* (Edward Hallberger, Stuttgart: c. 1858, reprint White, Smith & Company, Boston: c. 1874).

Note: The fingerings included in MOS are not referred to in the comparison.

Sonata in C major, K330

1st movement – *Allegro moderato*

Bar(s):

26	*p* in OC omitted in MOS
41-42	*f-p-f* in OC, only *f* in MOS
46	*dim*. pin added in MOS
70	*f* added in MOS
78	*cresc*. and *dim*. pins added in MOS
84	*p* on first beat of the bar in OC, on second beat in MOS
104, 133, 139	*dim*. pin added in MOS
118	*pf* in OC, *pf* in MOS
125	*f – p* added in MOS
140	*p* on second beat of the bar in OC, on first beat in MOS
145	*cresc*. in MOS appears a bar later in OC

2nd movement – *Andante cantabile*

Bar(s):

4	*f* in OC, *cresc*. pin in MOS
5	*fzp* and *cresc*. pin added in MOS
6	*p* in OC, *fzp* in MOS
11	*dim*. pin added in MOS
12	*p – f* in OC, *p – cresc*. pin in MOS
15	*p* in OC omitted in MOS
16	*sf* in OC, *cresc. – dim*. pins in MOS
17	*p* in OC omitted in MOS
18	*f* on first beat of bar in OC, on second in MOS
31-32	*dim*. pin and *p* added in MOS
35	*dim*. pin added in MOS
44-45	*cresc*. pin – *fzp* added in MOS
52	*cresc*. pin added in MOS
56	*sf* in OC, *cresc*. and *dim*. pin in MOS
57	*p* in OC omitted in MOS
62-63	*cresc*. pin – *pp* added in MOS

3rd movement – *Allegro*

Bar(s):

25	*cresc*. in OC appears two bars later in MOS
27	*p* in OC, *cresc*. in MOS
32, 35, 58	*cresc*. pin added in MOS
33	*p* in OC, *fp* in MOS
37	*p* in OC, *f* in MOS
61	*p* on second beat of the bar in OC, on first beat in MOS
72	*f – p* in OC omitted in MOS
74-75	*sf-p* omitted in MOS
116	*cresc*. in OC appears two bars later in MOS
131-132	*cresc*. pin and *fp* added in MOS
134-135	*cresc*. pins added in MOS
136	*p* in OC, *fp* in MOS
154	*f* in OC, *cresc*. pin in MOS
157	*p* in OC, *cresc.* pin in MOS
160	*p* on second beat of bar in OC, on first in MOS

Bar-to-bar comparison between Autographs and the *Alte Mozart Ausgabe*

MS = Autograph manuscript
AMA = *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's Werke. Kritisch durchgesehene Gesammtausgabe,* Cah. XX: *Sonaten und Fantasien für das Pianoforte* (Breitkopf and Härtel, Leipzig: 1877-1905).

Sonata in D major, K284

First movement – *Allegro*

Bar(s):	
4-8, 13-16, 25-26	longer slurs in AMA, while in MS there's a new slur for every 8 semi-quavers, same in recap. Bb. 78-79
29	Longer slurring in RH AMA
30-33, 60, 62	Addition of bar-long slurs in AMA, none in MS
52	*sf* and *legato* in AMA
63	placement of *f* on 2nd beat of the bar in AMA, first beat in MS
65	sources agree on placement of *f*
89	addition of long slur in AMA
96-98	one long slur for all three bars in AMA, bar-long slurs in MS
102-105, 119-120	bar-long slurs in AMA not in MS
109-111	bar-long slurs in AMA, half bar slurs in MS

2nd Movement – *Rondeau en Polonaise*

Bar(s):	
1	*f* in AMA not in MS
15-16	shorter slurring in MS
17-20	one long slur in LH AMA, bar-long slurs in MS
38	*f* and *p* in AMA not in MS
146-7	*f* in AMA on last quaver of 146, in MS on first beat of 147
153-156	long slur in AMA covering all bars, bar-long slurs in MS
174-5, 190	longer slurs in AMA

3rd movement – Theme and Twelve Variations

THEMA

12	*fp* in AMA not in MS
15	*pia:* in MS not in AMA
16	*for:* in MS not in AMA

VAR. I

17-19	long slurring in AMA short slurs in MS
29	*pia:* in MS not in AMA
30	*p* in AMA not in MS

VAR. II
No discrepancies.

VAR. III
Longer slurs in RH AMA throughout the variation
67 *cresc.* in AMA not in MS

VAR. IV
Longer slurs in AMA up to bar 76

VAR. V - X
No discrepancies

VAR. XI
(AMA employs *ossia* staves for alternate version of FE)
190 *legato* added in AMA
211-12 longer slurs LH in AMA
216-17, 222 longer slurs in LH in AMA

VAR. XII
223 (*f*) added in AMA
224-6 longer slurs LH in AMA
231 early placement of *f* in AMA
250-2 longer slurs RH in AMA
254 *legato* added in AMA

Sonata in C major, K330

1st movement – *Allegro Moderato*

Bar(s):

1, 59, 71, 89	*legato* LH AMA
8	slurs LH in MS not in AMA
17	addition of slurs in RH AMA
18-19, 20-21	longer slur in LH AMA
19, 23, 109, 130, 135-6, 140, 148-9	longer slurs RH AMA
34, 38	distanced *sf: p:* in MS, *sfp* in AMA
59-63	slurs LH in MS not in AMA
69-70	longer slurs in AMA in both hands
124	distanced *sf: p:* in MS, *fp* in AMA

2nd movement – *Andante Cantabile*
(Noted at bottom of page in the AMA is that the autograph does not provide a written out ending, stating that the edition is based on first and early editions.)

Bar(s):

11	early placement of *p* in AMA compared to MS
24-25	longer slur RH AMA

3rd movement – *Allegretto*
(MS breaks off at bar 162.)

Bar(s):

9-14	addition of long slurs in LH AMA
25-26	longer slurs in RH AMA
51-52, 55-56, 124-9, 154-5	addition of long slurs in RH AMA
59, 77, 158	*legato* in LH AMA

Sonata in Bb major, K333

1st movement – *Allegro*

Bar(s):

38	*legato* in LH AMA
45	slurring in RH AMA longer than in MS
46	*p* in AMA not in MS
53	longer slurs in LH AMA
56, 61, 66, 67, 69-73, 120-122 etc.	addition of slurs in RH AMA
48-49	Barline missing
75-79	different slurring in RH AMA changes musical effect
100-101	different slurring in RH AMA changes musical effect
123	*legato* in AMA
124	staccato dots missing in AMA (last two quavers)
128	suggestion of a higher octave on separate stave in AMA – compliant to the new, expanded range of 19th-century keyboard instruments?
130	slurring longer in AMA
132-135	slurs missing from LH in AMA
142-144, 146-147	longer slurs in RH AMA
147-148	LH additional slur in AMA
149-151	longer slurs in RH AMA
152	turn in MS, trill and turn in AMA

2nd movement – *Andante Cantabile*

Bar(s):

8-11, 14, 21-23, 25-27, 29-31, 79-80	longer slurs LH AMA
29-30, 61-62	longer slurs RH AMA
43, 58	*legato* LH AMA
71, 75	articulation dots and slur missing in RH AMA (last three quavers)
73	*p* in AMA not in MS
77	alternative version on ossia stave in AMA

3rd movement – *Allegretto Grazioso*

Bar(s):

4, 12	slurring longer in RH AMA
9-10, 13-14	addition of long legato slur in LH AMA
15, 21-23, 29-30, 32-34	addition of long slurs RH AMA
24-28, 34-35, 65-68, 161-162	addition of long legato slur in LH AMA
24-28, 103, 109-110, 147-150	longer slurs in RH AMA
75-76, 147-150, 217-219	longer slurs in LH AMA
104-105	shorter slurs in RH AMA
140-146	addition of long slurs RH AMA
143, 172	*legato* LH AMA
151-153, 161-162, 167-169	addition of long slurs RH AMA
155	*legato* RH AMA
201, 208-210, 2201-21	longer slurs in RH AMA
202-203	addition of slurs in LH AMA
204	addition of slur in RH AMA

Sonata in C minor, K457

1st movement - *Allegro*

Bar(s):	
14, 16, 21-23, 51-56	additional slur RH AMA
13-16, 112-115	additional slurs on octave leaps and articulation dots on last two quavers of each bar in AMA
19-20	added articulation dots in AMA
23-28, 130-140	longer slurs in LH AMA
38-39, 42-43	change of clef and stave in AMA (crossing of hands more convenient) according to First Edition's version
36-45, 79-84, 156-162, 177-181	longer slurs in LH AMA
57	(*p*) in AMA – taken from FE
59	*legato* in LH AMA

2nd movement - *Adagio*

(It is noted at the bottom of the page in the AMA that the indications in parentheses are derived from the first edition)

Bar(s):	
1	(*sotto voce*) in AMA not in MS
2, 3, 5, 6-9, 12-16, ff-	several dynamics and embellishments in parentheses
15	(*mancando*) in AMA not in MS

Dynamics in *Da Capo* sections (these sections are not written out in the MS; they first appear in FE) are marked without parentheses in AMA. Overall, the slurring is longer in the AMA throughout.

3rd movement – *Molto Allegro*

(Note: Changes of register featured in First Edition are maintained in AMA (Bars 89-99 and 291-309).

Bar(s):	
1-12, also 103-117, 220-228	Slurring in right hand melody shorter in AMA, changing the whole effect!
46-58	much longer slurs in LH AMA, same in recapitulation
74-7, 82-5, 196-200, 204-209	there should be separate dynamics for left and right hand, as in MS. AMA places the dynamics in between the two staves, and the placement only makes sense for the right hand, not the left.
92 ff-	*ossia* staves for first edition version in AMA
172	*crescendo* in AMA not in MS
174	*p* in AMA not in MS
210 -15	slurs in RH longer in AMA
216	*f* in AMA not in MS
220	*p* in AMA not in MS
234	*fp* in AMA not in MS

Bar-to-bar comparison between First Editions and the *Alte Mozart Ausgabe*

FE = First Edition
AMA = *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's Werke. Kritisch durchgesehene Gesammtausgabe,* Cah. XX: *Sonaten und Fantasien für das Pianoforte* (Breitkopf and Härtel, Leipzig: 1877-1905).

Sonata in D major, K284

1st movement – *Allegro*

Bar(s):	
1	arpeggiated tonic chord and added slurs in RH AMA
4-6, 8	longer slurs in LH AMA
7, 9	*f* added in AMA
7-16, 22, 25-26, 29	longer slurs in RH AMA
17	*legato* added in AMA
18, 20, 30-32, 36-39, 41-42, 44, 50	added slurs RH AMA
25-27	*cresc. – p* in FE omitted in AMA
33, 44, 48-49, 60, 62, 64	added slurs LH AMA
41	*f* added in AMA
45, 51	arpeggiated chords RH AMA
48, 78-79	longer slurs RH AMA
52	*legato* added in RH AMA
60, 62, 64	*f* in FE, *sf* in AMA
63	*f* on first beat of bar in FE, on second beat of bar in AMA
66-72	added slurs RH AMA
70-71	*cresc.* added in AMA
72, 74-76	added slurs in LH AMA
80	*f* added in AMA
80, 82, 93, 97-98, 101, 124	longer slurs RH AMA
81, 83-87, 89, 96, 102-104, 108-111, 113-114, 116, 120	added slurs RH AMA
88	*legato* added LH AMA
97-98	*cresc.- p* added in AMA
105, 116, 123-124	added slurs LH AMA
115	*f* in FE omitted in AMA
117	arpeggiated chords RH AMA

2nd movement – *Rondeau en Polonaise*

Bar(s):	
1, 3, 13-14	*sf* in FE, *f* in AMA
1-2, 3-4	slurring longer - leading into second bar of the group in AMA
5, 6	*sf-p* in FE, *f* in AMA
7-8	*cresc.-p* in FE omitted in AMA
10, 12, 15, 23-28	longer slurs in RH AMA
17-20	longer slurs LH AMA
17-20	trills in RH FE, turn and mordent in AMA
19	shorter slurs in AMA
23	*p* in FE omitted in AMA
25-28	added slurs LH AMA

29	*p-sf* in FE, *p-f* in AMA
37	*cresc.* in FE omitted in AMA
38	*f-p* on first - second beat in FE, on first - third beat in AMA
39-40	slur longer - leading into bar 40 in AMA
41	*f* added in AMA
47	*f* and *legato* added in AMA
53-56	longer slurs LH AMA, trills in FE, turns and mordents in AMA
61-64	longer slurs RH AMA
65	*sf* in FE, *f* in AMA
67	*pp* in FE, *p* in AMA
70-75	added slurs LH AMA
70-71, 80	longer slurs RH AMA
78, 81	added slur RH AMA
79	longer slurs LH AMA
81	added *p* in AMA, appears in 82 in FE
85	*sf* on second beat in FE, *f* on first beat in AMA
87	*sf* in FE omitted in AMA
88	*p* on second beat of the bar in FE, on first beat in AMA

3rd movement – Theme and Twelve Variations

THEMA	
1-3, 5-6	added slurs LH AMA
2, 6, 16	shorter slurs in RH AMA
14-15	longer slurs LH AMA
VAR. I	
1-2	longer slurs RH AMA
3, 7, 10, 16	slur on two quavers and stroke on third quaver in FE, only long slurs in AMA
5-7, 8-11, 13-15	longer slurs RH AMA
9-11	added slurs LH AMA
VAR. II	
16-17	staccato strokes in both hands added in AMA
VAR. III	
1-16	longer slurs RH AMA
2, 3, 9	added slurs LH AMA
15	*cresc.* added in AMA
VAR. IV	
3-4, 12	longer slurs RH AMA
5-7, 14-16	longer slurs LH AMA
8	*legato* added in AMA

VAR. V

1	*p* in FE, (*f*) in AMA
5	longer slurs in LH AMA
7	shorter slurs in RH AMA, *f* in FE omitted in AMA
10	longer slurs RH AMA

VAR. VI

Articulation strokes in LH FE omitted in AMA

VAR. VII

1-10, 13-16	longer slurs RH AMA
5	*cresc*. in FE, delayed until bar 6 in AMA
9	longer slurs LH AMA
13-16	*p – cresc. – f – sf* in FE omitted in AMA

VAR. VIII

Overall: strokes on RH octaves in FE omitted in AMA

VAR. IX

Overall: strokes on RH and LH octaves in FE omitted in AMA

7, 9, 16	added slur RH AMA

VAR. X

9	added slur RH AMA
12-13	*p – pp* added in AMA, *decresc*. in 13 in FE, *p* in 14

VAR. XI

(Note: the AMA reproduces the autograph reading, with *ossia* staves for the FE, but omitting all dynamics from the FE version).

VAR. XII

1	*p* in FE, (*f*) in AMA
1-3	longer slurs LH AMA
4	*f* in FE omitted in AMA
6	arpeggiated chord RH AMA
6-11, 31-36	added slurs RH AMA
9, 30	*legato* added LH AMA
26-28	longer slurs RH AMA
27	added slur LH AMA
36, 38	arpeggiated chords RH AMA

Sonata in C major, K330

1st movement – *Allegro Moderato*

Bar(s):

1	*legato* LH AMA
5, 9	*p* in FE omitted in AMA
8	slurs LH FE omitted in AMA
11-12, 14-15, 16-17	*f – p* in FE omitted in AMA
17	added slur RH AMA
18-19, 25-27, 28-29	*f – p* in FE omitted in AMA
18-21	longer slurs LH AMA
21-23	*mf - p* in FE omitted in AMA
23	longer slurs RH AMA
26	*legato* LH AMA
30	*f* in FE omitted in AMA
32, 34, 36	*p* in FE omitted in AMA
38	*sf – p* distanced in FE, *sfp* in AMA
40-41	*cresc. – f* in FE omitted in AMA
44-48, 50-53	*p – cresc. – f – p* in FE omitted in AMA
59	*legato* LH AMA – slurs omitted up to bar 64
66-69, 70-73	*p-cresc.-f* in FE omitted in AMA
70, 88, 112	*legato* LH AMA
74-78	*p-pp-cresc-f-p* in FE omitted in AMA
80	*cresc*. in FE omitted in AMA
89, 93, 97, 99, 102, 104, 111, 114, 116: f in FE omitted in AMA	
91, 95, 98, 101, 103, 105, 109, 113, 115, 118, 122: *p* in FE omitted in AMA	
93	slurs in LH FE omitted in AMA
103	added slurs in RH AMA
107	*mf* in FE omitted in AMA
123	LH in FE has D minor chord, AMA has F major chord (first crotchet beat)
124	*sf* in FE, *fp* in AMA and slurring in RH longer in AMA
126-7	*cresc.-f* in FE omitted in AMA
127-128, 134-135	longer slurs in LH AMA
130-134, 136-139	*p-cresc.-f-p* in FE omitted in AMA
147	*sf* placed on 2nd semiquaver of each group in FE, on 3rd semiquaver in AMA
144-148	longer slurs in LH AMA
148-149	*p-sf-p* in FE omitted in AMA

2nd movement – *Andante Cantabile*

Bar(s):	
6, 11	different placement of *p* between FE and AMA
12	*f* in FE, *cresc.* pin in AMA
16	*sf-p* in FE omitted in AMA
30	*f* in FE omitted in AMA
31	*p* added in AMA
35	*p* in FE omitted in AMA
41	added slurs RH AMA
42	added *f* in AMA
49	*cresc.* added in AMA
50	*p-cresc.* in AMA, *cresc*. in 51 in FE
52	*cresc.* pin leading to *f* in 53 in AMA, *f* in FE in 52
55	*p* added in ama
56	*sf* in FE omitted in AMA
62	*cresc.* pin added in AMA
63	*pp* added in AMA

3rd movement - *Allegretto*

Bar(s):	
1, 22, 27, 33	*p* in FE omitted in AMA
9 f	in FE omitted in AMA
9-14, 27-29	added slurs LH AMA
15, 30-31	longer slurs RH AMA
16	*legato* RH AMA
21, 39, 59	*legato* LH AMA
25, 35	*cresc*. in FE omitted in AMA
29, 36, 47, 59	*f* in FE omitted in AMA
37, 53-54, 57, 67	*p* in FE omitted in AMA
47-52, 55-56	longer slurs RH AMA
65, 66	*mfp* in FE omitted in AMA
68	*p* in FE omitted in AMA
76	*legato* LH AMA
79	*fp* in FE omitted in AMA
81, 83	*f-p* in FE omitted in AMA
93	*pp* in FE omitted in AMA
95	*sotto voce* in FE omitted in AMA
103, 123	*f* in FE omitted in AMA
110	*legato* RH AMA
115, 137	*legato* LH AMA
116, 131, 151, 152	*p* in FE omitted in AMA
119-120	*cresc.-p* in FE omitted in AMA
133-135	*cresc.-f-p* in FE omitted in AMA
145, 149-150, 153-154	added slurs RH AMA
153	*f* in FE, *cresc.* pin in AMA
154, 157	*f* in FE omitted in AMA
156	in FE omitted in AMA
157	legato LH AMA
159	placement of *p* on second beat in FE, on first beat in AMA

Sonata in Bb major, K333

(Note: Overall, the AMA omits the majority of dynamic markings found in the FE, while in other sonatas the first edition's dynamics were placed in parentheses. Slurs here have generally been more similar to the FE, particularly in movements 2 and 3.)

1st movement – *Allegro*

Bar(s):	
1, 2-3, 10, 11-13, 14-16, 20	longer slurs RH AMA
1-5, 7, 11-17, 20	longer slurs LH AMA
5	shorter slurs in RH AMA – different effect
6, 8, 18, 22	addition of slurs RH AMA
9	articulation strokes on last 2 quavers of RH not in AMA
10	articulation strokes on bass arpeggio not in AMA
18-19, 21, 26, 31	addition of slurs LH AMA
28	longer slurs in RH AMA and omission of articulation strokes on last two quavers
29-30, 36-8	longer slurs in RH AMA
39	*legato* LH AMA
42, 44	only *f* in FE, *fp* in AMA
48	*p* in AMA not in FE
51	shifted slur LH AMA
52-59, 72	added slurs in RH AMA
55, 59-63, 66-69, 71	longer slurs LH AMA
58-59, 61-62	missing barline in AMA
61-66, 67-68, 88-94	longer slurs RH AMA
73	*legato* LH AMA
73-74, 77-80, 82-86, 101, 103, 105-6, 112-3, 116-118, 120	added slur in RH AMA
96-100, 106-115, 132	longer slurs LH AMA
104	no tie in RH F in FE, tie in AMA
105, 124	articulation strokes in FE not in AMA
116-117, 119, 122-3	added slur LH AMA
127, 133-5, 143	added slurs RH AMA
136	legato LH AMA
138, 140	*f* in FE, *fp* in AMA
142	Additional octaves - suggesting new extended range of nineteenth-century keyboard?
145-148	slurs in LH FE, omitted in AMA
153-157, 159-61	longer slurs RH AMA
157, 160-164	longer slurs LH AMA

2nd movement – *Andante cantabile*

Bar(s):	
3, 6, 7, 10	additional slurs RH AMA
8-11, 16	longer slurs LH AMA
9, 11	*sf – p* in FE not in AMA
15	C / E on second beat of the bar in FE, only E in AMA
19, 20	shorter slurs in RH AMA
19, 21-23, 33-34	additional slurs LH AMA
21	*sf* in LH FE omitted in AMA

23, 27	*p* in FE not in AMA
24, 28, 29-30, 32, 35	longer slurs in RH AMA
25	*sf* and *f* in FE omitted in AMA
25-27, 29-31	longer slurs LH AMA
30	*cresc. – f* in FE not in AMA
31	*Decrescendo* pin added in AMA
37-38	added slurs in RH AMA
40	*p* added in AMA
40-42, 51-52, 54-55	longer slurs RH AMA
42, 57	*legato* LH AMA
43-46, 58, 60	*sf – p* in FE not in AMA
49	shorter slurs in RH AMA
51, 62, 63, 70-72, 74-76, 78-80	longer slurs LH AMA
57-60	slurs LH FE omitted in AMA
60-61, 65, 68, 69, 73, 77-79	longer slurs RH AMA
70, 74	*sf – f* in FE omitted in AMA
71	added slurs in RH AMA
76	*p* in FE omitted in AMA
79-80	*cresc. – p* in FE omitted in AMA

3rd movement – *Allegretto Grazioso*

Bar(s):

Bar 4, 12, 21, 22-23, 24-27, 44, 71, 105-106, 110-111	longer slurs RH AMA
6, 7, 9-10, 13-14, 31, 34-35, 65-68	added slurs LH AMA
15, 29-31, 32-34, 55	added slurs RH AMA
16, 56, 105	*p* in FE omitted in AMA
20, 64, 80, 97	*f* in FE omitted in AMA
21, 22, 24-29, 49-51, 76-79	longer slurs LH AMA
48, 119, 168	articulation strokes in RH FE omitted in AMA
85-86, 125	longer slurs in RH FE, shorter in AMA
102-3	*decrescendo* pins added in AMA
115-117, 137-141, 148-151	longer slurs RH AMA
120-121, 124-125, 163-164	added slurs LH AMA
126, 142-147, 152-155, 163, 169-173	added slurs RH AMA
127, 133, 136, 165, 180	*p* in FE omitted in AMA
132, 135, 178, 183	*f* in FE omitted in AMA
144, 174, 194	*legato* LH AMA
156	*legato* RH AMA
181-182	longer slurs LH AMA
185-186	tied Eb in AMA, no tie in FE
187	*p* in FE omitted in AMA
190-193	slurs and articulation strokes in RH FE omitted in AMA
199	added slurs in RH AMA
201	turn in FE omitted in AMA
202	slurs longer in FE
204	articulation strokes in RH FE omitted in AMA
206-212	added slurs in RH AMA
212	*legato* LH AMA
215-217	slurs in LH FE omitted in AMA
219-221	longer slurs LH AMA and 221 RH AMA

Sonata in C minor, K457

(Note: Overall, whereas the MS and the FE employ separate dynamic markings for the left hand and the right, the AMA only marks dynamics between the staves for both hands, even at instances where the dynamics are not applied simultaneously. Also, strokes appearing in the MS and the FE have been replaced by dots in the AMA.)

First movement – *Allegro*

Bar(s):

11-12 longer slur in RH AMA

13-16, 112-115 additional slurs in LH octave leaps in AMA and articulation dots on last two quavers of each bar

14, 16 additional slur RH AMA

19-20 added articulation dots in AMA

21-23, 26, 51-56, 58, 64-65, 67-70 additional slur in RH AMA

23-28, 36-45, 49-50 additional slur in LH AMA

35-36, 46-47 longer slur in RH AMA

38-9, 42-3, 133-4, 137-8 change of clef and stave in AMA (crossing of hands more convenient)

57 FE's *p* in parentheses in AMA

59 legato in LH AMA

72 *p* in LH FE not in AMA

77-78, 85-86, 113-114, 115-116 additional slur RH AMA

79-82, 176-180 longer slurs LH AMA

83-84, 87-94, 108-111 additional slur LH AMA

121-124, 131-138, 139, 145-6, 155-161, 174-5 additional slur LH AMA

125 *sfp* in AMA, *fp* in MS, nothing in FE

126 *p* in FE not in AMA

146 octave C in AMA not in FE

149-153, 164-7, 172-4, 182-3 additional slur RH AMA

2nd movement – *Adagio*

(Note: Overall, only the dynamics appearing in the First edition are noted in AMA, in parentheses, except when stated otherwise.)

Bar(s):

1, 4, 10-14, 17, 20, 27-8, 34-37, 44 additional slurs in LH AMA

2, 5, 8 additional slurs in RH AMA

3 longer slurs in RH AMA

13 *crescendo* pin in AMA not in FE or MS

21-23, 41-47 dynamics of FE not in parentheses in AMA, even though the ms does not have that part written out at all

38 AMA places (*p*) on first beat of the bar, FE on third beat.

41 *a tempo* in AMA not in FE

55-58 AMA does not include any of the dynamic markings in FE!

3rd movement – *Molto Allegro*

(Note: Overall, only the dynamics appearing in the First Edition are noted in AMA in parentheses, except when stated otherwise.)

Bar(s):

1-12, also 103-117, 220-228	Slurring in right hand melody shorter in AMA, changes the whole effect!
13-15	longer slur in RH AMA
14-15	additional slur LH AMA
16, 18, 20, 30, 32, 34, 119, 121, 123	additional slur RH AMA
46-58	longer slurs in LH AMA
51-53	*p - cresc. - p* in FE not in AMA
74-77, 80-84	additional slurs in LH AMA
90-91, 92-101, 173-4, 179-182	longer slurs RH AMA
92- ff	*ossia* staves for FE version
120, 134	*legato* LH AMA
133, 135, 137	additional slur RH AMA
146-153, 157-163, 165-178	longer slurs LH AMA
191	*f* in AMA not in FE
197-200, 205-10, 275-286	longer slurs in LH AMA
230, 238	*fp* in FE not in AMA
248, 250, 252, 262, 264, 266	additional slur RH AMA
290-300	longer slurs RH AMA
301-316	additional long slurs in LH AMA
310-317	additional slurring RH AMA

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