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**Carl Reinecke's Performance of his Arrangement of the Second Movement
from Mozart's Piano Concerto K. 488. Some Thoughts on Style
and the Hidden Messages in Musical Notation**

"We all know that the written notes are but a meagre indication of the artist's idea, which is for the executant to vivify by the magnetism of his own genius; and the command of mechanism for so doing and the power of applying it, constitute school in a pianist."

GEORGE ALEXANDER MACFARREN¹

The general style of mainstream Classical music performance that pervades concert halls and recordings today was not handed down directly from the nineteenth century, but formulated during the first half of the twentieth, a fact unequivocally supported by sound recordings.² By the middle of the twentieth century, the expressive practices that late-nineteenth century musicians employed (and that went largely unnotated in the score) came to be considered old-fashioned and excessive, and were all but eradicated in favour of a 'modern' style that was much more faithful to the text. With the exception of the addition of vibrato in string playing, wind playing and singing, 'modern' performers adhered closely to the score. Any practices unsanctioned by the composer in the notation were regarded as incorrect and distasteful. As an undergraduate music student in the early 1980s, I was taught that scholarly editions such as Urtexts revealed much – perhaps even everything – that the composer expected. This was an attitude clearly exemplified in the opinion of H. C. Robbins Landon who in 1989 expressed astonishment about how little "scholarly thinking and research [about Mozart] reaches the general reader." The *Neue Mozart Ausgabe* (New Mozart Edition, hereinafter NMA) "which is an absolute necessity if we are to perform Mozart correctly, is not always used, even in cultural centres like Vienna."³ Following Landon's line of thinking, to perform Mozart correctly, we had to

- 1 George Alexander Macfarren: Cipriani Potter. His Life and Work, in: *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 10 (1883/84), pp. 41–56, here pp. 42 f.
- 2 Robert Philip: *Early Recordings and Musical Style. Changing Tastes in Instrumental Performance 1900–1950*, Cambridge 1992.
- 3 Howard Chandler Robbins Landon: *Mozart. The Golden Years, 1781–1791*, London 1989, p. 7; Robbins Landon goes on to explain in a footnote: "Only recently I had to insist on the use of the NMA for the Deutsche Grammophon recordings of the Mozart symphonies played by the Vienna Philharmonic and conducted by James Levine; they had begun to record the music using the old Breitkopf edition, because the Archives of the Vienna Philharmonic did not possess most of the scores and parts of the NMA." See Landon: *Mozart*, p. 238.

know how Mozart notated his music and, by implication, follow his markings meticulously, including, for example, the different execution of staccato dots and strokes. But Urtexts such as the NMA do little to explain what Mozart's notation signified to musicians of his day, and they fail to inform musicians about the essential practices that Mozart did not or could not notate, but expected the performer to add, in order to bring his music to life.

As a result, the music of Mozart and many other composers came to be performed (much as it is today) more or less precisely as notated with regards to note alignment, rhythm and tempo flexibility, producing interpretations that are neat and tidy, crisp and clean, with little input from the performer. The emphasis is on precision and correctness.

The second half of the twentieth century saw a marked growth in the area of period performance, now generally known as historically informed performance (HIP), which grew firm roots aided by the recording industry. By the 1980s, it was possible to hear canonic Baroque, Classical and Romantic works on allegedly historically appropriate instruments performed in a supposedly authentic fashion, taking into account performing practices elucidated in contemporary written sources. That, at least, is what we were led to believe by clever marketing. To be sure, these recordings did sound different, sometimes significantly so, from the same repertoire recorded by the 'modern' camp. Gut strings on string instruments in an 'original' set-up produced lighter, leaner, more transparent sounds that were aided by judicious, varied and ornamental vibrato that did not need to be continuous. Earlier bows naturally helped performers attain rhetorical or speech-like phrasing and articulation quite different from what was possible on modern, Tourte-style bows. The wooden-framed, straight-strung, Viennese-action fortepiano with leather-covered hammers produced a lighter, less hefty sound, which was more suitable and attractive for music of the era, and offered a significantly better balance with other instruments and voices than the modern, iron-framed, over-strung piano with felt-covered hammers. The list goes on. It was exhilarating and refreshing to hear such interpretations that would apparently be recognisable to Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven if they were still alive!

While this pioneering field of informed practice opened the door to new ways of recreating and understanding music,⁴ it held largely to the Modernist aesthetic of fidelity to the Urtext. In the 1990s, Richard Taruskin criticised the HIP movement for producing "the aural equivalent of an Urtext score" – a fairly neutral performance giving notes and rests correctly while "[n]othing is allowed to intrude into the performance that cannot be

4 All musicians engage in informed practice to some extent, building on past knowledge to produce new interpretations.

‘authenticated.’⁵ The HIP world in the main adopted only those practices which did not challenge the status quo to any great extent. One could start a trill on its upper auxiliary note instead of the main note as promoted in various mid-eighteenth-century sources such as those by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Leopold Mozart and Johann Joachim Quantz, and this would not ‘rock the boat’ too much; but getting perceptibly faster or slower, or significantly altering notated rhythms to enhance the character of the music – practices extolled in the very same sources – was ignored or frowned upon.

Fifty years later, it is illuminating to compare interpretations of Mozart’s music by both the modern and the HIP camps. Let’s take, for example, the opening passage for solo piano (bars 1–12) of the second movement – Adagio – from Mozart’s Piano Concerto No. 23 K. 488 (Figure 1).⁶ In 1964 Arthur Rubinstein (1887–1982) recorded the concerto on a modern piano with the RCA Victor Symphony Orchestra under the baton of Alfred Wallenstein (1898–1983).⁷ Rubinstein’s interpretation is sombre in mood with a tempo of quaver = circa 84, which to my taste is ponderously slow. As might be expected, the notes are well aligned between the right and left hands, and the melody is exquisitely balanced against the accompaniment. The rhythm is literally as notated, and the tempo remains stable apart from a few subtle inflections – a slight slowing down at the end of bar 4, a subtle placement of the beginning of bar 10 and a gentle broadening of the last two notes of the upward arpeggio figure in that bar. Dynamic inflections are contained within a generally piano soundscape with a slight decrescendo for the resolution in the middle of bar 4, a rounder sound for the poignant descending figure in the second half of bar 7 and a somewhat more robust volume for bars 10 and 11 in which an unexpected shift in harmony to G \flat (which sounds rather special) takes place.⁸ But besides these, the overall effect of Rubinstein’s performance is neutral.

Mozart gives no indication of dynamics or accents for this passage, which may account for the neutrality of Rubinstein’s approach, enhanced by his manner of gently ‘singing’ in long legato lines (three four-bar phrases), seemingly disregarding the shorter slurring patterns that Mozart took the trouble to mark. The questions to be asked here

5 Richard Taruskin: *Text and Act. Essays on Music and Performance*, New York 1995, p. 72; see also Neal Peres Da Costa: *Off the Record. Performing Practices in Romantic Piano Playing*, New York 2012, pp. xxviii f.

6 It is possible that Mozart changed his Adagio marking to Andante; see discussion below.

7 Available at <https://youtu.be/hWNYq-cCXRU?t=688> (accessed 7 July 2018).

8 This shift can be explained in Schenkerian terms as being to \flat II6. However, in Mozart’s era and before, this would have been best explained in terms of solmisation as being part of a slightly modified *cadenza ligata* as explained by Georg Muffat (1653–1704) and used throughout the eighteenth century. In a *cadenza ligata*, the standard cadence is B - C \sharp - F \sharp in the bass and the standard soprano A - G \sharp - F \sharp . Mozart’s use of G \flat here is as a chromatic alteration.

Adagio

The musical score is presented in a standard orchestral format. The top section shows the woodwind and brass staves, which are mostly empty, indicating they are not playing in this section. Below them is the piano part, consisting of a grand staff with a treble and bass clef. The piano part features a melodic line in the right hand and a supporting bass line in the left hand. The strings are represented by five staves (Violino I, Violino II, Viola, Violoncello e Basso) and are playing sustained notes with light rhythmic patterns. The tempo is marked 'Adagio'.

FIGURE 1 Mozart: Piano Concerto No. 23 K. 488, Kassel 1969
(Neue Mozart-Ausgabe), p. 35, second movement (Adagio), bars 1–12

are: what did Mozart's notation mean to performers of his time, and what did he intend his music to convey to his listeners? To answer these questions, some clues can be found in contemporary written sources as well as in the structures of the composition itself. For a start, eighteenth-century musicians were evidently trained to understand that the dif-

ferent keys should elicit differing emotions, sometimes quite extreme. Leopold Mozart (1719–1787) touched on this in his *Versuch* (1756):

“And even if all the modern keys seem to be made only from the scale of C major and A minor; yea, in reality are only built up by adding \flat and \sharp : how comes it then that a piece which, for instance, is transposed from F to G never sounds so pleasant, and has quite a different effect on the emotions of the listeners? And whence comes it also that practised musicians, on hearing a composition, can instantly specify the key note if it be not indeed different in character?”⁹

So, what did $f\sharp$ minor convey to late-eighteenth-century musicians? In 1797, the composer André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry (1741–1813) explained that “the key of $F\sharp$ major is hard because it is overloaded with accidentals; the same minor key [$f\sharp$ minor] still retains a little hardness.”¹⁰ And according to the theorist Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart (1731–1791), writing in around 1784, $f\sharp$ minor is “A gloomy key: it tugs at passion as a dog biting a dress. Resentment and discontent are its language. It really does not seem to like its own position: therefore it languishes ever for the calm of A major or for the triumphant happiness of D major.”¹¹ Schubart’s description evidently remained current into the early decades of the nineteenth century and was reprinted verbatim in Friedrich Starke’s (1774–1835) *Wiener Pianoforte-Schule* (1819).¹² It is important to state here that while we cannot be certain what temperament Mozart used in tuning his fortepiano (indeed he might have used different temperaments for different works), we can say with certainty that temperaments available to him (and published at the time) were unequal, that is the size of the semitones was not uniform. Such temperaments favour keys with few sharps

- 9 “Und wenn gleich alle die heutigen Tongattungen nur aus der Tonleiter (C) Dur und (A) moll versetzt zu seyn scheinen; ja wirklich durch Hinzusetzung der (\flat) und (\sharp) erst gebildet werden: woher kömmt es denn, daß ein Stück, welches z. E. vom (F) ins (G) übersetzt wird, nimmer so angenehm läßt, und eine ganz andere Wirkung in dem Gemüthe der Zuhörer verursacht? Und woher kömmt es denn, daß ein wohlgeübter Musikus bey Anhörung einer Musik augenblicklich den Ton derselben anzugeben weis, wenn sie nicht unterschieden sind?” Leopold Mozart: *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule*, Augsburg 1756, p. 59, English translation after id.: *A Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing*, trans. by Editha Knocker, 2nd edn., Oxford 1951, Reprint 1972, p. 64.
- 10 “[...] la gamme majeure de fa dièse est dure, parce qu’elle est surchargée d’accidens; la même gamme mineure conserve encore un peu de dureté”. André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry: *Mémoires, ou Essais sur la musique*, Paris 1797, Vol. 2, p. 357, trans. by Rita Steblin: *A History of Key Characteristics in the 18th and Early 19th Centuries*, Ann Arbor 1981, p. 107.
- 11 “Fis moll. Ein finsterer Ton: er zerrt an der Leidenschaft, wie der bissige Hund am Gewande. Groll und Missvergnügen ist seine Sprache. Es scheint ihm ordentlich in seiner Lage nicht wohl zu seyn: daher schmachtet er immer nach der Ruhe von A dur, oder nach der triumphirenden Seligkeit von D dur hin.” Christian Friederich Daniel Schubart: *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*, Vienna 1806 [written circa 1784], p. 379, trans. by Steblin: *A History of Key Characteristics*, p. 123.
- 12 Friedrich Starke: *Wiener Pianoforte-Schule in III Abtheilungen*, Vienna 1819, Vol. I, p. 11.

or flats (home keys), while remote keys (F \sharp major and minor) sound harsh and unsettling.¹³

Before proceeding, we ought also to consider Mozart's intended Italian tempo term for the movement. This is a matter of some confusion that does not yet seem to have been dealt with adequately. In his autograph of circa 1785, Mozart gave the Italian tempo indication 'Adagio' (slow). In the first edition (circa 1800), published by André and based on Mozart's manuscript which Constanze Mozart sold to André in 1799, the movement is also marked 'Adagio' (Figure 2). However, in the edition by Breitkopf and Härtel (circa 1800), 'Andante' is given (Figure 3). It is not clear what source was used for the Breitkopf and Härtel edition, but it is entirely possible that it had a direct connection with Mozart. There will certainly have been more than one copy of the concerto in circulation; we know from Mozart's correspondence in August 1786 that a copy was prepared for Prince Fürstentberg. And orchestral materials will also have been made for the Vienna performances. In this light, it is likely that the change from Adagio to Andante stemmed from Mozart, perhaps in the original performing materials. In the second half of the nineteenth century, various publications by Breitkopf and Härtel of the slow movement of K. 488 retain the 'Andante' marking. These include the critically revised complete edition (1879) of Mozart's piano concerti, whose team of editors included the celebrated German pianist, pedagogue and composer Carl Reinecke (1824–1910);¹⁴ a new, revised complete edition of Mozart's piano concerti (1880) with fingerings and expression marks (and a piano reduction of the orchestral part) by Reinecke for use at the Leipzig Conservatorium;¹⁵ and Reinecke's arrangement of the Andante K. 488 for solo piano (1896).¹⁶ Ignaz Lachner's

- 13 While contemporary theorists had proposed equal temperament as an ideal, it appears unlikely that it was widely used during this period.
- 14 Wolfgang Amadeus Mozarts Werke, Serie XVI: Concerte für das Pianoforte, Vol. 4, No. 23, ed. by Otto Goldschmidt, Joseph Joachim, Carl Reinecke, Ernst Rudorff and Paul Waldersee, Leipzig 1879, pp. 1–54 (67–120), here p. 22.
- 15 Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Clavier-Concerte. Neue revidirte Ausgabe mit Fingersatz und Vortragszeichen für den Gebrauch im Königl. Conservatorium der Musik in Leipzig versehen von Carl Reinecke, 4 Vols., Leipzig 1880, Vol. 4, pp. 34–60, here p. 44. This version was republished with very minor changes in Breitkopf und Härtel's album series (for students and amateurs) *Unsere Meister* Vol. 14, plate number v. A. 763, dated circa 1886–88. Reinecke's son Franz Reinecke (1868–1949) listed this in his *Verzeichniss der bis jetzt im Druck erschienenen Compositionen von Carl Reinecke*, Leipzig 1889, under the section entitled "Bearbeitungen und Transcriptionen fremder sowie eigener Werke", p. 54.
- 16 Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: *Andante aus dem Klavier-Concert in A Dur K. 488*, arr. Carl Reinecke, Leipzig 1896, reissued by Stefan Schönknecht and Heribert Koch, Leipzig 2008. This reissue includes Reinecke's solo piano arrangement of *Larghetto aus dem Klavierkonzert D-Dur K. 537 "Krönungskonzert"*; Reinecke had already performed the solo arrangement of the Andante K. 488 before its publication in 1896, as is revealed by a letter from Reinecke to Breitkopf and Härtel dated 6 May 1896: "I take this opportunity to send to you, esteemed gentlemen, a new transcription of a Concert. Andante by Mozart,



FIGURE 2 Second movement – Adagio – from Mozart’s Piano Concerto K. 488, first edition published by André (circa 1800)



FIGURE 3 Second movement – Andante – from Mozart’s Piano Concerto K. 488, published by Breitkopf and Härtel (circa 1800)

(1807–1895) arrangement (i. e. his reduction) of the orchestra parts of K. 488 for two violins, viola, cello and bass published in Stuttgart by Cotta in circa 1881 also gives ‘Andante’.

Whether or not Mozart changed his mind about the tempo marking, it is interesting to ponder what the slowest of the two terms – Adagio – signified to musicians of his time, as defined in contemporary sources. Of the terms that nowadays generally indicate a slow tempo, Leopold Mozart listed the following Italian tempo terms in order of increasing slowness:

which I have played already in Vienna very successfully and which might provide a sister work to the Larghetto from the Coronation Concerto. As remuneration I would like to ask for 50 M.” In a post-script Reinecke adds: “Perhaps you would kindly have the little parcel collected with the despatched works, to which I have added the Mozart Andante.” “Ich benutze die Gelegenheit um Ihnen, Hochgeehrten Herren, eine neue Bearbeitung eines Concert. Andante von Mozart zu übersenden, welches ich jetzt in Wien mit großem Erfolg gespielt habe und welches vielleicht ein Seitenstück zu dem Larghetto aus dem Krönungs Concerto abgeben dürfte. Als Honorar würde ich mir 50 M. ausbitten ... Das Packerl [sic] mit den eingesandten Werken, dem ich das Andante v. Mozart beigelegt habe, lassen Sie vielleicht gnädigst abholen.” I am grateful to Dr. Thekla Kluttig at the Leipzig State Library for providing this letter, and to Stefan Schönknecht and Heribert Koch at Reinecke Musikverlag for much help and advice. For further information about Carl Reinecke please see also www.carl-reinecke.de (last consulted 30 April 2019).

"Lente or Lentement, quite leisurely.

Adagio: slow.

Adagio Pesante: a mournful Adagio, [which] must be played somewhat more slowly, and with great tranquillity.

Largo: a still slower tempo, to be performed with long strokes and much tranquillity.

Grave: sadly and seriously, and therefore very slowly."¹⁷

Clearly, he did not consider adagio to mean ponderously slow. In 1789, Daniel Gottlob Türk (1750–1830) defined largo as "with breadth, spacious, expansive and consequently slow", making the distinction that it was "almost slower and usually more serious than adagio."¹⁸ This, then, would seem to accord with Leopold Mozart. Writing in 1752, Johann Joachim Quantz (1697–1773) gives an important clue explaining that: "If the setting of the Adagio is very melancholy [more literally a sad affect]" it is "usually indicated by the words Adagio di molto or Lento assai".¹⁹ So adagio on its own does not appear to have been assigned to the most mournful, melancholy or slow works. In any case, Mozart's compound duple time signature (six-eight time) and his use of lilting dotted rhythms suggest that the movement is not simply slow, but rather a moderately paced siciliano, albeit with a sorrowful opening character.²⁰ In this respect Quantz's advice may be of interest: "A slow piece in two-four or six-eight time is played a little more quickly, and one in alla breve or three-two time is played more slowly, than one in common time or in three-four time."²¹ The impression here is that a slow piece in six-eight time was expected to be played with a certain degree of movement and lilt, not necessarily extremely slowly.

17 "Lente oder Lentement, (Lente, Lentement.) ganz gemächlich. Adagio, (Adagio.) langsam. Adagio pesante, (Adagio pesante.) ein schwermütiges Adagio, muß etwas langsamer, und zurückhaltend gespielt werden. Largo, (Largo.) ein noch langsames Tempo, wird mit langen Bogenstrichen und mit vieler Gelassenheit abgespielt. Grave, (Grave.) schwermütig und ernsthaft, folglich recht sehr langsam." Mozart: Versuch, p. 49, id.: Violin Playing, p. 51.

18 "Adagio, langsam; Lento, desgleichen, doch nicht immer ganz so langsam, als Adagio; Largo, eigentlich weit, geräumig, gedehnt, folglich langsam; (beynahe noch langsamer, und gewöhnlich ernsthafter, als Adagio.)" Daniel Gottlob Türk: Klavierschule oder Anweisung zum Klavierspielen für Lehrer und Lernende, mit kritischen Anmerkungen, Leipzig/Halle 1789, p. 108, English translation after id.: School of Clavier Playing, trans. Raymond H. Haggh, Lincoln 1982, p. 105.

19 "Ist das Adagio sehr traurig gesetzt, wobey gemeiniglich die Worte: Adagio di molto oder Lento assai stehen, [...]" Johann Joachim Quantz: Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversière zu spielen, Berlin 1752, p. 139, English translation after id.: On Playing the Flute, trans. Edward R. Reilly, London 1985 (1966), p. 165.

20 See Daniel Heartz: Mozart, Haydn and Early Beethoven 1781–1802, New York/London 2009, p. 132.

21 "Ein langsames Stück im Zweyviertheil- oder Sechssachtheiltacte, spielet man etwas geschwinder, und eines im Allabreve- oder Dreyzweytheiltacte, langsamer, als im schlechten oder Dreyviertheiltacte." Quantz: Versuch, p. 139, id.: On Playing the Flute, p. 165.

Despite the evidence, the term *Adagio* is held by some today to signify a very slow tempo. For example, the pianist András Schiff in the Preface to the 2005 Henle edition of K. 488 explains:

“The tempo mark *Adagio* makes it a true slow movement. We should remember that most of Mozart’s middle movements are marked *Andante*, *Larghetto*, *Allegretto*, or something similar, none of which suggests true slowness. This *Adagio* is one of the most touching, profound, and sorrowful that Mozart ever wrote. Its *siciliano* rhythm recalls the aria ‘*Erbarme dich*’ from Bach’s *St. Matthew Passion*.”²²

In fact, Mozart may have been concerned that his original tempo marking *Adagio* for the second movement of K. 488 might inspire performances that were too slow and therefore changed the marking to *Andante* in a hitherto unknown source (see above). It would appear that in the quarter-century after Mozart’s death, tempi in his music were at times already being taken slower than Mozart would perhaps have liked. In 1815, the well-known German composer and commentator on music Gottfried Weber (1779–1839) expressed considerable concern about what he considered to be rather unsuccessful performances of Pamina’s aria “*Ach, ich fühl’s, es ist verschwunden*” (“Oh, I feel it, it has disappeared”) from *Die Zauberflöte* K. 620, caused by tempi that were in his opinion too slow. The reason for considering Weber’s comments here is that “*Ach, ich fühl’s*” is an *Andante* in 6/8 meter in g minor, with music that is stirringly passionate rather like the slow movement of K. 488. Writing in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (1815) Weber explains that this aria

“not infrequently bores the public. I have heard it from very different singers, and in several of the best theatres, also in Vienna itself, but indeed long after Mozart’s death: but this aria is almost never really effective; almost always, as I said, it produces boredom in the listeners. Therefore, I asked myself: what is the reason for this? Is it the composition? Or the public? Or could the reason be that there is something that causes the aria to be perceived other than it should be? At home I went through the aria attentively, at a slow, a moderate, and a rather lively tempo – and – lo and behold, with the last attempt, the piece of music finally gained its true character; and that is why I now think people almost always miss the right tempo and at the same time the predominant character: everywhere this *Andante* is taken at the slowest possible *andante* tempo, and almost *adagio* (i. e. the eighths equal to the swinging of a pendulum of around 15 Rhenish inches [...]) and so it sounds like the lament of a lovesick maiden, which in this situation can hardly be anything other than boring. The situation that brings forth the aria is *passionate* [...]. And therefore I think that, in order to achieve its proper effect and not to fail through dragging, this aria must be taken at a tempo of 6" to 7" Rh. [Rhenish inches].”²³

22 Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Piano Concerto in A Major K. 488, ed. by Ernst-Günter Heinemann and András Schiff, Munich 2005, Preface by András Schiff.

23 “Pamina’s Arie: *Ach, ich fühl’* [sic], *es ist verschwunden* etc. (*Andante*, 6/8 Takt) wird dem Publicum nicht selten langweilig. Ich habe sie von gar verschiednen Sängern, und auf mehrern der besten Bühnen, auch selbst in Wien, doch freylich schon lange nach Mozarts Tode, gehört: aber fast nie wollte diese Arie recht wirken; fast immer machte sie, wie gesagt, den Zuhörern einige Langweile. – Da fragte ich mich: Worin liegt wol [sic] der Grund hievon? in der Composition? oder im Publicum?

To understand how the lengths in Rhenish inches equate with metronome marks, we can refer to Louis Spohr's (1784–1859) markings.²⁴ One quaver = 15 Rhenish inches is equivalent to quaver = 96 MM, and quaver = 6–7 Rhenish inches is equivalent to quaver = circa 138–153 MM. Weber's recommendation is therefore for a fairly swift andante. Perhaps significantly, Johann Nepomuk Hummel (1778–1837), who as a child studied with Mozart for two years, also gives swift metronome tempi (though not as swift as Weber) for the three andante movements in 6/8 metre in his arrangements (1823/24) for flute, violin, cello and piano of Mozart's last six symphonies (Table 1). And these correspond exactly with Carl Czerny's (1791–1857) metronome tempi for the same movements arranged for piano four hands (1839).²⁵

Andante from Mozart Symphony	metronome mark
Symphony No. 36 K. 425 (Linz)	quaver = 116
Symphony No. 38 K. 504 (Prague)	quaver = 126
Symphony No. 40 K. 550	quaver = 116

TABLE 1 Hummel's and Czerny's metronome marks for three andante movements in Mozart's late symphonies

To my ears, Mozart's arched-note patterns, constantly rising then falling by large intervals – fifths, sixths and sevenths (bars 1–4) – together with harsh dissonances, do not produce melancholy as much as something stronger, perhaps anguish or even agitated sadness. The extreme intensity of Mozart's writing is noted by Daniel Hertz:

oder etwa darin, dass die Arie überall anders gegriffen wird, als sie sollte? – Ich nahm die Arie zu Hause mit Aufmerksamkeit durch, bald in langsamer, bald in gemässigter, bald in ziemlich lebhafter Bewegung, und – siehe da, bey letzterm Versuch gewann mir das Tonstück erst eigentlichen Charakter; und darum glaube ich nun, man verfehlt fast durchgängig das rechte Tempo und mit diesem zugleich den Hauptcharakter: überall wird dieses Andante im allerlangsamsten Andante-Tempo genommen, und fast Adagio, (nämlich die Achtel gleich der Schwingung eines Pendels von etwa 15 rheinischen Zollen [...]) und so wird es ein Klagelied eines liebesiechen Mädchens, welches, zumal bey dieser Situation, nicht wol anders, als langweilig werden kann. Die Situation, welche die Arie herbeyführt, ist leidenschaftlich [...]. Und darum meyne ich denn, diese Arie müsste, um ihre eigentliche Wirkung zu thun und nicht schleppend auszufallen, in einem Tempo von 6" bis 7" Rh[einischen Zollen]. genommen werden." Gottfried Weber: Ein Zweifel, in: Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung 17 (1815), pp. 248f. All translations are by the present writer if not otherwise stated.

24 See Folker Göthel: Thematisch-Bibliographisches Verzeichnis der Werke von Louis Spohr, Tutzing 1981, pp. 82, 95 and 103; Spohr marks 6" or MM 152 for the Allegro vivace of Op. 45 No. 3; 8" or MM 132 for the Gloria of his Mass Op. 54; and 9" or MM 120 for the Minuetto of Op. 58 No. 3. It is therefore likely that 7" is about MM 138.

25 It stands to reason that Czerny simply adopted Hummel's tempo markings; see Beverly Jerold: Hummel's Metronome Marks for Mozart and Beethoven, in: The Beethoven Journal 26 (2011), No. 2, pp. 14–17.

“By the second measure, the stakes are raised with poignant and unusual dissonances. The leap down a seventh is expressive enough and made more so because the destination tone B causes the previous A to need resolution to G \sharp , which arrives, but at the expense of making the bass F \sharp , a dissonance that must resolve down to E \sharp . It does so, not in its own register, but an octave lower, a displacement that intensifies the leap of a minor ninth required of the bass. The ambience is set for more suspensions and displacements to follow.”²⁶

In contrast to leaping intervals, the slurred pairs of semiquavers (bar 7) conjure up heart-felt sighs. It is pertinent to consider Quantz’s observations about the effect of note spacings:

“The passion [of musical phrases] may be discerned by [...] whether the intervals between the notes are great or small, and whether the notes themselves ought to be slurred or articulated. Flattery, melancholy, and tenderness are expressed by slurred and close intervals, gaiety and boldness by brief articulated notes, or those forming distant leaps”.²⁷

It would therefore seem that, for Quantz, leaping intervals were expected to express a more energised state (perhaps by giving them special accents) than intervals that were closer together. This idea is underpinned by Türk, who gives various examples (see Figure 4) and discusses the “variety of single tones which must be played with emphasis”:

“To these, other than appoggiaturas [...], belong especially those intervals which are dissonant with the bass (a), or through which (by means of a tie) dissonant intervals may be prepared (b), further, syncopated notes (c), intervals which do not belong to the diatonic scale on that key, by means of which one has modulated (d), those tones which are distinguished by their length, highness, and lowness (e), the intervals which become important because of the basic harmony (f), and so forth.”²⁸

Türk’s advice makes it clear that there were a great many features in late eighteenth-century composition that needed special highlighting through emphasis, although not marked by the composer. While we cannot be certain how much emphasis was used in

²⁶ Hertz: Mozart, Haydn and Early Beethoven, pp. 132 f.

²⁷ “Man kann [...] die Leidenschaft erkennen: aus den vorkommenden Intervallen, ob solche nahe oder entfernt liegen, und ob die Noten geschleifet oder gestoßen werden sollen. Durch die geschleifeten und nahe an einander liegenden Intervalle wird das Schmeichelnde, Traurige, und Zärtliche; durch die kurz gestoßenen, oder in entfernten Sprüngen bestehenden Noten [...] wird das Lustige und Freche ausgedrückt.” Quantz: Versuch, p. 108, id.: *On Playing the Flute*, p. 125.

²⁸ “Noch giebt es verschiedene einzelne Töne, welche mit Nachdruck vorgetragen werden müssen. Hierunter gehören, außer den Vorschlägen [...] vorzüglich diejenigen Intervalle, die sich zu dem Basse &c. selbst wie Dissonanzen verhalten a), oder durch welche (vermittelt einer Bindung) dissonirende Intervalle vorbereitet werden b); ferner die synkopirten Noten c), die Intervalle, welche nicht zur diatonischen Tonleiter desjenigen Tones gehören, worin man modulirt d), die Töne, die sich durch ihre Länge, Höhe oder Tiefe &c. merklich auszeichnen e), die Intervalle, welche durch die zum Grunde liegende Harmonie wichtig werden f) u. s. w.” Türk: *Klavierschule*, p. 337, id.: *Clavier Playing*, p. 326 (emphasis by the present writer).



FIGURE 4 Examples of single notes to be emphasised, Türk: Klavierschule, p. 337

such circumstances or the effect that such emphasis created, it seems obvious that a neutral interpretation such as Rubinstein's is about as far removed from an eighteenth-century conception as is possible.

Rubinstein's fairly restrained interpretation might be said to be typical of a modernist approach to Mozart, which is evident in recordings from the 1930s onwards,²⁹ and can still be heard today. In this respect the description of the opening by Hubert Middleton in the *Musical Times* (1939) is telling: "The orchestra is for a while kept silent and the solo instrument sings its song in a manner of restrained self-dependence that attracts us."³⁰ More recently, John Irving has described the movement as "memorably limpid."³¹

Let us compare Rubinstein's recording with Malcolm Bilson's 1987 recording on a replica of an 18th-century Viennese fortepiano (similar to Mozart's own), with the English Baroque Soloists conducted by John Elliot Gardiner.³² Given the recording's claim to period style, one might expect to hear something quite different from Rubinstein's recording. There is the expected pitch discrepancy (Bilson's recording is at the modern standardised Classical pitch of $a = 430$ Hz). And the fortepiano, with its brighter tone,

29 Listen, for example, to Robert Casadesu's circa 1936 recording with the New York Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra under Sir John Barbirolli, Anton Schnabel's 1946 recording with the Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra under Artur Rodzinsky, Clara Haskil's 1954 recording with the Vienna Symphony Orchestra under Paul Sacher, and Solomon Cutner's 1956 recording with the Philharmonia Orchestra under Herbert Menges. Interestingly, Schnabel is more flexible with rhythm (overdotting the opening) and delays the low $\sharp 3$ in bar 2. The 14-year-old Russian pianist Fanny Weiland (1898–1931) recorded the work on three Welte piano rolls (2666, 2667, 2668) in Freiburg in around 1912. Her playing certainly evidences a modernist approach. See Peter Phillips: *Piano Rolls and Contemporary Player Pianos. The Catalogues, Technologies, Archiving and Accessibility*, PhD Thesis, University of Sydney 2016, <https://ses.library.usyd.edu.au/bitstream/2123/16939/1/Piano%20Rolls.pdf> (accessed 3 January 2019), p. 33.

30 Hubert Middleton: Mozart's Piano Concerto in A Major (K. v. 488), in: *The Musical Times* 80 (1939), pp. 287–289, here p. 288.

31 John Irving: *Mozart's Piano Concertos*, Burlington 2003, p. 233.

32 Archiv Produktion, Catalogue Number 423 595-2; also available at <https://youtu.be/YkmBlboxzpU?t=637> (accessed 7 July 2018).

quick decay and correspondingly dryer resonance, helps Bilson to achieve a speech-like quality that is less smooth than Rubinstein's. Bilson's overall tempo is similar to Rubinstein's, though he takes a little more time to place important notes such as the *a5* and *g5* at beginning of bar 2 where he also plays with a slightly broader tempo.³³ Cadence points are played with a strong-weak hierarchy so that the dissonant harmonies are a little stronger than their resolutions (bars 4 and 8). Additionally, the material in bar 7 is played with a fuller tone quality, with the first of each group of six quavers played with a slight agogic accentuation (lengthening) but without any appreciable nuancing of the slurred semiquaver duplets. The move to *G♯* in bar 10 is marked by a slightly softer dynamic and a gentle broadening on the final note of the bar. But despite such features, the overall effect of Bilson's interpretation does not sound as if from a vastly different world than Rubinstein's in terms of mood, note alignment, rhythm and tempo. Ronald Brautigam's 2013 recording with the Kölner Akademie under Michael Alexander Willens,³⁴ and Robert Levin's 1998 recording with the Academy of Ancient Music under Christopher Hogwood,³⁵ share a similar approach to Bilson's in the opening solo, though later in the movement Levin offers a highly-ornamented reading inspired by a source from Mozart's circle. In his 1992 recording with Anima Eterna, Jos van Immerseel takes an overall sprightlier tempo than the aforementioned recordings but remains steadfast to the notation in terms of note alignment and rhythm.³⁶

In rather stark contrast is Carl Reinecke's performance of his 1896 solo piano arrangement of the *Andante*,³⁷ preserved on a circa 1905 Phonola piano roll by the Hupfeld Company. Hupfeld's Phonola roll system faithfully recorded the notes and their rhythmic placements and the tempo fluctuations of the original performance. But it is uncertain whether sustain and soft pedalling were added or enhanced by a roll editor, and the system did not record dynamic expression, which was to be added in playback by the 'playerist' – the interpreter operating the treadles and hand controls. Currently, an interpretation of this roll performance is available on YouTube:³⁸ The playerist (RollaArtis) has chosen an initial tempo (quaver = circa 112), which, to those used to more ponderous versions, will feel too fast.³⁹ Yet, the tempo here, if it is close to Reinecke's original, does

33 Scientific pitch notation.

34 BIS, Catalogue Number: BIS-1964 SACD.

35 L'oiseau Lyre, Catalogue Number 452052; also available at <https://youtu.be/9pwb37Ha64?t=691> (accessed 4 September 2018).

36 Channel Classics – CCS SEL 0194

37 See footnote 16 above.

38 See www.youtube.com/watch?v=C_ELXJNMIE8 (accessed 7 July 2018).

39 On the roll is "Tempo 50." At the present time, however, it is still not sure at what tempo the roll should be played. Further research in this area is being undertaken.

feel like a moderately-paced *siciliano*. Reinecke's interpretation is startling for what it reveals.

In terms of the notes played, Reinecke's performance follows his solo arrangement fairly closely with a few exceptions, but there are some very striking performance features in the first 12 bars (Figure 5). Though not marked, he arpeggiates practically every chord from the bottom note in the left hand to the melody note in the right hand,⁴⁰ which results in varying degrees of expressive delay of the melody notes, as well as a myriad of agogic accents and rhythmic and tempo alterations (certainly many more than in more recent performances such as by Rubinstein and Bilson).⁴¹ In bars 2 and 3, for example, arpeggiation helps mark out the large poignant intervals in the right hand, while also energising and propelling the accompaniment and filling out the texture (Figure 6).⁴² Also striking are the ways in which Reinecke departs from Mozart's original notation. In his very thoughtful booklet *Zur Wiederbelebung der Mozart'schen Clavier-Concerte* (1891),⁴³ Reinecke discusses ways in which historically-appropriate interpretations of Mozart could be developed in order "to liberate the concertos of Mozart from the banishment that they came to suffer" in the time since Mozart's death.⁴⁴ As Heribert Koch points out, in *Zur Wiederbelebung* Reinecke takes into account relevant sources of Mozart interpretation including Mozart's autographs and other surviving material, which he used to inform his Mozart editing work for Breitkopf and Härtel.⁴⁵ Koch goes on to attribute the changes that Reinecke made in his solo piano arrangements to this purpose, and to Reinecke's nineteenth-century aesthetics:

"Naturally, Reinecke goes much further in these arrangements, which are intended for concert performance, in the [overall] design of the piano part than he recommends for the solo part of the concertos, because in addition to the original piano part he also has to present the orchestral part.

40 Exceptions to this can be found in bar 8, where the three-note chord on the third quaver beat is played in the order bass-soprano-tenor (Figure 7), and in bar 63, where the 4-note chord on the third quaver beat is played in the order bass-soprano-alto-tenor (Figure 10). I have numbered the notes in both examples.

41 In this respect, Schnabel's recording seems to retain vestiges of an older style as is audible in Reinecke's interpretation.

42 See also Figures 8 and 9 showing the first 12 bars of Reinecke's roll performance of the Andante K. 488 in "Piano Roll" notation using Apple's Logic Pro X. This gives a visual portrayal of the different speeds of Reinecke's arpeggiation and the positions of individual notes.

43 Carl Reinecke: *Zur Wiederbelebung der Mozart'schen Clavier-Concerte. Ein Wort der Anregung an die clavierspielende Welt*, Leipzig 1891.

44 "Im Gegentheile wage ich zu hoffen, dass diese Zeilen ein Scherflein dazu beitragen werden, die Concerte Mozart's von dem Banne zu befreien, der auf ihnen ruhte." Reinecke: *Zur Wiederbelebung*, p. 51.

45 See Heribert Koch's preface to the 2008 reissue of Reinecke's Andante K. 488 and Larghetto K. 537 arrangements, Mozart: Andante, p. 5.

Reinecke comes to a result that undoubtedly dresses Mozart's music up in unusual romantic vestments, but is in itself coherent and avoids the coarsening impact of a conventional piano reduction that is totally unacceptable, especially for Mozart's music."⁴⁶

Koch seems to suggest that Reinecke expected the solo piano parts to be different somehow when performing the original version with orchestra – less ornamented or amplified than in the solo piano part of his arrangements. In *Zur Wiederbelebung*, Reinecke discusses in some detail how stylish variations can be made to the piano parts in Mozart's concertos (also outlining practices that he does not find successful). But he states that he has not always found it possible to make successful variations. Of the Larghetto K. 537, for example, Reinecke explains that the theme is so charming that he could not readily find a suitable way of varying its notes, and so used other types of nuances to create variation.⁴⁷ But this case seems to be an exception, rather than a general rule regarding his treatment of Mozart's piano concerti. Certainly, there is no suggestion in *Zur Wiederbelebung* that he had trouble varying the solo piano sections of the Andante K. 488. For this reason, Reinecke's treatment of these sections in his arrangement is fascinating. Given that there is no orchestral accompaniment to be arranged for the solo piano during the first 12 bars and its recapitulation, Reinecke could simply have reproduced Mozart's original notes. Nevertheless, he deemed it necessary for some reason to amplify Mozart's original, to make it fuller and more dramatic in places.⁴⁸ He expanded chords by adding more notes: the first chord in bar 1 has 6 notes rather than 3 (Figure 6), providing a richer, more em-

46 "Reinecke geht in diesen 'zum Concertvortrage' gedachten Bearbeitungen in der Ausgestaltung des Klaviersatzes naturgemäß erheblich weiter als er dies für den Solopart der Konzerte empfiehlt – gilt es doch hier, neben der originalen Klavierstimme auch den Orchestersatz wiederzugeben. Reinecke kommt dabei zu einem Ergebnis, das Mozarts Musik zweifellos in ein ungewohnt romantisches Klanggewand kleidet, dabei jedoch in sich vollkommen schlüssig wirkt und die gerade bei Mozarts Musik inakzeptable, vergrößernde Klangwirkung eines konventionellen Klavierauszugs jederzeit kunstvoll vermeidet." Ibid.

47 Reinecke: *Zur Wiederbelebung*, p. 37.

48 Interestingly, although his arrangement of the Larghetto from K. 537 shows that he retained Mozart's original notes for the three iterations of the eight-bar opening subject, in his 1905 piano roll recording for the Welte firm in Freiburg, Germany (www.youtube.com/watch?v=ADxuDONsguY), Reinecke adds notes to certain chords (the first in bars 1 and 4) as if to give emphasis. In the second iteration of the opening theme, rather than playing Mozart's original notes (as notated in Reinecke's arrangement), he introduces a melodic counterpoint. And, in general, his Welte roll reveals numerous other variations to notes, note alignments between left and right hands, rhythms, and tempi that far exceed what Reinecke notated in his arrangement. Clearly, Reinecke did not feel either his arrangement nor his advice in *Zur Wiederbelebung* to be absolute or binding. For a fuller discussion of this and other aspects of Reinecke's performing practices see Peres Da Costa: *Off the Record*, pp. 84–87 and 159–163. See below for a discussion of C. H. Potter's amplification of Mozart's d Minor Piano Concerto K. 466 in a style very probably reflecting Mozart's own practice.

Andante
aus dem Klavier-Concert in A dur.

W. A. Mozart, Werk 488.
Bearbeitung von Carl Reinecke.

The musical score is presented in five systems, each containing a treble and bass staff. The key signature is A major (two sharps). The tempo is marked 'Andante'. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'mf' and 'p'. There are also performance instructions like 'con fuoco' and 'Reinecke' with asterisks. The score is unpaginated.

FIGURE 5 Mozart: Piano Concerto No. 23 K. 488, second movement, bars 1–18, arr. Reinecke, published by Breitkopf and Härtel (circa 1896), unpaginated



FIGURE 6 Transcription by the author of Reinecke's performance of the Andante from Mozart's Piano Concerto K. 488, bars 1–5⁴⁹



FIGURE 7 Transcription by the author of Reinecke's performance of the Andante from Mozart's Piano Concerto K. 488, bars 6–8

phatic texture. Likewise, the two chords ($d\sharp - a$) in the left hand in the first half of bar 7 have an $f\sharp$ added above (Figure 7). Furthermore, he changes the spacing of chords: in bar 3 the chords in the left hand – $a - c\sharp$ followed by $b - d$ – are spaced a tenth rather than a third apart (Figure 6), which produces quite a different effect and texture. And in the recapitulation of the opening theme in bars 53–67, Reinecke makes further changes that are substantially different from those in bars 1–12. Here he amplifies the drama in the accompaniment with differing, more intense and rhythmically stirring chordal structures, and the melody has several additional, complex fioriture (Figure 10). In making these changes, did Reinecke dress Mozart up in late nineteenth-century clothes? Perhaps there

49 I am indebted to my research assistant Anton Bredow for help with making the transcription using Sibelius Music Notation software. Dotted line notation is used to show displacement or alignment of notes.

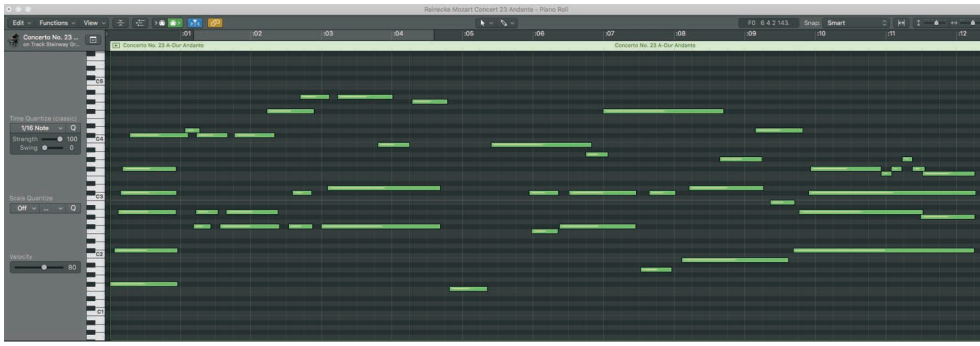


FIGURE 8 Reinecke's circa 1905 performance of Mozart's Piano Concerto No. 23 K. 488, second movement, bars 1–6, displayed as “Piano Roll” notation in Apple's Logic Pro X⁵⁰

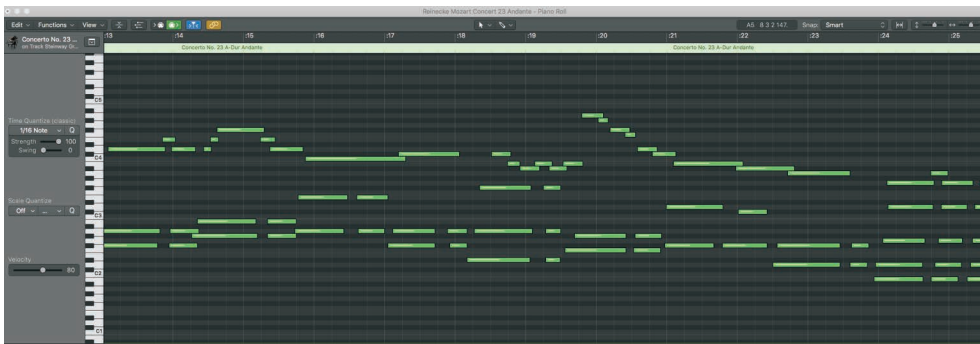


FIGURE 9 Reinecke's circa 1905 performance of Mozart's Piano Concerto No. 23 K. 488, second movement, bars 7–12 displayed as “Piano Roll” notation in Apple's Logic Pro X

was a long-standing tradition of performing these two solo piano sections in K. 488 in a more passionate style than originally notated by Mozart – a tradition that might even have been established in Mozart's lifetime and by Mozart himself! After all, it is well documented that Mozart often improvised the solo piano parts in his piano concerti (sometimes providing only a skeletal structure in his manuscripts), so it is possible that what he played in the slow movement of K. 488 and other concerti was different from his published notation, and in any case he would probably have changed this from performance to performance.⁵¹ While Reinecke's Andante arrangement will undoubtedly be imbued with the trimmings of late-Romantic aesthetics, it is important to acknowledge that embedded in his dressing up of Mozart are remnants (at least) of practices inherited from the late-eighteenth century (of which there will be more discussion below).

⁵⁰ I am indebted to Sebastian Bausch at the Bern University of the Arts for providing me with a scan of Reinecke's Hupfeld roll (Animatic 50632), and equally indebted to Dr David Kim-Boyle at the Sydney Conservatorium of Music for producing the “Piano Roll” notation in Apple's Logic Pro X file of the scanned Hupfeld role.

⁵¹ See discussion below.

FIGURE 10 Transcription by the author of
Reinecke's performance of the Andante
from Mozart's Piano Concerto
K. 488, bars 52–68

Returning to Reinecke's roll performance, the flexibility with which he plays certain rhythmic figures is notable. For example, he plays the dotted figures (bars 1 and 4) as overdotted. This practice may well be rooted in the eighteenth-century practice of overdotted as discussed, for example, by Quantz: "The dotted notes must be attacked sharply, and must be executed in a lively fashion. The dots are held long, and the following notes are made very short".⁵² Reinecke notates a long slur (somewhat curiously) in the right hand from the beginning of bar 7 to the middle of bar 8 (Figure 5) instead of giving us Mozart's original notation (slurred pairs of semiquavers; Figure 1). He did not make this change in the 1880 new revised edition, but nevertheless introduces lilting rhythms seemingly in accord with Mozart's original notation (the first note under the slur is

52 "Die punctirten Noten müssen von dem Ausführer scharf gestoßen, und mit Lebhaftigkeit vorgetragen werden. Die Punkte werden lange gehalten, und die darauf folgenden Noten sehr kurz gemachet". Quantz: Versuch, p. 116, id.: On Playing the Flute, p. 133. For a fuller discussion of overdotted with musical examples see Quantz: Versuch, p. 58, id.: On Playing the Flute, p. 67. Leopold Mozart gives much the same advice; see Mozart: Versuch, p. 144, id.: Violin Playing, p. 130.

59

p

Ped. *

61

mf

Ped. *

63

cresc.

Ped. *

66

f

mf

Ped. *

slightly longer than the second).⁵³ Reinecke also makes slight agogic accents (lengthenings) on the first of each group of six semiquavers, aided by his arpeggiations, or perhaps as a consequence of them. In respect of this noticeably unequal (*inégale*) style of playing slurred pairs of semiquavers, Reinecke's practice again appears to preserve an eighteenth-century tradition extolled by Leopold Mozart, who explained the following about slurred pairs of equal-value notes: "The first of two notes coming together in one stroke [of the up or down bow] is accented more strongly and held slightly longer, while the second is slurred on to it quite quietly and rather late."⁵⁴ Elsewhere, Mozart gives

53 Again, this is type of inequality can be heard in Reinecke's performance of semiquaver passages in the Larghetto K. 537, bars 22–26, and the parallel passage later in the movement. In addition to long-short patterns, Reinecke occasionally plays lombardic short-long or back-dotted patterns.

54 "Die erste zweier in einem Striche zusammen kommender Noten wird etwas stärker angegriffen, auch etwas länger angehalten; die zweite aber ganz still und etwas später daran geschliffen." Mozart: *Versuch*, p. 123, id.: *Violin Playing*, p. 115.

exactly the same advice with the added caveat that “often three, four, and even more notes are bound together by such a slur and half-circle. In such a case the first of them must be somewhat more strongly accented and sustained longer”.⁵⁵ Quantz, too, is explicit that an unequal style of playing a succession of equal-valued notes of small duration in slow tempi (of which the majority of his musical examples show slurred duplet semiquavers) is indispensable for expressive performance:

“Where it is possible, the principal notes always must be emphasized more than the passing notes. In consequence of this rule, the quickest notes in every piece of moderate tempo, or even in the Adagio, though they seem to have the same value, must be played a little unequally, so that the stressed notes of each figure, namely the first, third, fifth, and seventh, are held slightly longer than the passing, namely the second, fourth, sixth, and eighth, although this lengthening must not be as much as if the notes were dotted. Among these quickest notes I include the crotchet in three-two time, the quaver in three-four and the semiquaver in three-eight time, the quaver in alla breve, and the semiquaver or demisemiquaver in two-four or common duple time”.⁵⁶

Furthermore, Quantz speaks of the slurring of notes in Adagio movements, making it clear that if semiquavers (which he shows as slurred pairs) in a slow tempo are to be performed with elegance, “the first of each two must always be heavier than the following one, both in duration and volume”.⁵⁷

Reinecke’s performance of the Andante K. 488 is much more passionate, energetic and volatile than later interpretations. It is far less bound to the text and exudes a quasi-improvisatory feel. There is an altogether more affective spirit here, in line with the mid-to-late eighteenth-century conception of the key of f# minor as well as with the varied melodic and harmonic structures within the work.

55 “Es sind aber auch oft 3, 4, und noch mehrere Noten durch einen solchen Bogen und Halbcirkel zusammen verbunden. In solchem Falle muß man die erste derselben etwas stärker anstossen, und länger anhalten”. Mozart: Versuch, p. 258, id.: Violin Playing, p. 220.

56 “Die Hauptnoten müssen allezeit, wo es sich thun läßt, mehr erhoben werden als die durchgehenden. Dieser Regel zu Folge müssen die geschwindesten Noten, in einem jeden Stücke von mäßigem Tempo, oder auch im Adagio, ungeachtet sie dem Gesichte nach einerley Geltung haben, dennoch ein wenig ungleich gespielt werden; so daß man die anschlagenden Noten einer jeden Figur, nämlich die erste, dritte, fünfte, und siebente, etwas länger anhält, als die durchgehenden, nämlich, die zweyte, vierte, sechste, und achte: doch muß dieses Anhalten nicht soviel ausmachen, als wenn Punkte dabey stünden. Unter diesen geschwindesten Noten verstehe ich: die Viertheile im Dreyzweytheiltacte; die Achttheile im Dreyviertheil- und die Sechzehntheile im Dreyachttheiltacte; die Achttheile im Alla-breve; die Sechzehntheile oder Zwey und dreyßigtheile im Zweyviertheil- oder im gemeinen geraden Tacte”. Quantz: Versuch, p. 105, id.: On Playing the Flute, p. 123.

57 “Wenn diese Art von Sechzehntheilen [...] im langsamen Zeitmaaße, schön vorgetragen werden sollen; so muß allezeit das erste von zweyen, so wohl im Zeitmaaße, als in der Stärke, schwerer seyn als das folgende”. Quantz: Versuch, p. 194, id.: On Playing the Flute, p. 223.

While Reinecke's roll performance does not reveal what he did in terms of dynamic shading, important clues as to what he had in mind and expected can be gleaned from his additions in the various sources. At the opening of his 1896 solo piano arrangement (Figure 5), Reinecke marks *mf* (*mezzo forte*), indicating not a soft, contemplative start, but something rather more robust. It is interesting to note that in Reinecke's 1880 new revised edition he marks the opening *mf e semplice* (*mezzo forte, and simply*). Presuming his approach to the performance of that version to be similar to his solo piano arrangement at least with respect to arpeggiation, it is noteworthy that for Reinecke the term *semplice* did not preclude the use of continual arpeggiation, which to our modern ears sounds anything but simple. In bars 1/2, 5, 7/8 and 9/10 of the solo piano arrangement, Reinecke added double hairpins (< >) to underline important melodic and harmonic events.⁵⁸ And he also added a decrescendo hairpin (>) in bar 4. While these hairpin marks indicate continuous dynamic change, it is also evident that such marks align with Reinecke's use of agogic accentuation – a slight lengthening at the apex of the double hairpins, and a slight delay of the beginning of bar 4, as well as a subtle ebb and flow of tempo – and a slight push forward to the middle of bar 5.⁵⁹ In bar 10, Reinecke marks Mozart's shift to G₄ with a decrease in dynamic to *piano*. Unlike Rubinstein and Bilson, he moves through the rising arpeggio in bar 10 without any hint of slowing down, and then makes a *Luftpause* by slightly delaying the beginning of bar 11, an effect which is rhetorically dramatic. It is interesting to note that in the new revised edition of 1880, Reinecke marks bar 11 – the sudden drop in tessitura almost two octaves from d₆ (at the end of bar 10) to f₄ (at the start of bar 11) – with a further decrease in dynamic to *pianissimo*. And there are other dynamics and accents added later in the movement in the various sources (which in themselves would be worthy of study) showing that Reinecke expected the performance of this movement to be anything but limpid or restrained.

Carl Reinecke (born 1824) is one of the oldest generation of nineteenth-century musicians to make recordings.⁶⁰ He was highly respected by many others including Felix Mendelssohn (1809–1847) and Robert Schumann (1810–1856); Franz Liszt (1811–1886) even admired his “beautiful, soft, legato, singing touch.”⁶¹ Hailed as “an artist of truly aristo-

⁵⁸ In the 1880 new revised edition, double hairpins are added in bars 5 and 7 only.

⁵⁹ For an in-depth discussion of the significance of double and single hairpins in Brahms's music and the nineteenth century in general see David Hyun-Su Kim: *The Brahmsian Hairpin*, in: *19th-Century Music* 36 (2012), pp. 46–57.

⁶⁰ Unfortunately, he made only piano roll recordings.

⁶¹ “[...] schönen, weichen, gebundenen und gesungenen Anschlag”. Reinhold Sietz: Art. “Reinecke, Carl”, in: *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, ed. by Friedrich Blume, Kassel 1963, Vol. 11, cols. 187–192, here col. 187.

cratic and fine feeling,”⁶² throughout his career Reinecke strove to “perpetuate the example of the Classical composers” and to be a “representative and guardian of tradition”.⁶³ Reinecke, together with colleagues including Clara Schumann (1819–1896), Joseph Joachim (1831–1907) and Johannes Brahms (1833–1897), “provided the main source of support for keeping Mozart’s works in active concert use” in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁶⁴ By the end of the century, Reinecke was considered to be one of the most important authorities on Mozart performance. In 1893, the *Monthly Musical Record* discussed his Mozart performances at the Gewandhaus in Leipzig:

“As is very well known, Professor Dr. Reinecke is one of the finest players of Mozart’s concertos, and loses no opportunity of performing them in public. For example, during the present season he has played no less than five of them – viz. the concertos in D, E flat, A, C minor, and D minor. His brochure upon the ‘Execution of Mozart’s Pianoforte Concertos’ deserves to be widely read, as Professor Reinecke is thoroughly conversant with the best traditions of Mozart playing, which, through the persistent neglect of present-day players, are in danger of being lost.”⁶⁵

It is clear from this that Reinecke was considered the ‘keeper’ of traditions in terms of Mozart performance that were fast being forgotten. In 1904, the *Leipzig Zeitschrift für Instrumentenbau* acknowledged Reinecke as “the greatest and most conscientious performer of Mozart” still alive. There were high hopes that his complete Mozart Piano Sonata roll project for the Aeolian company would help preserve for the future “the style of the famous Leipzig Mozart-Player.”⁶⁶ This statement alludes to a particular style of playing that included significant use of arpeggiation, as we know from Reinecke’s roll performances. Significantly, in his memoirs the violinist Carl Flesch (1873–1944) noted a “Leipzig” manner which he found irritating in the pianism of Julius Röntgen (1855–1932) who had studied with Reinecke. For Flesch, this was characterised by “arpeggio execution of chords and the delaying of thematic notes in the right hand.”⁶⁷ While Flesch did not

62 Fritz von Bose: Carl Reinecke. An Appreciation, in: *The Musical Times* 51 (1910), p. 302.

63 Reinhold Sietz: Art. “Reinecke, Carl (Heinrich Carsten)”, in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Second Edition, ed. by Stanley Sadie, London 2001, Vol. 21, pp. 157–159, here p. 158.

64 Leon Botstein: Aesthetics and Ideology in the Fin-de-Siècle Mozart Revival, in: *Current Musicology* 51 (1993), pp. 5–25, here p. 14.

65 Anon.: Letter from Leipzig, in: *The Monthly Musical Record* 1893 (1 July), p. 152.

66 “Reinecke gilt bekanntlich als der größte und gewissenhafteste Mozartspieler, der jetzt lebt [...]. Weitere Aufnahmen sind in Aussicht genommen, bis auf diese Weise sämtliche Mozartschen Klavierwerke in der Auffassung des berühmten Leipziger Mozart-Spielers der Nachwelt überliefert sein werden.” [Anon.]: Altmeister Karl Reinecke und das Pianola, in: *Zeitschrift für Instrumentenbau* 24 (1903/04), p. 1039.

67 Carl Flesch: *The Memoirs of Carl Flesch*, ed. by Hans Keller and Carl Flesch, trans. Hans Keller, London 1957, p. 215. Flesch worked with Röntgen between 1903 and 1908.

appreciate this expressive style, the positive appraisals of Reinecke's piano playing, particularly in relation to Mozart, are noteworthy. In 1894, the British music scholar and critic John Alexander Fuller Maitland (1856–1936) opined:

"He [Reinecke] is not merely an admirably sympathetic accompanist, but a most highly accomplished pianist of the older school – a school unaffected by the pyrotechnics of a generation that is now in its turn passing away. To have heard one of Mozart's concertos played by Reinecke is a memorable experience in the lives of such musicians as are sufficiently trained to appreciate the consummate delicacy and artistic skill which the performance exhibits."⁶⁸

An article about Reinecke in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1910/11) explains that Reinecke's playing "belonged to a school now almost extinct. Grace and neatness were its characteristics, and at one time Reinecke was probably unrivalled as a Mozart player and an accompanist."⁶⁹ It is significant that both appraisals equate Reinecke's style with a school of the past. Presumably his playing preserved remnants of practices familiar to earlier musicians, perhaps even to Mozart. And while we might not immediately associate Reinecke's Mozart playing with the characteristics of "consummate delicacy," "artistic skill" or "grace and neatness" (indeed we might think quite the opposite), during his lifetime he does not seem to have received any criticism for his highly-arpeggiated style or his rhythmic or tempo freedoms. Such practices, undoubtedly stemming from traditions dating back to the late eighteenth century or earlier, were considered indispensable in artistic piano playing throughout the nineteenth century, and positively promoted in writing.⁷⁰ To provide some context for this claim, I will cite two examples from the rich evidence of nineteenth-century arpeggiation practices.

Let us consider first the little-known edition of Mozart's piano sonatas edited by Cipriani Potter (1792–1871), published in London in circa 1857.⁷¹ After lessons with his father, Potter studied counterpoint for a time with Thomas Attwood (1765–1838), who had been one of W. A. Mozart's favourite students. From 1805 to 1810, Potter studied the piano with Joseph Wölfl (1773–1812), himself a former student in Salzburg of Leopold Mozart and Michael Haydn. It is thought that Wölfl had lessons with W. A. Mozart in Vienna in around 1790. According to G. A. Macfarren: "Potter used to speak of him [Wölfl] with

⁶⁸ John Alexander Fuller Maitland: *Masters of German Music*, London 1894, p. 206.

⁶⁹ [Donald Francis Tovey?]: Reinecke, Carl Heinrich Carsten, in: *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th edition, ed. by Hugh Chisholm, Cambridge 1910/11, Vol. 23, p. 56.

⁷⁰ For a comprehensive discussion see Peres Da Costa: *Off the Record*; see also Neal Peres Da Costa: *Performing Practice in Piano Playing*, in: Clive Brown/Neal Peres Da Costa/Kate Bennett Wadsworth: *Performance Practices in Johannes Brahms' Chamber Music*, Kassel 2015, pp. 15–26.

⁷¹ W. A. Mozart: *Sonatas for the Pianoforte*, ed. by Cipriani Potter, London [circa 1857].

profound admiration, and to ascribe to him the principles of plan of which he himself became a teacher, and to him also those principles of pianoforte playing which he himself advanced.”⁷² It stands to reason that Potter became acquainted with performing practices appropriate to Mozart’s works through Attwood and Wölfl. Further to this, he will undoubtedly have gained insights into Mozart’s performing style during his stay in Vienna in 1817 (when Potter made the close of acquaintance of Beethoven). Potter’s Vienna sojourn was “as much for the purpose of study as for the sake of obtaining experience of other musical performances than were to be heard in London.”⁷³ Significantly, Mcfarren noted that Potter had gained experience (possibly through Attwood’s teaching) of Mozart’s practice of amplifying his own scores to the point of “recomposition”:

“When Potter returned to England he again played at the Philharmonic, and the piece in which he made his reappearance was the Concerto of Mozart in D minor. He had learnt, perhaps in Vienna, and from the particular explanations of Attwood, who had witnessed Mozart’s performance of his concertos, the fact that the printed copies are but indications [presumably meaning basic indications] of the matter which Mozart himself used to play, and he gathered from Attwood and others what was the manner in which Mozart used to amplify the written memoranda in his performance. It almost amounted to a re-composition of the part to fill it out with such pianoforte effects as would do justice to the original intention, and it was with such amplification that Potter presented the D minor Concerto.”⁷⁴

Returning to Potter’s editions, apart from the amplification of slurs (presumably bringing Mozart into line with the nineteenth-century *cantabile* approach), dynamic and expression marks appropriate to the pianos of the day, and occasionally added notes, Potter sporadically marks arpeggio signs in both right and left hands.⁷⁵ Since his editions were probably intended for students and amateurs (he became Principal of the Royal Academy of Music and is said to have established a “London School” of piano playing), it seems logical that his added signs were a way of indicating essential chords that needed arpeggiation, though this did not preclude its use elsewhere. We may assume that Potter’s edition does not preserve the frequency of arpeggiation that in reality would have been heard and expected in professional renditions, such as is the case in Reinecke’s interpretation of the Andante K. 488.

Our second telling piece of evidence is from Hummel, who in his *Anweisung* (1828) noted that on Viennese or German pianos “the power of the sound must be brought out entirely by the speed of the finger. Full chords, for instance, are mostly broken very quickly

72 Macfarren: Cipriani Potter, p. 42.

73 Ibid., p. 44.

74 Ibid., p. 46.

75 See also John Irving: *Understanding Mozart’s Piano Sonatas*, London 2010, p. 68.

and are far more effective thus than if the notes were played together with the same degree of strength."⁷⁶ The strong impression here is that full chords should almost always be treated in the arpeggio manner. Other chords would presumably receive the same treatment.⁷⁷

As part of a three-year Australian Research Council Discovery Project DP170101976, I have been learning to play in the style of Reinecke by emulating as closely as possible his roll performances of music by Mozart and other composers.⁷⁸ This emulation of historical recordings, in conjunction with a practice-led cyclical research process in which emulation is evaluated against and compared with written evidence, can help to generate new knowledge about the nineteenth-century piano playing style for particular composers and repertoire. The goal of the project is to extrapolate backwards from the late nineteenth century (the early sound-recording period) to produce experimental exemplar recordings covering repertoire from the long nineteenth century.⁷⁹

In comparison to readings of the twentieth- and twenty-first centuries, Reinecke's performance of Mozart's Andante K. 488 is eye-opening; it provides a nineteenth-century artistic rendition of the "dead note heads" (as Joseph Joachim put it) of Mozart's music.⁸⁰ It also shows clearly how Reinecke departs from his own notation, prompting us to think about the function, meaning and value of musical notation, and what composer/performers such as Reinecke intended notation to convey. Reinecke's solo piano arrangement of the Andante K. 488, in conjunction with his roll performance of this arrangement,⁸¹ reveals the myriad ways in which he amplifies Mozart's music by:

- 1) adding notes to make more complex chordal textures (Figures 6 and 7) including the production of quasi-orchestral effects in tutti orchestra sections by doubling

⁷⁶ "Die Kraft des Tons muss allein durch die Schnellkraft der Finger hervorgebracht werden. Volle Akkorde werden z. B. meist ganz rasch gebrochen vorgetragen, und wirken so weit mehr, als wenn die Töne zusammen auf einmal noch so stark angeschlagen werden." Johann Nepomuk Hummel: *Ausführliche theoretisch-practische Anweisung zum Piano-Forte-Spiel*, Vienna 1827, Vol. 3, p. 454.

⁷⁷ For a further discussion of arpeggiation and the dislocation of melody from the accompaniment, see Peres Da Costa: *Off the Record*, chapters 2 and 3.

⁷⁸ Australian Research Council Discovery Project (DP170101976) entitled "Deciphering Nineteenth-Century Pianism. Invigorating Global Practices" (2017–2019) – Chief Investigator Neal Peres Da Costa and Partner Investigator Clive Brown.

⁷⁹ This type of practice-led research has been undertaken for a considerable time now, notably by researchers such as Professor Kai Köpp and his doctoral students at the Bern University of the Arts (Switzerland) and Emeritus Professor Clive Brown and his doctoral students at Leeds University.

⁸⁰ "die leblosen Notenköpfe". Andreas Moser: *Joseph Joachim. Ein Lebensbild*, Second edition, Vol. 2, Berlin 1910, p. 292.

⁸¹ Based on "Piano Roll" notation, see Figures 8 and 9 above.

melody notes at the upper octave, and supporting left-hand figurations by doubling bass notes at the lower octave in bars 12–20 (Figure 11), and by enhancing texture at moments of increased dynamic, for example at the < *f* > in bars 30/31 (Figure 12);⁸²

- II) ornamenting Mozart's original figure with a more elaborate figure, for example in bar 62 (Figures 13 and 14); similarly in bar 55 (Figure 15);
- III) playing in a generally *inégaie* style (lilting or long-short), most noticeably in passages of slurred equal-value notes, a practice documented by Leopold Mozart and Quantz in the eighteenth century (see above), which survived until as late as the mid-twentieth century, as evidenced in early recordings;
- IV) interpolating dotted rhythms in an over-dotted fashion (see above), a practice also well documented in eighteenth-century written sources;
- v) agogic accents – lengthening single notes to give special emphasis;
- VI) modifying the tempo to suit the character; Reinecke slows down a) for softer lyrical sections, b) between sections to delineate structure, c) to extend time at cadential trills, and d) to enhance a special feeling, for example the transition from bars 41–43 (Figure 16);⁸³ Reinecke plays with decidedly forward momentum when the music becomes dramatic or there is a tutti orchestral texture;⁸⁴
- VII) a predominantly arpeggiated style with varying types, combinations and speeds of arpeggiation, and varying intensities of asynchrony between melody and bass notes/chords (left and right hands). Manners of arpeggiation include arpeggiated main beats, unarpeggiated weak beats, an arpeggiated left-hand chord against an unarpeggiated right-hand chord and vice versa, right-hand chord (notes together) played after left-hand chord (arpeggiated), and right-hand chord (arpeggiated) played after left-hand chord (notes together);
- VIII) almost completely abandoning Mozart's printed notes (through florid embellishment) effecting a quasi-improvised feeling, for example the closing section in bars 92–99 (Figures 17 and 18); here it is interesting to see how Reinecke plays a much more elaborate ornamental arpeggio figure in bar 96 than given in his solo piano arrangement (Figure 19).

82 In the new revised edition of 1880, Reinecke simply marks *più forte* across the end of bar 30 and the beginning of bar 31.

83 In the new revised edition of 1880, Reinecke marks the transition *con grazia*.

84 Mozart's son Franz Xaver Wolfgang Mozart (1791–1844) introduced tempo changes into his father's concertos; see Claudia Macdonald: Mozart's Piano Concertos and the Romantic Generation, in: *Historical Musicology. Sources, Methods, Interpretations*, ed. by Stephen A. Crist and Roberta Montemorra Marvin, Rochester 2004, pp. 302–329, here p. 317.

The image displays a musical score transcription for the Andante movement of Mozart's Piano Concerto K. 488, specifically bars 12 through 21. The score is written for piano and includes performance instructions and pedal markings. The key signature is A major (three sharps: F#, C#, G#) and the time signature is 4/4. The score is divided into four systems, each corresponding to a specific bar number: 12, 15, 17, and 19. The first system (bars 12-14) begins with the instruction 'Tutti.' and features a forte 'f' dynamic. The second system (bars 15-16) continues the melodic line. The third system (bars 17-18) is marked 'con fuoco' and includes a 'legato' instruction. The fourth system (bars 19-21) is marked 'Solo.' and begins with a piano 'p' dynamic and 'espress.' (expressive) marking. Pedal markings are indicated by 'Ped.' and asterisks (*) throughout the score. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, slurs, and dynamic markings.

12 Tutti. *f* *legato* *Ped.* * *Ped.* *

15 *Ped.* * *Ped.* * *Ped.* *

17 *con fuoco* *Ped.* * *Ped.* * *Ped.* *

19 Solo. *p espress.* *Ped.* *

FIGURE 11 Transcription of Reinecke's performance of the Andante from Mozart's Piano Concerto K. 488, bars 12–21

Figure 12 shows a transcription of Reinecke's performance of the Andante from Mozart's Piano Concerto K. 488, bars 28–32. The score is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. It features a piano part with dynamic markings *mf*, *p*, and *f*. The texture is enhanced with a sudden increase in volume (*f*) at bar 30/31. The score includes fingerings and articulation marks.

FIGURE 12 Transcription by the author of Reinecke’s performance of the Andante from Mozart’s Piano Concerto K. 488, bars 28–32, showing the sudden increase in texture to enhance Reinecke’s *f* at bar 30/31

Figure 13 shows Reinecke's new revised edition of 1880 of the Andante from Mozart's Piano Concerto K. 488, bars 53–65, p. 46⁸⁵. The score is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. It features a piano part with dynamic markings *mf*, *p*, and *f*. The texture is enhanced with a sudden increase in volume (*f*) at bar 53-65. The score includes fingerings and articulation marks.

FIGURE 13 Reinecke’s new revised edition of 1880 of the Andante from Mozart’s Piano Concerto K. 488, bars 53–65, p. 46⁸⁵

85 It is interesting to note that in the 1880 new revised edition Reinecke gives suggestions for alternative



FIGURE 14 Transcription by the author of Reinecke's performance of the Andante from Mozart's Piano Concerto K. 488, bars 61–65

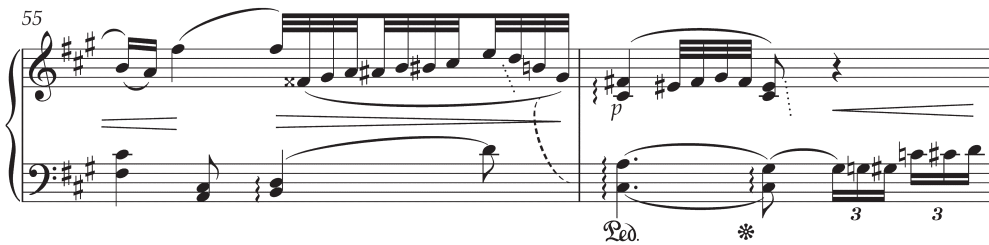


FIGURE 15 Transcription by the author of Reinecke's performance of the Andante from Mozart's Piano Concerto K. 488, bars 55/56

Reinecke was hardly alone in amplifying and embellishing Mozart's text. Throughout the nineteenth century, pianists from Hummel to Clara Schumann arranged Mozart's piano concertos in ways that they felt painted his music in the best light, taking into account the newer, brilliant, virtuosic styles of concerto writing and the increasing power of nineteenth-century pianos.⁸⁶ In *Zur Wiederbelebung* Reinecke points out that the pianists Clara Schumann, Ferdinand Hiller (1811–1885) and Wilhelm Taubert (1811–1891) often performed Mozart's piano concertos, and at least the first two “elaborated Mozart's score, just as he did himself.”⁸⁷ We do not know exactly what changes Mozart made to

fioriturae (for example bars 55 and 64, Figure 13) which are simple enough for students to play. This can be seen to reflect his care both as a pedagogue and preserver of the Mozart tradition. In his solo arrangement it is noticeable that the added fioriturae are much more complex, reflecting his craft as a virtuoso Mozart player (for example bars 62 and 64, Figure 14).

⁸⁶ See Macdonald: *Mozart's Piano Concertos*, pp. 304–317.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 319; see also Reinecke: *Zur Wiederbelebung*, pp. 6 f.

41

43

p

Red. *

FIGURE 16 Transcription by the author of Reinecke's performance of the Andante from Mozart's Piano Concerto K. 488, bars 41–44

48

p

mf

Red. *

FIGURE 17 Reinecke's new revised edition of 1880 of the Andante from Mozart's Piano Concerto K. 488, bars 89–99, p. 48

92

p

Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. *

95

Ped. *

96

Ped. * Ped. *

97

Ped. *

98

pp

Ped. *

FIGURE 18 Transcription by the author of Reinecke's performance of the Andante from Mozart's Piano Concerto K. 488, bars 92–99



FIGURE 19 Mozart: Piano Concerto No. 23 K. 488, second movement, bars 95/96, arr. Reinecke, published by Breitkopf and Härtel (1896), reissued Reinecke Musikverlag (2008), p. 11

his own concertos in performance, though contemporary accounts make it clear that there was much improvisation. And there are sources emanating from Mozart and his circle that provide evidence of florid ornamentation. See for example the slow movement – Adagio – from the Sonata in F major K. 332,⁸⁸ the first edition of which provides a more elaborate version than the autograph, and the highly ornamented version of the slow movement from K. 488 that was very possibly by Mozart but is in the hand of his student Barbara Ployer (1765–before 1811).⁸⁹ Today, we face many of the same issues pondered by nineteenth-century pianists: “What exactly did Mozart play as compared with what he wrote down? How does our view of what he played affect what we play? Just how are we going to achieve a brilliant effect with his concertos?”⁹⁰ But we also face a fundamental challenge; adopting informed practices can go against the status quo and attract criticism as even educated listeners find it difficult to hear well-known music in an unfamiliar style. In his recording, Levin gives a highly ornamented rendition (inspired by Ployer) of the Adagio from K. 488. About this Levin remarked that: “To judge from Ployer’s embellishments [...] her teacher’s improvised decorations were considerably more elaborate than the most fanciful attempted by any performer today.”⁹¹ In a review of this recording in Gramophone, Stanley Sadie remarks: “I’m not entirely certain whether the composer would have enjoyed, quite so much, some of the elaboration of the line in the Adagio,

88 See also Robert Levin: *Improvising Mozart*, in: *Musical Improvisation. Art, Education and Society*, ed. by Gabriel Solis and Bruno Nettle, Urbana/Chicago 2009, pp. 143–149, here pp. 145f.

89 See Leonardo Miucci: *Mozart after Mozart. Editorial Lessons in the Process of Publishing J. N. Hummel’s Arrangements of Mozart’s Piano Concertos*, in: *Music and Practice* 2 (2015), PDF accessed at www.musicandpractice.org/volume-2/arrangements-of-mozarts-piano-concertos/?pdf=65 (accessed 15 July 2018); see also Irving: *Mozart’s Piano Concertos*, p. 231.

90 Macdonald: *Mozart’s Piano Concertos*, p. 320.

91 Robert Levin: *Mozart and the Keyboard Culture of His Time*, in: *Min-Ad. Israel Studies in Musicology Online* 3 (2004), pp. 1–26, here p. 5, direct link: www.biu.ac.il/hu/mu/min-ado4/LevinMOZART.pdf (accessed 12 August 2018).

tasteful though it undoubtedly is; I miss certain poetic moments in the original, but we can after all hear them on any other recording."⁹²

Reinecke's performance is thought-provoking in the possibility that it represents the final phase of a genuine tradition harking back to Mozart and the late eighteenth century, of which the thread was decisively severed during the early years of the twentieth. Overall, the effect is of an improvised style, not necessarily exactly as Mozart might have expected, but far removed from the style associated with playing Mozart and Classical-period music today, which is generally faithful to the text. Reinecke may have expected students at the Leipzig Conservatory to follow his new, revised edition of 1880 closely as a first step in learning how to play correctly. But for professional pianists of his generation, this edition would have been considered only as a starting point, to which the finer, essential, more complex details of artistic performance (elucidated in his 1896 solo piano arrangement) would have to be added in order to bring Mozart's music stylishly and artistically to life. In this respect, it is worth considering the thoughts of Hummel in his *Anweisung* (1827) and Spohr in his *Violinschule* (1833), both of whom explain two types of interpretation.⁹³ The first type they describe as a correct performance or interpretation (*richtiger Vortrag*), producing the notes correctly, more or less exactly as written, which they regarded as merely a first stage in becoming a masterful artist. The second they describe as a beautiful performance (*schöner Vortrag*), requiring a high level of expressive input from the performer who was expected to read between and beyond the lines of the notation using a range of devices that were part of a valued tradition. Other nineteenth-century writers made similar comments. In prefatory remarks to an edition of Mozart's piano compositions, Reinecke himself draws a line between a correct interpretation and a beautiful interpretation:

"A correct execution may be learned; one characterized by beauty, intelligence and soul can be learned only when the player possesses the capacity to recognize and to interpret the general meaning inherent in a piece of music, and likewise the constantly changing moods that recur in it, according to his nature. [...] But exactly where is the boundary between the correctly regular and the beautiful execution? A correctly regular performance in certain circumstances may be the exact opposite of beautiful; a beautiful performance may apparently offend against all the rules."⁹⁴

92 Stanley Sadie: Mozart Piano Concertos, K 482 & K 488, in: Gramophone (1998), www.gramophone.co.uk/review/mozart-piano-concertos-k482-k488 (accessed 11 August 2018).

93 Hummel: *Anweisung*, Vol. 3, p. 426; Louis Spohr: *Violinschule*, Vienna [circa 1832], Vol. 3, p. 195.

94 "Ein richtiger Vortrag kann erlernt werden, ein schöner, verständnis- und [sic] geistvoller aber nur dann, wenn der Spieler die Fähigkeit besitzt, den allgemeinen Stimmungsgehalt eines Tonstücks und ebenso die in demselben häufig wechselnden Stimmungen ihrem Wesen nach zu erkennen und wiederzugeben. Zunächst mögen einige Winke über den bloss richtigen Vortrag folgen. [...] Wo aber ist überhaupt die Grenze zwischen regelrechtem und schönem Vortrage? Ein regelrechter Vortrag kann unter Umständen unschön sein, ein schöner Vortrag scheinbar gegen die Regeln ver-

After some discussion, Reinecke warns against arbitrary additions to Mozart's texts, but extolls intelligent interpretation that enhances the music in ways that are entirely necessary:

"Arbitrary variations of tempo could not be more explicitly held up to condemnation! And just as little should one attempt to improve on the composer's shading [...]. Nevertheless the intelligent interpreter's individuality will always be able to assert itself, for, above all, the performance must be to a high degree a matter of temperament. The works of such a fiery spirit as Mozart must not be played merely with a certain dignity and moderation, but in the proper place there must be fire and brilliancy; while again in other places care must be taken to impart the tenderest and warmest depth of feeling. But how insufficient language is to convey instruction regarding such things is felt by the musician at every renewed attempt, and one involuntarily thinks of the poet's words: 'It's not felt, 't will not be caught by chasing.'"⁹⁵

For Reinecke it was important to work from Mozart's original score, "not for the purpose of piously following it note-for-note, but rather in order to determine how to realize the best modern performance from it."⁹⁶ The same is true of Reinecke's new, revised edition of 1880 and his 1896 solo piano arrangement of the Andante from Mozart's K. 488. Following Reinecke's scores correctly, exactly, or at face value, would simply not produce the artistic flavour of Reinecke's performance. And yet this modernist reverence for the score, with its 'urtext' mentality is, as pianist David Dubal explains, still exerting a straight-jacket effect on classical music.⁹⁷

Early recordings in their various forms demonstrate that the oldest generation to record (who learned their craft before or around the middle of the nineteenth century) employ a range of expressive practices that is quite different from 'modern' practices with respect to articulation, accentuation, dynamics, agogics, rhythm, and tempo. As Taruskin famously opined, "[early] recordings are the hardest evidence of performance practice

stossen." German and English text from W. A. Mozart: *Twenty Piano Compositions*, ed. by Carl Reinecke, Boston 1906, pp. XIII f.

95 "Deutlicher kann die willkürliche Veränderung des Tempo nicht verdammt werden! Und ebenso wenig darf man die Nuancirung des Meisters verbessern wollen [...]. Bei alledem wird die Individualität des geistvollen Interpreten immer noch zur Geltung kommen können, denn vor allen Dingen muss der Vortrag in hohem Grade temperamentvoll sein. Die Werke eines solchen Feuergeistes, wie Mozart einer war, dürfen nicht mit einer gewissen Würde und Gelassenheit gespielt werden, sondern es muss am rechten Orte sprühen und blitzen, während an anderen Orten für zärtteste [sic] und wärmste Innigkeit zu sorgen ist. Wie unzureichend aber die Sprache ist um dergleichen zu lehren, fühlt der Musiker bei jedem erneuten Versuche, und unwillkürlich denkt er an des Dichters Wort: 'Wenn ihr's nicht fühlt, ihr werdet's nicht erjagen.'" Mozart: *Twenty Piano Compositions*, p. xv; these last words are by Goethe and were also used by Johannes Brahms when writing about flexibility of tempo.

96 Macdonald: *Mozart's Piano Concertos*, p. 319; see also Reinecke: *Zur Wiederbelebung*, pp. 7f. and 24f.

97 David Dubal: *Evenings with Horowitz*, London 1992, p. XIX.

imaginable. If we truly wanted to perform historically, we would begin by imitating early-twentieth century recordings of late-nineteenth-century music and extrapolate back from there.”⁹⁸ David Kjar supports this opinion, pointing out that: “A recording for the most part is sonically intact, and therefore its content is unaffected by our value judgement. We face the cold-hard facts unearthed from a time capsule.”⁹⁹ Given that stylistic change would have been slower in the pre-recording era, we might safely assume that at least some of the practices preserved on these recordings were familiar to Beethoven and Schubert and very probably to earlier musicians such as Mozart. It is significant that when Reinecke embarked on his musical studies, there were people alive who related and transmitted their ear-witness experience of musicians from Mozart’s lifetime.¹⁰⁰

Conclusion For the repertoire of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, reading beyond the music notation is essential if we are to produce interpretations that breathe life and expression into the musical artwork in ways that composers undoubtedly expected. Sound recordings of musicians trained in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, when investigated in tandem with written evidence, clearly reveal expressive practices that cannot be gleaned from the notation alone. By studying early recordings closely, we can gain a clearer understanding of the sound world of 100–150 years ago than by reconstructing or reimagining the style from the information provided in written texts alone. From this we can start to speculate about the pre-recording eras, to imagine how practices elucidated in written evidence might actually have sounded, and to read between the lines of the notation. This will undoubtedly encourage fresh and innovative interpretations of the classics, and help to keep classical music performance alive and inspiring.

⁹⁸ Taruskin: *Text and Act*, p. 168.

⁹⁹ David Kjar: *The Plague, a Metal Monster, and the Wonder of Wanda*. In *Pursuit of the Performance Style*, in: *Per Musi* 24 (2011), pp. 79–100, here p. 83, PDF available at: www.researchgate.net/publication/262758551_The_plague_a_metal_monster_and_the_wonder_of_Wanda_in_pursuit_of_the_performance_style (accessed 15 July 2018).

¹⁰⁰ In 1820, there were orchestral musicians in Leipzig who had heard W. A. Mozart play his Concerto in C major thirty years earlier; see Macdonald: *Mozart’s Piano Concertos*, p. 322.

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RUND UM BEETHOVEN

Interpretationsforschung heute •

Herausgegeben von Thomas

Gartmann und Daniel Allenbach

MUSIKFORSCHUNG DER
HOCHSCHULE DER KÜNSTE BERN

Herausgegeben von Martin Skamletz
und Thomas Gartmann

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