JAVIER LÓPEZ JORGE

BÉLA BARTÓK'S PERFORMING EDITION OF MOZART'S FANTASY IN C MINOR K. 475:

Towards Understanding Bartók's Sources, Notation and Performing Style

D.L.A. DISSERTATION

2022

Liszt Ferenc Zeneművészeti Egyetem

28. számú művészet- és művelődéstörténeti tudományok besorolású doktori iskola

Béla Bartók's Performing Edition of Mozart's Fantasy in C minor K. 475: Towards Understanding Bartók's Sources, Notation and Performing Style

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2022

Solo el misterio
nos hace vivir,
Solo el misterio
1934

To my dear professors,
András Kemenes and Rita Wagner

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Foreword

The present dissertation is the result of my research into Béla Bartók's performing edition of Mozart's piano sonatas. In fact, its principal aim was to interpret Bartók's editions, something that inevitably led me towards the study and interpretation of Bartók's notation. From the beginning, the step of identifying the additions and emendations written by Bartók in the process of editing his sources appeared to be crucial in recognising – and, in the end, interpreting – his notation. However, the sources remained unknown in five out of a total of twenty works edited by Bartók in the two volumes of Mozart sonatas: four sonatas and the Fantasy in C minor K. 475. That is the reason why the first and third chapters of the present work are fully focused on Mozart's Fantasy in C minor K. 475.

In the first chapter of the dissertation, I examined the possible sources used by – or given to – Bartók as basis for his edition of the Fantasy. In order to do so, I constructed a chronological editorial line connecting Mozart's manuscript with Bartók's performing edition through the most important 18th and 19th-century editions of the piece. The main conclusion of that examination presents a solid hypothesis in identifying the most probable source for Bartók's edition. Furthermore, that editorial line helped me to reflect upon: the limits of musical notation when it comes to expressing accurately the composers' idea; its constant change of meaning along the history of music – always in connection with the continuous arrival of new stylistic waves, the technological evolution and the economic and social progress; the fundamental role that editions played in the transmission and preservation of the music of the past; or such daily expressions between performers as 'interpreting the score' or 'being faithful to the text'.

The second chapter of this work delves, firstly, into Bartók's musical education and roots through three of his most important – and less known – facets: 'Bartók the pianist', 'Bartók the teacher' and 'Bartók the essayist'. His unique and extremely personal performing style – preserved in an invaluable ten-hour-collection – as well as his teaching – to which nobody never felt indifferent – and his wise writings reveal to be telling examples of his two main influences: the turn-of-the-century Austro-Hungarian performing tradition and his devoted study of the folk music of Hungary and

other countries. This first part of the chapter helped me to construct the necessary musical portrait of himself, essential for arguing an interpretation of the musical notation written by him in his performing edition of Mozart's sonatas – musical notation in form of symbols, terms, metronome marks and expressions which I compiled in five tables along the whole chapter. Eventually, this second chapter reflects on Bartók's musical notation as a manifestation of his musical persona as a whole and not only as 'Bartók the editor'.

The third chapter, through an analysis of the so-called 'woodwind quartet' of the Andantino of Mozart's Fantasy in C minor K. 475, acts as a conjunction of the first two chapters of the dissertation. The aforementioned analysis interconnects all the additions and emendations written by Bartók in this section of the piece – all of them firstly identified by putting side-by-side the edition with its possible source – with his musical portrait, altogether enriched with occasional comparisons with other editions – such as the ones by Sigmund Lebert, Carl Reinecke and Hugo Riemann – and with the recordings of Mozart's Fantasy made by Ernst von Dohnányi and Carl Reinecke.

Finally, the short fourth chapter concludes the dissertation presenting a series of reflexions and a compilation of all the previous conclusions.

Acknowledgments

Firstly, I would like to express my gratitude to my family and friends for all the support and encouragement that they gave to me during these years of work.

I would also like to be thankful to all the people who directly contributed, with their kindest help, to the realisation of my research: to Dr. Armin Brinzin and Thomas Karl Schmid (Bibliotheca Mozartiana, Salzburg) for their help in finding and digitizing both Artaria's first editions as well as André's edition of Mozart's Fantasy in C minor K. 475 from 1842; to Vincent Reniel (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris) for his help in obtaining a digitized a copy of the C. F. Peters edition edited by Louis Köhler and Richard Schmidt; to Máté Mesterházi (Liszt Ferenc Zeneakadémia Központi Könyvtár, Budapest) for providing me a digitized copy of the Breitkopf und Härtel *Akademische Ausgabe* edited by Ernst Rudorff in 1895; to Adrien Csabai (Liszt Ferenc Zeneakadémia Kutatókönyvtára, Budapest) for assisting me in searching Breitkopf und Härtel's *Oeuvres Complettes* edition from 1798-99; to Dr. Mikako Ogata and Dr. Christina Georgiou for kindly answering all my questions regarding their dissertations with extreme patience and attention.

I also would like to express my deepest gratitude to Clare Menor for her excellent revision of the English text, as well as her regular proof readings and her clever advises. Her generous and extremely kind professionalism and effort have their indelible imprint on every page of this dissertation.

However, I will be eternally grateful to Professor László Vikárius for his wise direction, profound insight and always respectful and constructive criticism. I have no doubts that, without the guidance of his questions, this dissertation would have never been possible.

1. Mozart's Fantasy in C minor K. 475: From Mozart to Bartók

'As long as music was an essential part of life [in the 18th and 19th centuries], it could emanate only from the contemporary world'.[1] This straightforward assertion by Nikolaus Harnoncourt is one of the fundamental principles of *Music in Our Lives*, a short essay in which he shares his opinion about the place that this art occupies in our society and the role that it plays. However, it is as ambiguous as it is direct in terms of the implication that it has for all today's musicians who encounter the music of the past. Did Harnoncourt mean to imply the impossibility of reaching a complete understanding of the music written two hundred years ago, a sort of unattainable secret language lost in time?

Searching in the essay for clarification in order to answer the previous question, we find another interesting statement: '[Music] was the living language for something which could not be said in words; it could be understood only by contemporary human beings.'[2] Seemingly, the author refers to the idea of a lost chain of connection with previous cultures. On the other hand, he introduces some extremely important details: music is a living language and, moreover, it is something which cannot be expressed with words.

Behind this apparently obvious idea, a keystone is hidden for composers, performers and musicians in general who delve into the music of past centuries. Besides treatises such as *Essay on the true art of playing keyboard instruments* by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach[3] or *A treatise on fundamental principles of violin playing* by Leopold Mozart[4] (documents of invaluable importance for their familiarity with the performance practice of music in the 18th century), scores, unfortunately or not, are the only direct link that we have with a composer's ideas. Several decades ago, Béla Bartók reflected upon this topic in his essay *Mechanical Music*, writing that 'notation records on music paper, more or less inadequately, the idea of the composer'.[5] Along the same lines,

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[1] Nikolaus Harnoncourt: *Baroque Music Today: Music As Speech. Ways to a New Understanding of Music*, trans. Mary O'Neill (Portland: Amadeus Press, 1988). 11. Originally published as *Musik als Klangrede* (Salzburg and Wien: Residenz Verlag, 1982).

[2] *Ibid*.

[3] Carl Philippe Emanuel Bach: *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, trans. William J. Mitchell (New York: WW Norton&Co., 1949).

[4] Leopold Mozart: *A Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing*, trans. Editha Knocker (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1951).

[5] Benjamin Suchoff (ed.): *Béla Bartók Essays* (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 1992). 298.

László Somfai, in his article *Critical Edition with or without Notes to the Performer*, referred to musical notation as follows:

> Musical notation is shorthand, fairly good shorthand as we know. Still, it is not a good enough shorthand, because basic signs, specifically performing marks used for centuries, may have had a different meaning in the past than we learn today.[6]

This explanation about the limits of musical notation connects perfectly with Harnoncourt's description of music as a 'living language'. Indeed, since notation is the graphic representation of music, the idea of music as a living language would help to explain changes in the meaning of notation. Acting as a window to the life and culture of previous centuries, music carries the message of past cultures which, in Harnoncourt's words, is alien to our current way of living. How much of that message could a composer from the 18th century convey in a piece, with the help only of musical notation? How can a modern-day performer interpret an old piece of music on the basis of its notation, when that reflects the message of the music only approximately? Is it possible to discover all the minute details of that message which was born while the composer was writing the work?

It seems logical to expect that the primary source from the composer – that is the autograph of the piece, if we have access to it – will be 'the text that will reproduce all the minute details of the composer's notation'.[7] Indeed, undoubtedly it is. However, will the simple act of going back to the autograph help us to surmount all the difficulties that time has put between us and the score? The richness of the author's handwriting compared with any other edition, even with the first one and even with those first editions which were made under the supervision of the composer, it is unquestionable. Indeed, that is the case with the piece at the centre of the present study, Mozart's Fantasy in C minor K. 475. However, even the composer's handwriting, although richer in detail and more informative, still uses musical notation with all its limitations.

George Barth, in his article *Mozart performance in the 19th century*, describes Mozart's autograph of his Piano Sonata in B flat major K. 333 as 'eloquent in its

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[6] Somfai László: 'Critical Edition with or without Notes for the Performer'. *Studia Musicologica,* Vol. 53, nos.1-3. (March 2012). 113-140. 113.

[7] Eva and Paul Badura-Skoda: *Interpreting Mozart on the Keyboard* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1962). 127.

simplicity and ambiguity'.[8] We will see that Barth's description is easily applicable to Mozart's own notational style, confirming that his pen, while light and most of the time clean, left lots of questions that time and distance have only deepened. Good examples of this ambiguity, directly related to the notational habits in the period, are the scarcity of dynamics in his autographs. This fact would not be a problem if Mozart, afterwards, had not added more dynamics when the work was first published – as happened in the Piano Sonata in B flat major K. 333 and in the Fantasy in C minor K. 475. Continuing with the example of the Fantasy, and thanks to the rediscovery of the autograph in 1990, it is well-known that Mozart changed his mind several times during the composition of the piece. For instance, he erased the key signature of three flats that he originally notated in the first systems of the piece.[9] Do these examples imply that Mozart's autographs were mere sketches of his pieces? Mozart's way of notating articulation in his autographs adds, if possible, more ambiguity. According to Barth's investigations, 'his dots and strokes are often difficult to distinguish from one another',[10] something which makes it extremely difficult to decide anything for certain. Furthermore, sometimes 'the outward appearance of a sign in Mozart's MS. [manuscript] clashes with its musical significance, for the simple reason that he happened to be using a faulty quill whose point has spread'.[11] In terms of his personal style of writing slurs, according to Eva and Paul Badura-Skoda, 'considerable powers of intuition are often needed to determine where his [Mozart's] slurs are to begin, since the MSS. [manuscripts] do not always make this clear'.[12] Along the same lines Cliff Eisen asserts that 'Mozart's hastily written slurs, often inexact and inconsistent'[13] are sometimes difficult to interpret.

These are just a few examples of the many ambiguities and questions that lie in even the most reliable text. It is not my intention to address all these issues; to do that, an extremely high level of expertise and scholarship would be needed. However, assuming that music is a living language, it is interesting to observe how the music of a period (in this case Mozart's music) was preserved through time, sometimes through

[8] George Barth: 'Mozart Performance in the 19th Century'. *Early Music,* Vol. 19, no. 4 (1991). 538-555. 552.

[9] William Kinderman: *Mozart's Piano Music* (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 58.

[10] Barth, 540.

[11] Badura-Skoda, 141.

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] Cliff Eisen: 'The Old and New Mozart Editions'. *Early Music,* Vol. 19, no. 4 (1991). 513-532. 514.

adaptations to current tendencies and styles, and at other times, by scholars who tried to go back to its original meaning as part of a critical edition; how musical notation, with its limitations, was altered in response to these changes, reflecting the expression of each period even through the music of past centuries; how the meaning of that notation (for instance, a simple slur), as Somfai said, progressively changed due to all the future new stylistic waves that used basically the same notational markings and symbols to represent different musical meanings.

It is quite obvious that editions played a fundamental role in the transmission of the music of the past. However, there is an essential step that no editor or performer can avoid after examining the composer's autograph: interpretation. While the autograph is considered the text which represents, frozen in time, the composer's idea, later editions based on it should reproduce, in printed notation, a new version which represents one interpretation of the autograph (or some primary manuscript source; later on, we will see that, unfortunately, not all the editions of Mozart's Fantasy in C minor K. 475, our case study, were based directly on primary sources). These later editions require an enormous amount of musical and editorial decisions taken to offer solutions to all the questions that the autograph left unanswered. In Eisen's words, 'as a performer ideal, faithfulness to the work is realizable only when editions reproducing the unaltered wishes of the composer are made available'.[14] However, taking into consideration all the uncertainties and inaccuracies present in the main source itself (i.e., the manuscript), what does it mean to be 'faithful' to the text?

> The concept of the *historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe* series of the 1950s (the New Bach, Mozart, Haydn, etc. editions) is rightly questioned today. Not least because for the sake of making an impeccable text of a scholarly edition a certain kind of self-defensive attitude of editors had priority over the interest of the intelligent user: the text should be eternally valid, the editor would not take the responsibility to answer justifiable questions of the performer.[15]

When Somfai emphasises that the self-defensive attitude of the editors had been prioritised over the 'intelligent user', it begs a question: have editors always had that attitude? He is pointing directly at the main problem in several critical editions in the mid-20th century: editors, protected by the 'faithful' reproduction of the original text,

[14] *Ibid.*, 528.
[15] Somfai, 113.

abandoned, in my opinion, the two main purposes of an edition: to interpret the text, including everything that that means, and, consequently, to give as many answers as possible to all the ambiguities of the autograph.

As we can see from different editions of Mozart's works in the 19th century, concepts like 'interpretation' or, related to it, 'faithfulness' were not always understood in the same way. During the new century after Mozart's death, all the new social, cultural and stylistic changes inevitably interfered with the perception of Mozart as a composer and person. Eisen, in his article *The Old and New Mozart Editions*, mentioned the position of Franz Giegling regarding this topic: 'each generation, each epoch confronts the Mozart problem anew, each age sees in Mozart something different'.[16]

Curiously, during the 19th century when, as we will see, editors seem to have prioritised taking 'advantage of 19th-century instruments and satisfy[ing] 19th-century listeners'[17] over faithfulness to the text, it was 'from the mid-century onwards' that 'a new wave of scholarly editions appeared'[18] and an early music movement started to flourish. A good example of this emergent movement is the editorial collection *Le trésor des pianists* led by Aristide and Louise Dumont Farrenc which was developed between 1861 and 1872.[19] This apparent contradiction between the new romantic and the 'back to the classics' waves explains perfectly, as we will see later on, all the multiple and fragmentary images of Mozart that we find during the 19th century.

> Mozart's compositions were treated as venerable documents of a bygone age (Mendelssohn's 'historical' concerts, held in Leipzig between 1838 and 1847, and the Breitkopf und Härtel collected edition of 1877-1905 were informed by a similar spirit of preservation) or, at the other extreme, as mere blueprints to be realized in accordance with the tastes of a particular audience.[20]

Giegling's point of view proves that, in order to make a serious study of the editorial evolution of Mozart's works during the 19th century, we have to discover and understand how Mozart's image was changing in this period, and try to look at his music through 19th-century eyes. As Barth rightly wrote in his article, 'if we can understand what notation meant to performers of each era, might we not "hear" them

[16] Eisen, 514.

[17] Barth, 549.

[18] Christina A. Georgiou: 'The historical editing of Mozart's keyboard sonatas: History, Context and Practice'. Unpublished Doctoral thesis (London: City University London, 2011). 158.

[19] Barth, 549.

[20] John Daverio: 'Mozart in the Nineteenth Century'. In: Simon P. Keefe (ed.): *The Cambridge Companion to Mozart* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). 169-184. 172.

perform?'[21] We often witness time and distance moulding and even distorting the image of a historical moment or character. It is very difficult, if not impossible, to preserve unaltered the image of a person who lived two hundred years ago. In Mozart's case it is telling to observe how, just two years after his death, documents started to appear that nourished the fictional portrait of the composer which flourished in the 19th century. Friedrich Schlichtegroll, in his *Nekrolog* in 1793, 'bequeathed to the nineteenth century the still prevalent myth of Mozart as an "eternal child", the "playful embodiment of love and beauty".[22] Schlichtegroll's biography was soon succeeded by numerous others, including those by Franz Xaver Niemetschek (1798), Georg Nikolaus von Nissen (posthumously published in 1828), Alexander Ulïbïshev (1843) and Otto Jahn (1856), all of which contributed to a reception of Mozart that oscillated between reality and fiction. That is the reason why the intention of finding a unique and stable picture of Mozart in the 19th century would be, in fact, quite utopian.

Curiously, something very similar happens with the reception of his music in the 19th century. Contemporary critics such as Friedrich Rochlitz did not categorise Mozart's music within a specific style. However, in his *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (1800), Rochlitz described Mozart's music, which he compared with Raphael's pictorial style, as follows: *'seine Kompositionen sind überfüllt, seine Abweichungen nicht selten bizarr, seine Übergänge oftmals rauh'*[23] ('his compositions are too dense, his modulations not infrequently bizarre, his passages often rough'). Moreover, several Italian writers cited by von Nissen in his biography about Mozart described 'Mozart's vocal melodies as "forced and sluggish", his harmony as "harsh and affected", and the overall hue of the operas as "murky and confused".[24] Do all these opinions mean that Mozart's music appeared to his contemporaries as something odd and alien? Astonishingly, all those adjectives applied to Mozart's music sound strange to us today because they clash fundamentally with the image of his music that historical performances projected into the second half of the 20th century (in words of Laurence Dreyfus, that 'naive historicism that arrogantly pretends to "speak the language of the

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[21] Barth, 538.

[22] Daverio, 172. Daverio took it from Maynard Solomon's book, *Mozart: A Life* (New York, Harper Collins USA, 2005).

[23] Friedrich Rochlitz. *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1800). 648-9.

[24] John Daverio. 'Mozart in the Nineteenth Century'. 176. Translation by John Daverio from Nissen's work *Anhangzu W. A. Mozarts Biographie*, ed. Constanze, Wittwe von Nissen (Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1828). 31-7.

18th century"[25]). Indeed, those historical renditions, in my opinion far from the true essence of Mozart's music, are still partially alive today.[26] Did the early music movement that started in the mid-19th century ignore the romantic essence of Mozart's music, prioritising its balance and beauty, the main characteristics of the classical style that Mozart transcended? According to Laurence Dreyfus, 'an imagined return to an 18th-century understanding of Mozart is therefore a return to a culture that essentially misunderstood him. This was the age that by and large heard Mozart's most profound works as too complex and mercurial'.[27]

It is absolutely undeniable that Mozart's music transcends his epoch and also, consequently, the simple labels 'Classic' or 'Romantic'. In fact, all the adjectives previously listed describe exactly what is extraordinary in his music: that irrepressible originality that creates an 'enormous gulf that separates Mozart from his run-of-the-mill contemporaries'.[28] However, during the 19th century, the reception of his music was, contrary to the general idea of a progressive evolution from a romantic to a classic understanding, 'discontinuous'.[29] For instance, E. T. A. Hoffmann was the most relevant exponent of the 'Romantic Mozart', describing his music as follows: 'only a deep Romantic spirit will completely recognize the Romantic depth of Mozart; only one equal to his creative fantasy, inspired by the spirit of his works will, like him, be permitted to express the highest values of art'.[30] On the other hand, several accounts describe the coexistence of both points of view between 1820 and 1830 and the pre-eminence of the Classical perception over the Romantic one, coinciding with the birth of critical editions and a more historical concern with performances of his music. Accounts by Schubert, Schumann and Tchaikovsky present in Daverio's article describe perfectly that shift into a more classical understanding: 'oh Mozart, immortal Mozart, how many, oh how infinitely many such beneficent impressions of a luminous, higher

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[25] Laurence Dreyfus: 'Mozart as Early Music. A Romantic Antidote'. *Early Music,* Vol. 20, no. 2 (May 1992). 297-298+300-303+305-306+308-309. 298.

[26] On the other hand, Laurence Dreyfus expresses his admiration to those 'musicians who risk agogic displacements to effect an air of freshness, who are impatient with any kind of routine, who constantly vary attacks, note lengths and dynamics so as to lend individually to a musical utterance, and who, above all, subscribe to a pervasive anti-literalism that sees the written text not as a sealed vessel of intentions but as an invitation to enunciate, and in so doing ensure the communication of meanings that are the special province of music'. 'Mozart as Early Music. A Romantic Antidote', 298.

[27] *Ibid*., 297.

[28] *Ibid.,* 297

[29] Carl Dahlhaus: *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989). 32-33.

[30] Dreyfus, 297.

life you have imprinted on our souls' wrote Schubert; also Schumann asserted that 'cheerfulness, repose, grace, the main features of ancient works of art, are also those of Mozart's school'; Tchaikovsky described his feelings through Mozart's music as: '... I like to seek peace and consolation in Mozart's music, most of which is an expression of life's joys as experienced by a healthy, wholesome nature, not corrupted by introspection'.[31]

Knowing how Mozart was perceived through the eyes of the most important critics, musicologists and composers of the 19th century is of invaluable help in order to understand the editorial evolution of his pieces. As I mentioned previously, notation reflects, with all its limitations, the original idea of the composer. Hence, the evolution that I mentioned is represented through the notation of all the different editions: the Romantic and Classical perceptions of Mozart's pieces, the 'forced and sluggish, harsh and affected, murky and confused' aspects of his music, and the flourishing of a new historical movement through the new critical editions. So, did this changing reception of Mozart's music during the 19th century have an influence on all the editions made in the period? Undoubtedly yes. But how did the notation change? Did it change physically, for example modifications or completely new symbols? Or did it change only in its meaning, being adapted to a new style? Or both? Taking into consideration that the work of study in the present paper will be Mozart's Fantasy in C minor K. 475, how did this editorial inheritance from the 19th century influence Bartók's performing edition of the work? Perhaps it is only in the scores that we can find the answer.

1.1 The Evolution of the Editorial Work in Mozart's Fantasy in C minor K. 475

> But the real misunderstanding occurred in the first half of our own century [that is, the 20th century], in connection with the vogue of so-called faithfulness to the work: older scores were "purified" of 19th-century additions and performed in a desiccated form. Yet the principle of the 19th-century in which what the composer intended had to be found expressly in the notes was retained and vice versa: anything not found in the notes was not intended and represented an arbitrary distortion of the work.[32]

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[31] Daverio, 178-81.

[32] Harnoncourt, 35.

In Harnoncourt's statement, the word 'desiccated' strikes my attention. What does he mean exactly when he refers to certain editions and performances as 'desiccated' versions of old music in general? Is he alluding to the same idea as Somfai who refers to the 'self-defensive attitude of editors'? Under what precepts did the editors of modern Mozart editions base their editing principles in order to make their texts, in the words of Somfai, 'eternally valid'?

According to Harnoncourt's quote above, the 'self-defensive attitude of editors' may have had its origin in the 19thcentury principle in which everything that is written in the score represents, somehow, the composer's ultimate intention. However, was it always like this? Was the performance intended by the composer always scrupulously reflected in the score?

Harnoncourt presents another interesting statement regarding the dual use of notation:

> Further, despite the seeming certitude of this notational system, two different principles govern their use:
> 1. The *work*, the composition itself, is notated: but the details of its interpretation cannot be deduced from notation.
> 2. The *performance* is notated: in this case, the notation includes directions for performance;
>
> [...] In general, music prior to about 1800 is notated according to the *work*-principle and thereafter as a direction for *performance*.[33]

That quote, despite its intended general contextualisation, has extremely important implications in our case study (Mozart's Fantasy in C minor K. 475) as we will discover in the following pages.[34]

Undoubtedly, the rediscovery of the autographs of Mozart's Fantasy K. 475 and Sonata K. 457 (both in C minor) on 31st July 1990 was one of the most important and 'significant Mozart "find[s]" of recent years'.[35] Since 1915 (the year in which its owner, the American Baptist hymn composer William Howard Doane, died) the autograph of

33 *Ibid.*, 29.

34 Regarding the relationship between notation and performance, see also 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* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005). 107-120.

35 Cliff Eisen and Christopher Wintle: 'Mozart's C Minor Fantasy, K. 475: An Editorial "Problem" and Its Analytical and Critical Consequences'. *Journal of the Royal Musical Association,* Vol. 124, No. 1 (1999). 26-52. 28.

both pieces had remained lost until its 'public reappearance' when found by Judith DiBona, who was looking in an old safe at Eastern's sister institution, Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary in Philadelphia.[36]

Any composer's autograph provides an open window to 'the work'; it will always be, in the words of the Badura-Skodas, 'the text that will reproduce all the minute details of the composer's notation'. Consequently, this 'significant Mozart "find" has remarkable musicological implications. However, paradoxically, what exactly it represents is precisely what is (rightly) questioned today. There is no doubt about the truth in the Badura-Skodas' quote above. However, and remembering Bartók's reflection about the limitations of musical notation,[37] there still remains a missing piece in the puzzle. Why did Bartók think that musical notation never represents with complete accuracy the idea of the composer? Was he just simply alluding to its intrinsic limitations or, by contrast, was he suggesting a 'secret' that remained lost in time? Does a connection exist between Mozart and Bartók in terms of their understanding of musical notation?

In order to give an answer to all these questions, and focusing on Mozart's Fantasy in C minor K. 475, I will construct a chronological comparison, from the autograph up to and including Bartók's performing edition to demonstrate its editorial evolution. The editions that will be used for the analysis are: the autograph (1785); the first and seventh prints of Artaria's first edition[38] (1785) (the latter referred to simply as '*Nouvelle Edition')*; the Breitkopf und Härtel *Ouevres Complettes* [sic] (1799); both André editions (1802 and its reprint in 1842);[39] the edition by Tobias Haslinger (1826); the *Alte Mozart Ausgabe* (1878) and its revision *Akademische Ausgabe* (1895); and three instructive editions, by Köhler (1879), Lebert (1892) and Bartók (1910).

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[36] The history of both autographs is explained in Eugene K. Wolff: 'The Rediscovered Autograph of Mozart's Fantasy and Sonata in C minor, K. 475/457', *Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (1992). 3-47.

[37] Suchoff. 298.

[38] The seventh print of Artaria's first edition, which includes many 'corrections' and revisions of the first and consequent prints, is commonly known as *Nouvelle Edition*.

[39] For a detailed comparative table (without musical examples) between the primary sources, see also Wolfgang Rehm's 'Kritische Berichte' to the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe*, Serie IX, Werkgruppe 27, Klavierstücke Band 1 und 2 (Kassel-Basel-London-New York-Prague: Bärenreiter, 2000).

1.1.1 Mozart and the Social and Musical Context in Late-18th Century

It is well known that Mozart was one of the most popular and acclaimed composers in Vienna in the 1780s. Indeed, according to Michael North's ranking of most published composers in Austria and Germany around 1800,[40] Mozart occupied the first place, giving us important information regarding the reception of his music and his popularity during the 18th century. However, full comprehension of the relationship between popularity and music publishing is only achievable after an explanation of Viennese musical culture in the last decades of the 18th century.

> Apart from the concert hall, music's emerging function as pure recreation in the sphere of consumption gradually extended to activities within domestic settings. 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.[41]

As Christina Georgiou describes, music (as an art and as a spectacle) started to be open to a broad public at the end of the 18th century (later, with the consolidation of the bourgeoisie at the dawn of the 19th century, this process was faster and more evident), enabling the emergence of a new and, until then, unknown category of musician: the amateur player.[42] What exactly did this lead to? The fervour for music-making had an immediate impact on the keyboard manufacturing industry, as owning a piano at home became increasingly popular.[43] Moreover, the increasing refinement of amateur players, as well as of concert audiences, pushed composers towards a greater level of control over the musical text. Nevertheless, improvisation still remained an essential part of music-making – the seventh chapter of C.P.E Bach's famous treatise[44] is one of the best testimonies of this in 18th-century performing practice. More evidence of the importance of improvisation in 18th-century music is demonstrated by Robert Levin:

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[40] Michael North: *Material Delight and the Joy of Living: Cultural Consumption in the Age of Enlightenment in Germany*, trans. Pamela Selwyn (Aldershot, Hampshire and Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2008). 126.

[41] Georgiou, 51.

[42] For more information, see Robert L. Marshall (ed.): *Eighteenth-Century Keyboard Music* (New York and London: Schirmer, 1994).

[43] Volkmar Braunbehrens: *Mozart in Vienna 1781-1791*, trans. T. Bell (New York: Grove Press, 1989). 146.

[44] Bach, 430-445.

> [...] the decline of improvisation as a central element in concert life and the ultimate separation of musicians into performers and composers, already bemoaned, have fostered performances, as well as editions, based on literal readings of the composer's text.[45]

Levin establishes a direct link between 'the decline of improvisation' and the 'literal readings of the composer's text'. Obviously, the progressive decline of improvisation is a direct consequence of that 'separation of musicians into performers and composers' which had already started to be part of the musical and social life in Mozart's time.[46] Indeed, the lack of knowledge in the field of extemporisation by amateur players led composers towards 'over-explaining' or 'over-detailing' the notation of their compositions. Good examples are the diminutions included in all the repetitions of the second movement's theme in Artaria's first edition of Mozart's Piano Sonata in C minor K. 457.[47]

The combined effect of a gradual increase in amateur musicians on the scene and their distinctive features as performers; intimately related to (or being responsible for) the growth and expansion of markets related to musical culture (such as keyboard manufacturing businesses and musical publishing firms.); together with Mozart's increasing popularity in Vienna in the 1780s and the consequent great demand of his scores, was to lead to a new dual conception of musical notation, something which was unprecedented in European musical history.

This dual conception of musical notation, which Harnoncurt referred to as '*work*-notation' and '*performance*-notation', is well-represented in Mozart's autograph and Artaria's first edition of the Fantasy in C minor K. 475. According to Carl Dahlhaus, 18th-century composers conceived their musical texts as 'mere scenarios' for concrete performance occasions.[48] Thus, considering that all the changes introduced in the first edition of an 18th-century piece may be understood to represent a particular

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45 Robert D. Levin: *Mozart and the Keyboard Culture of his Time* (Frankfurt am Main: Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg, 2004). 1-26. 25. This essay is lightly adapted from the keynote address delivered at an eponymous conference at Cornell University on 28 March 2003.

46 For instance, in order to raise the standards of musical education for both amateurs and professionals, the Paris Conservatoire introduced a more official conservatory education from 1793 onwards. For more information, see Chapter IV 'Music Praxis in the Nineteenth Century' in Christina Georgiou's 'The historical editing of Mozart's keyboard sonatas'.

47 'Arrangements' and emendations for the amateur public also included technical simplifications, such as rearranging the famous cross-handed passage at the end of the third movement of the same sonata.

48 Dahlhaus, 138.

performance more suitable for amateur players and specific commercial considerations rather than the work itself,[49] we can conclude that an 18th-century first edition is an example of 'performance-notation'. Knowing that, Marius Flothius's view that 'the printed edition should be considered as "*Ausgabe letzter Hand*"'[50] should be understood in the context of each piece, so each piece may be treated and studied independently. Consequently, the interpretation of the first edition of a piece as a primary source should be always made with caution. However, that performance essence is precisely the feature that distinguishes an edition from the autograph and the fact which converts it into an invaluable source for performers who would like to approach 18th-century performing practice knowledgeably as far as possible.

1.1.2 The Autograph and the Artaria Prints of the First Edition

In the middle of this changing musical scene, Artaria's music publishing firm appeared in Vienna in 1778 and took advantage of the growing demand amongst amateur players for published music.[51] Indeed, '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.'[52] If one is taking the first edition of an 18th-century piece as a typical example of 18th-century performing practice, can we interpret it in a straightforward manner? Is it the 'purest' representation of the definitive performing idea of the composer?

The process of printing music, in which engraving was the most common procedure, was not exempt from technical difficulties. According to Georgiou,[53] it seems that, in the 18th century, engravers paid less attention to a faithful representation of the musical text and more to a correct presentation of it (number of staves by plate, space for ledger lines, title and texts, etc). Indeed, as we will see later on, in the

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[49] Cliff Eisen: 'The primacy of performance' in *Words about Mozart*. 107-120.

[50] Marius Flothius: 'The Neue Mozart-Ausgabe: A Retrospect'. *Early Music*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (Nov. 1991). 533-537. 536.

[51] For an extended study on Artaria's publishing firm see Rupert Ridgewell: 'Music Printing in Mozart's Vienna: the Artaria Press'. *Fontes Artis Musicae*, Vol. 48. No. 3 (July-September 2001). 217-236.

[52] Georgiou, 52.

[53] *Ibid.,* 46-74. For more information regarding the publisher's practices in the 18th century, see also Georgiou's reference to Madame Delusse's article in Diderot's *The Encyclopedia of Diderot & d'Alembert Collaborative Translation Project*. (Ann Arbor: Michigan Publishing, University of Michigan Library, 2002), available online in http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.did2222.0000.004 (accessed January 09, 2021). Originally published as "Encyclopédie," *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers,* 5:635–648A (Paris, 1755).

comparison between the autograph and the first and seventh prints of Artaria's first edition of Mozart's Fantasy in C minor K. 475, Artaria's engravers were careless in terms of articulation signs (especially in the accurate reproduction of the slurs, shortening them due to lack of space), ornamentation (replacing the original symbols with other different ones), dynamics (shifting, merging and, sometimes, placing them wrongly) and respecting Mozart's original separate stems. Interestingly, Georgiou infers that 'perhaps engravers thought that it would still be possible to see what was meant [with those changes] by those familiar with contemporary performance practice, even if they knowingly produced an inexact reproduction'.[54] However, according to several accounts in letters by Mozart and Haydn to Artaria, as well as letters by Beethoven and C.P.E Bach to Breitkopf in which they often expressed their disappointment with the first editorial attempts of their works,[55] it seems that the meaning of those misreadings was not clear even for those familiar with 18th-century performing practice. Indeed, our knowledge of the process of proof-reading the autograph (or a manuscript performance-copy given to the publishers) and the composer's involvement in the editing process of the piece for the first time is still incomplete today.

In the case of Mozart's Fantasy in C minor, composed two years after the Sonata K. 457 and published together with it several months after, the large number of emendations and important additions found in the first edition of the sonata suggests, almost unequivocally, that Mozart was involved directly with its publication. Moreover, it seems that the composition of the Fantasy acted as an impulse for the publication of both pieces as a set, leading to the possibility of the existence of a lost manuscript performance-copy through which Mozart got himself involved, directly or indirectly, in the publication.[56] However, either through the elaboration of a manuscript performance-copy or through proof-reading the *fassung letzter hand*, the direct involvement of Mozart in the publication of the Fantasy did not at times prevent it from being subject to

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[54] Georgiou, 68.

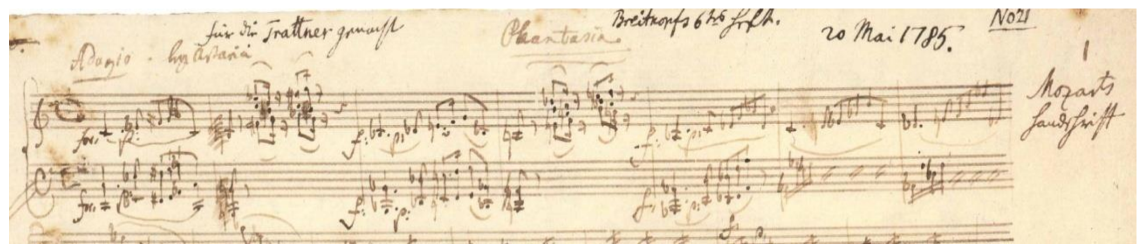
[55] Georgiou, 70-72.

[56] Up to now there has been no evidence of the existence of such a 'manuscript performance-copy' for editorial purposes. However, according to the preface to the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe* presented by Wolfgang Plath and Wolfgang Rehm in 1986, the well-known and long-believed lost *Dedicatory Copy* is conserved in The Jewish National & University Library in Jerusalem. It only contains the sonata, but seems not to have acted as a 'manuscript performance-copy' since, besides its title suggesting the dedication to Mozart's pupil Teresa von Trattner, 'apart from Mozart's improvements, there are no signs of any kind that suggest this copy might have been used in teaching.' Indeed, later on it is specified that the recurrences of the theme in the second movement were not included in their decorated version, so this is unequivocal evidence of its condition as a fair copy rather than a 'manuscript performance-copy' for publishing.

changes (intended, or not), or simple mistakes. What is certain is that, in some cases, we will never know whether those changes represented Mozart’s intentions or, by contrast, they were due to the negligence of Artaria’s publishing company.

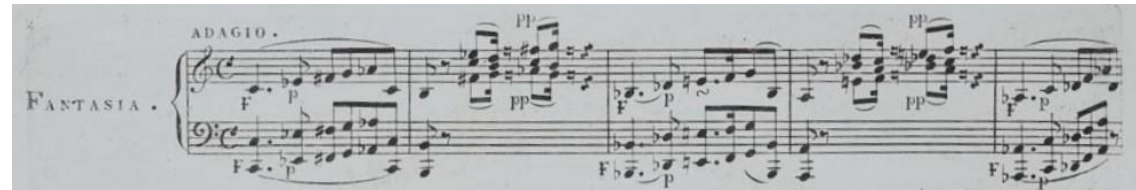
The following examples from Mozart’s Fantasy in C minor K. 475 demonstrate the complexities involved.

Example 1-1a: Opening bars (Mozart’s autograph, 1785)



Example 1-1b: Opening bars (Artaria’s first edition, 1st print, 1785)

Example 1-1c: Opening bars (Artaria’s *Nouvelle Edition*, 1785)



It would be fair to say that in these opening bars, Mozart’s original dynamic signs are perfectly respected in both Artaria’s prints (Examples 1-1b and 1-1c) – even their separate assignment for both hands – with the only exception being the abbreviation of Mozart’s ‘*for*’ into the *f* used nowadays. The addition of both *pianissimo* dynamics in bars 2 and 4 clarifies Mozart’s intended *diminuendo* for both two-bar groups at the beginning of the piece.

The beginning of bar 5 is a great example of what could be considered as an intended simplification of the articulation or, by contrast, an engraver’s mistake in the first edition. Looking more closely at that bar, we notice a radically different treatment of the slurring in the left hand. While in the autograph (Example 1-1a) the articulation

of the left hand is split into two gestures, Artaria's prints merged the whole head of the motive within one slur, as at the beginning of the piece (Examples 1-1b and 1-1c). Did Mozart want to continue with the articulation previously shown in bar 3 in order to be consistent? If so, why did he write a completely different articulation for the right hand in his autograph? Did the Artaria prints represent a last-minute change of mind?

While certain questions will always lack a clear answer, there are other editorial decisions that seem rather arbitrary. That is the case in bars 19, 169 and 172. After analysing Mozart's autograph, I completely agree with Wolff's assertion regarding Mozart's general tendency of placing the dynamic signs in the score: '[Mozart] habitually places his dynamic markings to the left of the notes to which they apply, not directly under them'.[57] Indeed, Mozart usually writes two dots after the dynamic sign, specifying the point in which the mark starts its effect (see Examples 1-2a, 1-2b and 1-2c). Knowing this, it is interesting to see how far-reaching the consequences of *Nouvelle Edition*'s misreading were (Examples 1-4a, 1-4b and 1-4c).

Example 1-2a: Bars 15 – 20 (Autograph, 1785)

Example 1-2b: Bars 167 – 171 (Autograph, 1785)

Example 1-2c: Bars 172 – 173 (Autograph, 1785)

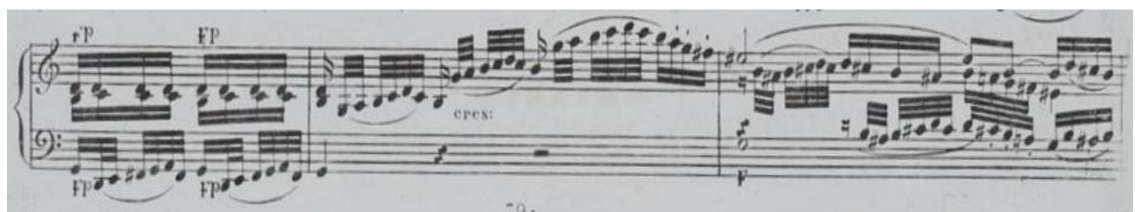
[57] Wolff: 'The Rediscovered Autograph of Mozart's Fantasy and Sonata in C minor, K. 475/457', *Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (1992). 3-47. 33.

Example 1-3a: From the 3rd part of bar 16 to bar 22 (Artaria's first edition, 1st print, 1785)

Example 1-3b: From the 3rd part of bar 166 to bar 169 (Artaria's first edition, 1st print, 1785)

Example 1-3c: Bars 172 – 174 (Artaria's first edition, 1st print, 1785)

Example 1-4a: From the 3rd part of bar 19 to bar 21(Artaria's *Nouvelle Edition*, 1785)



Example 1-4b: Bars 167 – 169 (Artaria's *Nouvelle Edition*, 1785)

Example 1-4c: Bars 170 – 174 (Artaria's *Nouvelle Edition*, 1785)

As we can see in the above examples, Artaria's first print (Examples 1-3a, 1-3b and 1-3c) respected Mozart's original dynamic indications in all the three passages – even their original left-positioning, which may be the starting point for the whole chain of misunderstandings. However, and without any editorial criteria supporting it, in Artaria's *Nouvelle Edition,* it was decided to merge both independent *f* and *p* signs into one *fp*. Artaria's *Nouvelle Edition* (curiously released in the same year as the first print and probably not under Mozart's supervision) places the *fp* sign rightly under the C minor resolution of the dominant seventh chord. In the words of the Badura-Skodas, 'on grounds both of musical logic and of comparison with countless similar passages in Mozart's slow movements, one is led to the conclusion that expressive accents should not come on the strong beat.'[58] Indeed, an interesting musical appreciation regarding this passage of the Fantasy is added as a footnote: 'the accent on the second and fourth (etc.) quaver marks a certain melodic freedom, a kind of *rubato* that opposes the prevailing metrical scheme.'[59] Through the analysis of subsequent 18th and 19th-century editions of the Fantasy we will be able to note, thanks to an analysis of the primary sources, the important consequences of the reproduction of this apparently harmless reading.

We occasionally have the opportunity of witnessing Mozart's direct interventions in the first edition of his Fantasy in C minor. One of the best examples is the notes added to the right-hand chords in bar 172. If we look closely at Example 1-2c, we notice that Artaria's first and seventh prints of the first edition (Examples 1-3c and 1-4c) present a much fuller version of the chords in comparison with the autograph.

[58] Eva and Paul Badura-Skoda, 132.

[59] *Ibid.*

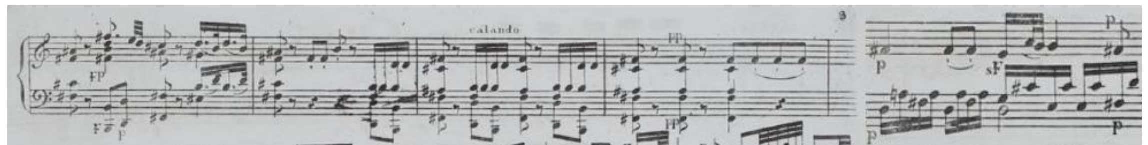
While several misreadings and errors are easily noticeable in Artaria’s first and seventh prints (as we will see in the penultimate bar of the piece), it is hardly imaginable that those chords were ‘reconstructed’ without the composer’s authorisation during the process of editing the piece.

In other places in the Fantasy, there are important discrepancies between the autograph and both prints of the first edition as the following six examples, which represent the transitional bars towards the new D major section and the end of it, clearly demonstrate. Those differences – clarifications in the form of additions for amateur players and students –shed light upon Mozart’s personal understanding of 18th-century performing practice.

Example 1-5a: Bars 21 – the first two beats of bar 27 (Autograph, 1785)

Example 1-5b: Bars 23 – 26 (Artaria’s first edition, 1st print, 1785)

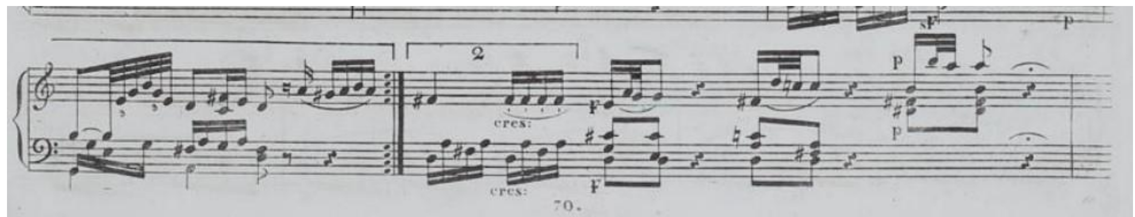
Example 1-5c: Bars 22 – 25 (Artaria’s *Nouvelle Edition*, 1785)



Example 1-6a: Bars 32 – 36b (Autograph, 1785)

Example 1-6b: Bar 36b (Artaria's first edition, 1st print, 1785)

Example 1-6c: Bars 36b (Artaria's *Nouvelle Edition*, 1785)



The additions referred to above include, mostly, dynamic and agogic indications, as well as a last-minute change of mind in the resolution at the first beat of bar 36b (bar line omitted in Examples 1-6b and 1-6c). Furthermore, it is precisely in this D major section that we notice for the first time that the editorial criteria between the two Artaria prints are not the same. Regarding the *Nouvelle Edition*'s articulations, it is extremely difficult to distinguish whether they use dots or strokes for different passages: looking closely at Example 1-5c it is evident that there is almost no difference between the strokes and the slurred staccato that Mozart wrote in bars 23 and 25. However, the differentiation between the two articulation signs in the first print (Example 1-5b) is quite clear, even from the beginning of the piece.

Another aspect of articulation in both prints of the first edition are the revisions made to Mozart's original slurs. After comparing the autograph and both Artaria prints in bar 26 (Examples 1-5a and 1-5b), we realise that the autograph's original slur between the syncopated G and its resolution in F# is missing. This is just one example of those multiple 'errors' that occurred during the production of the first edition that so much annoyed Mozart and his contemporaries.[60] Indeed, careless engravers, plus processes of correction that were too costly[61] are both plausible explanations for finding the same 'mistakes' repeated in the *Nouvelle Edition*.

Looking at Examples 1-5a, 1-5b and 1-5c, one of the most remarkable additions to the first and seventh print is the *calando* indication that runs through bars 24 and 25.

[60] See the letters from Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven and C.P.E. Bach, which demonstrate their disagreement with Artaria's and Breitkopf's first editions, in pages 70 to 72 of Georgiou's unpublished thesis.

[61] Georgiou, 69.

This is extraordinary because it is absent from the autograph and subsequent editions after the first consequent mistrusts.[62] However, the importance of this indication lies in its meaning: as far as *calando* alludes to both a gradual *diminuendo* and a *ritenuto*, and considering the plausible possibility that Mozart included it in the first edition as a performing indication for amateur players, it challenges the long- held belief in a rigid and fixed tempo throughout the performance of a classical piece, demonstrating that rhythmic flexibility was also part of 18th-century performing practice.

Moreover, and similar to the example of Mozart's change of mind after writing the key signature of C minor (three flats) at the beginning of the piece,[63] bar 36b reflects Mozart's compositional mind and challenges, again, the traditional view of Mozart as a decisive and infallible composer.[64] Written in the autograph (Example 1-6a), in the middle of this two-bar conclusion, we find a D in the top voice of the left hand, fully resolving the previous C#. However, in the subsequent Artaria prints (Examples 1-6b and 1-6c), it seems that Mozart changed his mind, deciding to continue with the tension of the previous dominant seventh chord and creating another dominant seventh chord by changing the original D for a C natural.

The first *Allegro* section of the Fantasy ends with a big *cadenza* over a dominant seventh chord of B flat major. Extracts of the *cadenza* are shown in the next three images:

Example 1-7a: *Cadenza,* 3rd and 4th beats of bars 77 – 82 (Autograph, 1785)

Example 1-7b: *Cadenza,* bars 81 – 84 (Artaria's first edition, 1st print, 1785)

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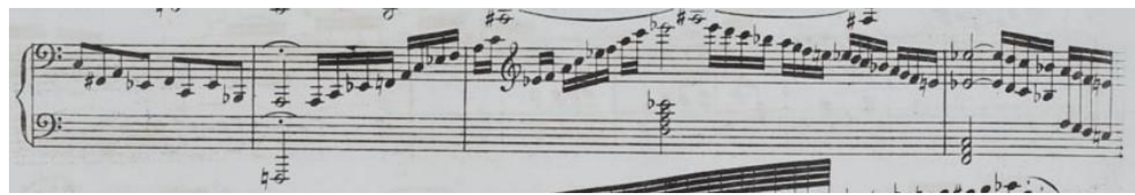
62 Editions entitled '*faite d'après le manuscript original de l'auteur'* such as André's 1802 and 1842 editions do not include the *calando* indication. Breitkopf's later *Alte Mozart Ausgabe* does not include it either.

63 Wolff, 27.

64 For more information regarding the 19th-century image and reception of Mozart as a composer, see John Daverio's article 'Mozart in the Nineteenth century'. In: Simon P. Keefe (ed.): *The Cambridge Companion to Mozart* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). 171-184.

Example 1-7c: *Cadenza,* bars 81 – 84 (Artaria's *Nouvelle Edition*, 1785)



The *cadenza* – which runs from bars 82 to 85 – represents a great example of the limitations of printed notation in comparison with hand-written notation. In my opinion, the way in which Mozart originally omitted the bar line between bars 82 and 83 (Example 1-7a) suggests a much freer and more fantasy-like performance than the reading provided by both Artaria prints (Examples 1-7b and 1-7c). Unfortunately, the Artaria reading was reproduced in all the subsequent editions made until the rediscovery of the autograph in 1990, independently of the Artaria edition's intended level of scholarship.[65]

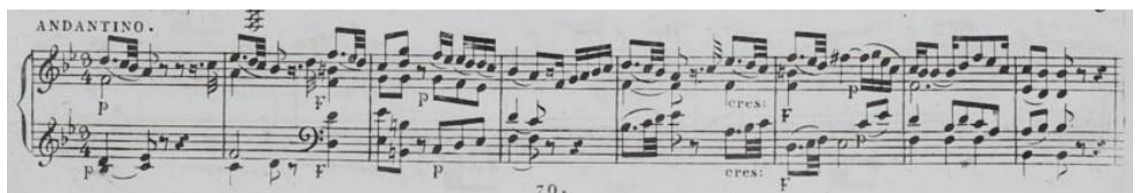
Structurally, the *Andantino* section of the Fantasy signifies a musical arrival and a turning point from which Mozart started to construct the end of the piece. The following six images reproduce the first few bars of the *Andantino* (Examples 1-8a to 1-8c, bars 84 to 93) and the last bars of the section (Examples 1-9a to 1-9c, bars 118 to 124).

Example 1-8a: *Andantino,* bars 84 – 90 (Autograph, 1785)

Example 1-8b: *Andantino,* bars 86 – 93 (Artaria's first edition, 1st print, 1785)

[65] Also, André editions from 1802 and 1842 (both considered by the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe* as primary sources) include this reading. Fortunately, modern editions, made after the rediscovery of the Fantasy's autograph and claiming to be *Urtext,* for example the *Wiener Urtext* edition (2004) or *Henle* edition (2006), changed the editorial tendency by erasing that bar line.

Example 1-8c: *Andantino,* bars 86 – 93 (Artaria's *Nouvelle Edition*, 1785)



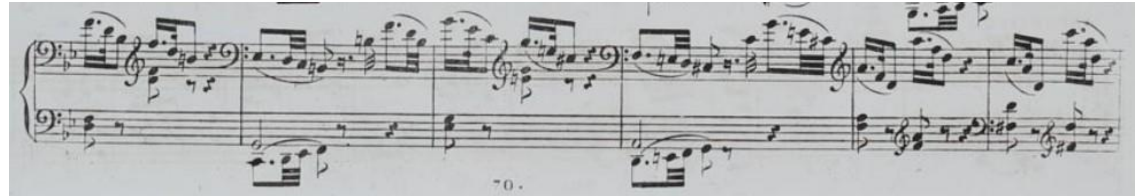
Both Artaria prints (Examples 1-8b and 1-8c) were faithful to the autograph in the first few bars, especially respecting Mozart's original articulations (except the last bars of the section), dynamic signs and stemming. Mozart was scrupulous when notating different voices, always clearly differentiating them from one another (see Example 1-8a). In my opinion, this feature of his handwriting is a good example of the orchestral conception that dominated his compositional mind, even assuming Mozart had a naturally pianistic point of view. Looking closely at the autograph, Mozart's original stemming becomes eloquent by itself: the whole left hand is notated with care, differentiating the two-voice texture. The same is true in the right hand and its controversial[66] sustained middle F, which is imprecisely notated, overrunning the silence written in the upper voice. The reproduction of Mozart's original stemming in both Artaria prints in this section is surprisingly fair. Unfortunately, over time, later editors gradually gave less attention to this specific notational nuance, blurring Mozart's original idea.

Example 1-9a: Bars 118 – 124 (Autograph, 1785)

[66] 'The rhythmically extended F in the Andantino of the C minor Fantasy may be just such an example: the inner-voice pedal sounds through the notated silence of the remaining parts, penetrating the otherwise spare textures and drawing the ear to the literal 'heart' of the passage**.'** This sentence, written by Cliff Eisen and Christopher Wintle in their article 'Mozart's C Minor Fantasy, K.475: An Editorial 'Problem' and Its Analytical and Critical Consequences' between pages 35-36 is part of an analysis and explanation of the possible meaning and interpretation of this particular middle F. The controversial reproduction of it in all the 19th-century editions will be analysed and commented upon later in this chapter.

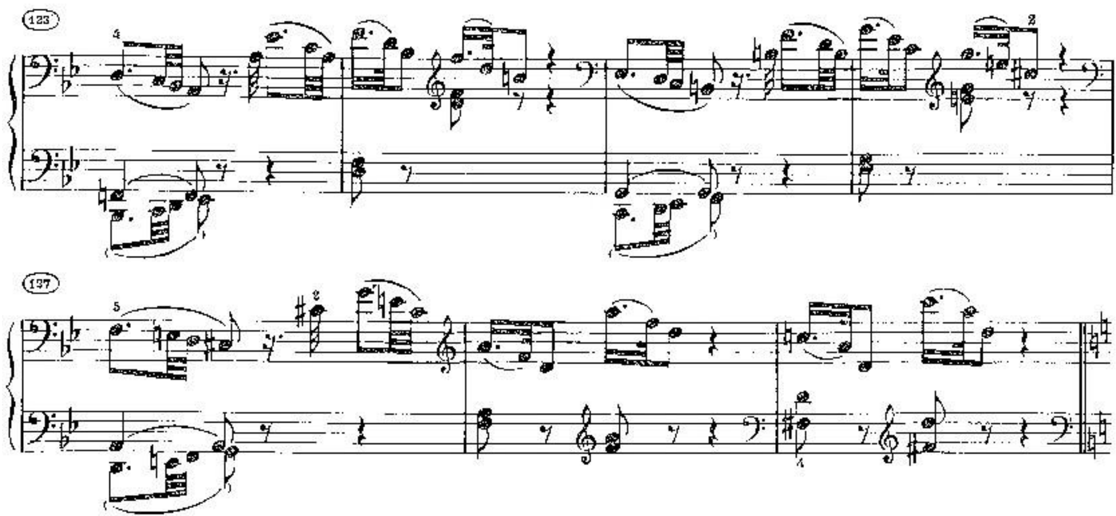
Example 1-9b: Bars 119 – 124 (Artaria's first edition, 1st print, 1785)

Example 1-9c: Bars 119 – 124 (Artaria's *Nouvelle Edition*, 1785)



Examples 1-9a to 1-9c represent extracts from the last bars of the *Andantino*, connecting it with the *Più Allegro* through an upward step-like modulation towards the tonality of G minor. Judging by the number of sources which include the articulation provided by both Artaria prints in bars 119, 121, 123 and 124 (Examples 1-9b and 1-9c), it could be said that this was one of the most frequently reproduced misreadings of the whole piece. No edition made before the rediscovery of the autograph in 1990 includes the expressive and musically logical slurring written by Mozart in the autograph (Example 1-9a). In my opinion, what is written in the original manuscript clearly suggests a gradual lightening of the touch: the music jumps, in two-bar patterns, two octaves higher from the low register of the piano, finishing each two-bar group in a suspended diminished fifth. Indeed, as can be corroborated by consulting *Urtext* editions made after the rediscovery of the autograph (Examples 1-9d and 1-9e), Mozart's original intentions are not yet fully consolidated. However, bearing in mind that Artaria's first print was most probably supervised by the composer, does this change represent Mozart's last-minute reconsideration of the original idea or, by contrast, was it a misprint caused by a technical or practical hitch in engraving?

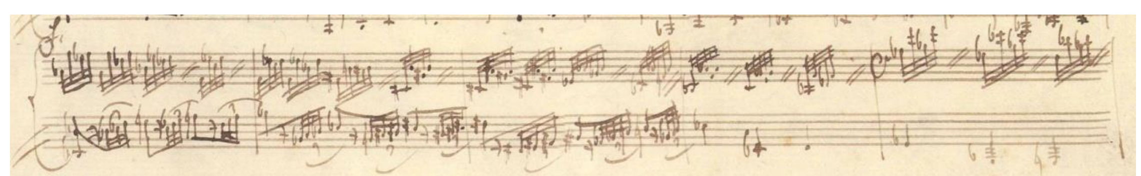
Example 1-9d: Bars 123 – 129 (Henle Verlag, 1992)



Example 1-9e: Bars 117 – 123 (Wiener Urtext Edition, 2004)

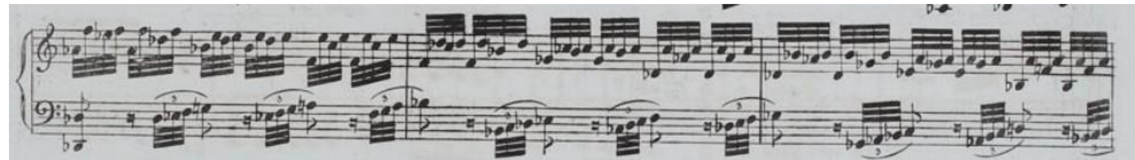
The *Più Allegro*, following the transitional bars above, comprises a 36-bar section which starts with a modulation process, following the circle of fifths, and leads to the reappearance of the main motive after a long *rallentando*. The following three extracts are taken from the middle section of the *Più Allegro*.

Example 1-10a: *Più Allegro,* bars 130 – 135 (Autograph, 1785)



Example 1-10b: *Più Allegro,* bars 131 – 132 (Artaria's first edition, 1st print, 1785)

Example 1-10c: *Più Allegro,* bars 131 – 132 (Artaria's *Nouvelle Edition*, 1785)



The previously-mentioned circle of fifths, not shown in the extracts, starts in the tonality of G minor and runs, bar by bar, through the tonal centres of C – F – Bb – Eb – Ab – Db. Immediately after arriving at the tonality of D flat major in bar 130, a compressed beat-by-beat circle of fifths starts again, following the chord progression shown in the Artaria prints (Examples 1-10b and 1-10c): *Db* – *Cm7 – F7 – Bbm* – *Abm7 – Db7 – Gbm* – *Fm7 – Bb7 – Eb*. However, if we look more closely at the autograph's extract (Example 1-10a), it is noticeable that Mozart wrote, originally, an enharmonic version of those chord structures: *Db* – *Cm7 – F7 – Bbm* – *G#m7*[67] *– C#7 – F#m* – *E#m7*[68] *– Bb7 – Eb*. What did Mozart want to express with his original unorthodox notation? Knowing that the autograph's text was not reproduced in any of the subsequent editions of the piece – nor to those made under the highest scholarly aims (with the fortunate exception of André's 1802 edition), should we understand the reading provided by both Artaria prints as a clarification of the passage? It is not my intention – and not the purpose of the present work – to give an answer to every detail of Mozart's notational practice. However, in this case, the autograph again allows us to get closer to Mozart's compositional mind. In my opinion, the present case is a very good example of how notation can also 'paint' the organisation of the musical tensions through a passage.[69] The chord Eb/F#/B – with an A# as a lower ornamentation of the B natural – reflects the implicit tension of the chord much more powerfully than its

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[67] It is exactly this moment in which we clearly see how Mozart wrote part of the chord of G#m7 in the right hand while he wrote an Eb in the left hand, obviously as part of a Abm7 chord.

[68] Again, the right hand is written according to the Fm7 chord while the left hand contains a B# (part of a hypothetical E#m7).

[69] This feature of Mozart's notational practice can be seen as an inheritance from the late Renaissance. See Robert Stephenson's *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961). 384.

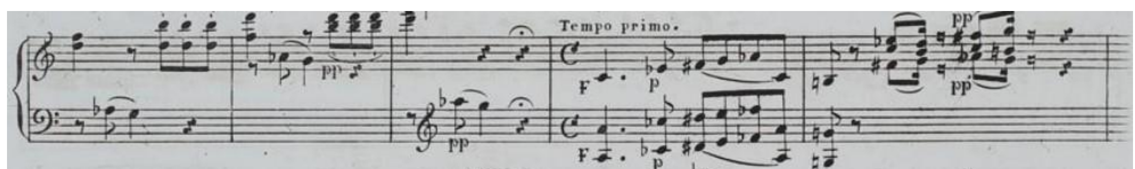
enharmonic variant Eb/Gb/Cb, which will gradually vanish until the resolution of the three-chord group.[70] It is obvious that Mozart, during the edition of Artaria's first print, changed his mind in favour of a more readable and practical version of the passage. However, I would like to express my disappointment at the fact that none of the modern editions which I had the opportunity to consult – all of them made after the rediscovery of the autograph – offer the autograph's version, which I consider very descriptive of Mozart's compositional craft and more eloquent in its appearance.

At the end of the *Più Allegro* section, after an eight-bar *rallentando (*added by both Artaria prints, and supposedly revised and authorised by Mozart during the elaboration of the first print), the recapitulation of the first motive of the piece begins (see Examples 1-11a to 1-11c).

Example 1-11a: Recapitulation, bars 160 – 165 (Autograph, 1785)

Example 1-11b: Recapitulation, bars 158 – 162 (Artaria's first edition, 1st print, 1785)

Example 1-11c: Recapitulation, bars 158 – 162 (Artaria's *Nouvelle Edition*, 1785)

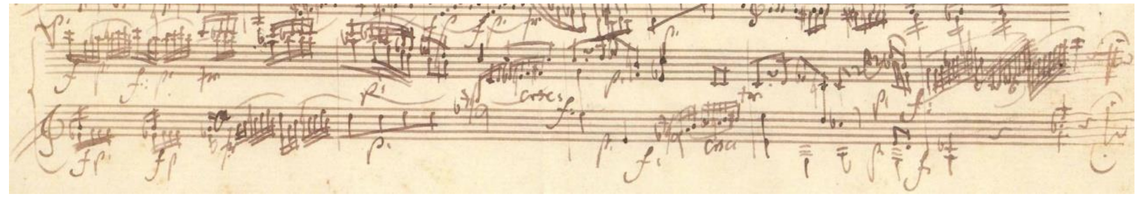


Curiously, there are differences between the Artaria readings (Examples 1-11b and 1-11c), not only at bar 161, but also between these and the first bars of the piece (Examples 1-1b and 1-1c), yet both contain exactly the same musical material. Indeed, the autograph could be considered the only coherent and reliable version, as it provides exactly the same articulation in both cases (Examples 1-11a and 1-1a). At bar 161,

[70] I have indicated the tension by underlining each three-chord group, assuming that the beginning of each group is the most harmonically tense moment and the end is its resolution.

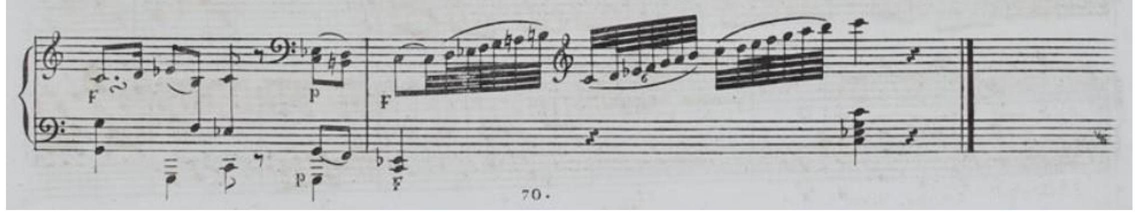
Artaria's first print runs the slur from the F# in the right hand and from the Eb in the left, while in the first bar of the piece both hands were slurred from the first note. Moreover, it includes an extra bar line, which is clearly an engraving mistake emended in its subsequent seventh print. The seventh print also emends the articulation in the first print at bar 161, substituting it for two parallel slurs running from the F#. After consulting both prints of the first edition, Mozart's genuine intentions still remain uncertain. However, the consistency and clarity provided by the autograph sheds light on the confusion.

Example 1-12a: Bars 172 – 176 (Autograph, 1785)



Example 1-12b: Bars 175 – 176 (Artaria's first edition, 1st print, 1785)

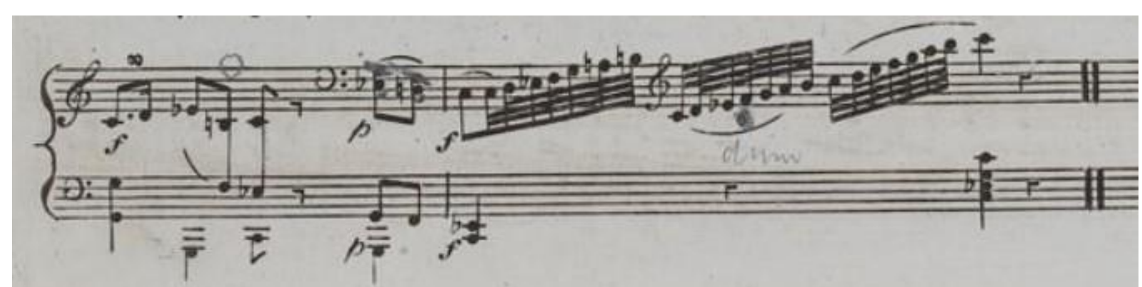
Example 1-12c: Bars 175 – 176(Artaria's *Nouvelle Edition*, 1785)



One of the most controversial and problematic readings of the Fantasy lies immediately before its last bar. In the last beat of the penultimate bar, Mozart originally wrote, and confirmed in Artaria's first print, two parallel thirds in the right hand: G/Eb – D/B♮ (Examples 1-12a and 1-12b). However, Artaria's *Nouvelle Edition* offers a 'corrected' version of these thirds as Eb/C – D/B♮ (Example 1-12c). It is important to note that, while Mozart's intervention in Artaria's first print seems plausible, it is unlikely he was involved in Artaria's *Nouvelle Edition*. As by Georgiou explains, ‚the inconsistent and careless way in which editors and publishers conducted the publication

of composers' works, together with the abundance of published versions which were not authorised by the composers themselves, often led to a difficult relationship between editors and composers, as well as a desire amongst composers to protect their work from pirate (unauthorised) publication.[71] Knowing that, in my opinion the rendering offered by Artaria's *Nouvelle Edition* seems a simplification of the melodic line rather than an improvement of the passage. Indeed, thanks to the *Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum*, which gave me access to the edition made by the Longman and Broderip publishing firm in 1786 (Example 1-12d), I could check for myself that even one year after the publication of Artaria's first edition, the passage was still 'under construction'.

Example 1-12d: Bars 175 – 176 (Longman and Broderip, London, 1786)



As we will see further on in the analysis, *Nouvelle Edition*'s reading was surprisingly accepted in most 19th-century editions, all excepting the version entitled *'d'après le manuscript original de l'auteur'* published by Johann André in 1802.

Finally, it is worth noting the *fermata* originally written by Mozart over the final double bar line of the autograph. In my opinion, it is the perfect representation of the suspended end that the musical gesture describes. Yet disappointingly, no edition, early or modern, includes this symbol here

This first step in the analysis of the editorial evolution of the Fantasy leads to several conclusions: that the composer's intentions were not always reflected in the autograph, though the autograph generally is the representation of 'the work', a source of inspiration for performers and, often, a reflection of the composer's compositional mind; that the changing social and musical context in Mozart's time forced composers to have more control over their musical text through additions suggesting the 'correct' performance of the piece; consequently, that late 18th-century editions, especially

[71] Regarding an in-depth study of publishing practices during the end of the 18th century and first decades of the 19th century, see Christina Georgiou's Chapter III '18th century: Mozart's keyboard sonatas in print' of her dissertation 'The historical editing of Mozart's keyboard sonatas: History, Context and Practice'. 76-110.

primary sources, are invaluable for those performers who want to study 18th-century performing practice. However, editions made in the composer's lifetime were not always supervised by the composer, and there were a lot of pirated versions in response to the extreme demand for published music, and aspects of the pirated versions were reproduced in later editions. Moreover, the process of engraving was not exempt from technical and practical difficulties that had an enormous influence on subsequent editions of composer's works.

Hereafter, the 19th-century editions shown in this study are the best examples of the editorial evolution of the piece through the next century. Indeed, they act as 'pictures' of a different, romantic style, which gradually affected the 'performance-notation' of the piece, changing its meaning according to new performing standards.

1.1.3 Breitkopf und Härtel's *Oeuvres Complettes*

During the last years of the 18th century and the dawn of the 19th century, Leipzig became the fourth most important centre of music publishing in Europe after Vienna, Paris and London.[72] At the same time, German music publishing firms started to consolidate. In Leipzig, the firms Breitkopf und Härtel (founded in 1719 by Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf and merged when Gottfried Christoph Härtel took over in 1795) and Friedrich Hofmeister were the most prominent. Indeed, because of the proliferation of keyboard music in early 19th-century society and the rise of German music publishing (and the consolidation of firms there), there was a special interest in compiling the complete works of the most influential composers. It was at this time that Breitkopf und Härtel attempted the first ever such compilation with its *Oeuvres Complettes* [sic] *de Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart*, between 1798 and 1806.[73] Far from being complete, this first monumental edition of Mozart's works attests to the high demand for his music after his death, being also '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.'[74]

With the publication of Breitkopf und Härtel's 17-volume compilation, changes in the scores began to appear. Very broadly, Breitkopf's edition looks more utilitarian

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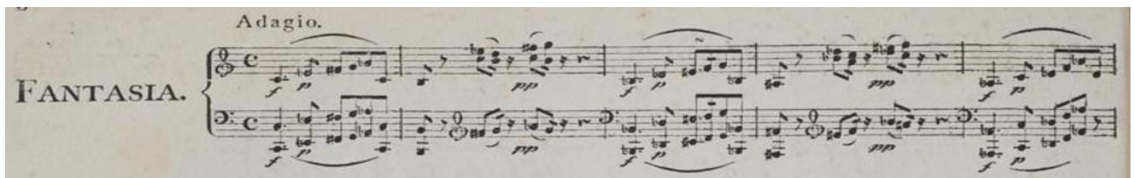
[72] See John Rink, 'The profession of music'. In: Jim Samson (ed.): *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). 78-80.

[73] Barth, 541.

[74] Georgiou, 132.

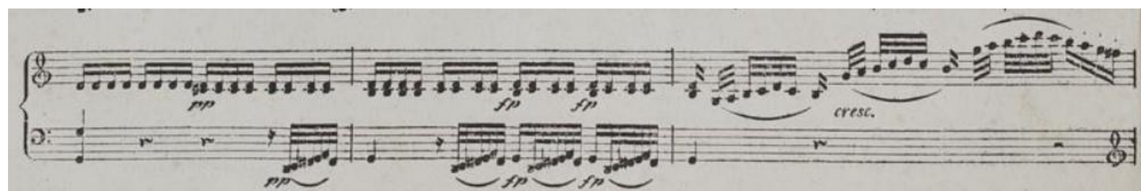
and less elegant than its predecessors.[75] Although Artaria's *Nouvelle Edition* may have been its principal source *Oeuvres Complettes* also includes features from Artaria's first print, and from the autograph. In the words of Eisen, 'Breitkopf & Härtel sought to increase the prestige of their early *Oeuvres Complettes* by obtaining manuscripts from Mozart's widow. Her collection, however, was finally sold in 1799 to [Johann Anton] André and shortly afterwards she published a statement to the effect that while Breitkopf & Härtel had based only a few of their editions on original manuscripts supplied by her, André had become the sole legal possessor'.[76] An initial glance at the first bars of the Fantasy (Example 1-13), shows that Breitkopf's edition decided to 'standardise' the articulation at bar 3 after the confusion provided by both Artaria prints (Examples 1-1b and 1-1c), bearing in mind their readings of bars 161 and 163 (Examples 1-11b and 1-11c).

Example 1-13: Opening bars (B&H *Oeuvres Complettes* 1798-99)



It is important to highlight that, while Mozart was extremely meticulous with the articulation of each passage in the autograph, subsequent editions of the Fantasy, which were released as the new Romantic style emerged in this period, showed an increasing lack of attention to it, and consequent 'standardisation' of the articulation of the slur.

Example 1-14: Bars 18 – 19 (B&H *Oeuvres Complettes*, 1798-99)



The influence of Artaria's *Nouvelle Edition* on Breitkopf's score becomes evident after the analysis of the controversial bars 19 (Example 1-14), 168 and 171 (Example 1-15). Comparing the two editions,[77] we realise immediately that the

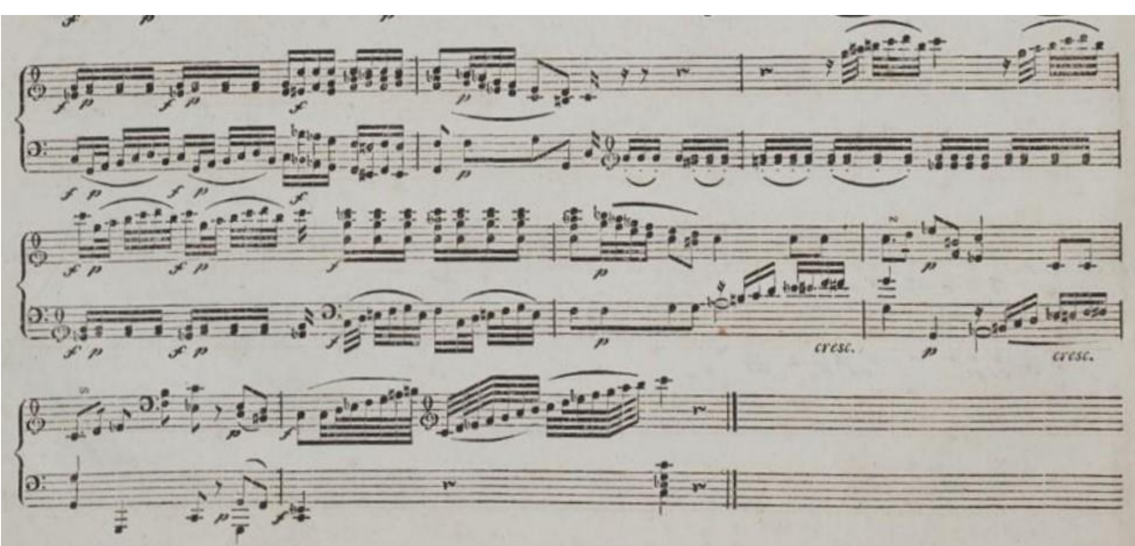
75 Barth, 542.

76 Eisen, 526.

77 See Artaria's *Nouvelle Edition* extracts on pages 18 and 19 of this chapter.

convergence of the dynamics supplied by Artaria's *Nouvelle Edition* – in contrast to the independence of both *forte* and *piano* shown in the autograph and Artaria's first print – was assumed by Breitkopf's editors as the best reading. Indeed, in terms of dynamic indications, this reading was kept throughout Breitkopf's *Oeuvres Complettes* edition of the Fantasy.

Example 1-15: Bars 169 – 174 (B&H *Oeuvres Complettes* 1798-99)



Regarding ornaments in the Fantasy, especially the appoggiaturas and acciaccaturas, the readings and interpretations are completely different between the four sources examined so far. As Barth says, on the topic of Mozart's ornaments in the autograph of his Bb major Sonata K. 333, 'many of them appear in ametric notation, either as signs or as notes that are not part of the values that properly fill the measure, like the appoggiatura that opens this piece. Represented this way they are in a sense "out of time", and from accounts of 18th-century performance, we know that such ornaments were in fact especially subject to rhythmic inflection and dynamic nuance, whether they found their time within or between the main notes they coloured.'[78] Searching for more information regarding the difference between appoggiaturas and acciaccaturas, the following definition can be found in a footnote made by the editor in C. P. E. Bach's famous treatise:

> The usual rule of duration for appoggiaturas is that they take from the following tone of duple length one-half of its value. [...] It is wholly natural that the

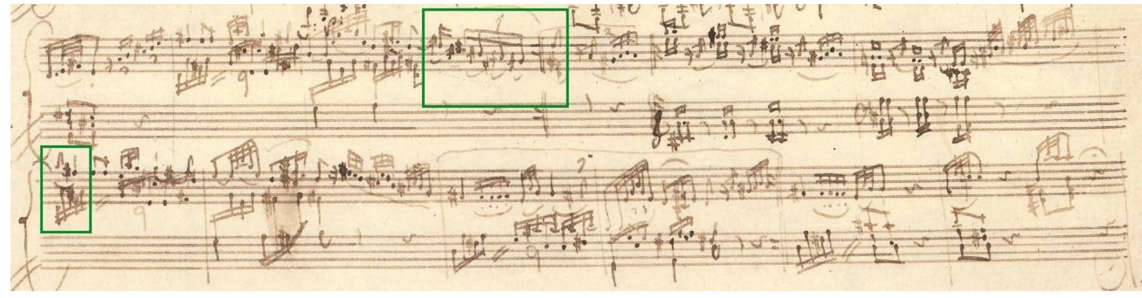
[78] Barth, 539.

> unvariable short appoggiatura should appear most frequently before quick notes. It carries one, two, three, or more tails and is played so rapidly that the following note loses scarcely any of its length. [...] When these appoggiaturas [short appoggiaturas] fill in the interval of a third, they also are played quickly. However, in an Adagio their expression is more tender.[79]

An explanatory footnote supplied by the editor adds more information: 'the notation of the short appoggiatura as a small eighth note with a diagonal stroke through the tail was not used by Bach, nor indeed by the Viennese Classical School. However, it did make its appearance in early nineteenth-century editions of their works, notably those of Mozart published by André. While the older notation gave rise to ambiguities – where variable and short appoggiaturas have the same notation – the later notation, apart from those cases where editors used it indiscriminately for both the short and the long ornament, has the disadvantage of dulling the performer's sensitivity to subtle variations of length in the short appoggiatura.'[80]

In the following four examples – some of which contradict the previous statements, especially the reference to short appoggiaturas – we will see the evolution of these ornaments from their original form, from Mozart's autograph to Breitkopf's edition.

Example 1-16a: Bars 27 – 35b (Autograph, 1785)



In Example 1-16a we can see the two different ornaments written in Mozart's own hand. At bar 29a, Mozart wrote a descending scale and ornamented each note with

[79] Bach, 91-92. The description of the appoggiatura corresponds with the ornament written by Mozart in bar 32. However, the description of the short appoggiatura with a little diagonal stroke given by the editor in the footnote corresponds with the ornaments written by Mozart in bar 29a, contradicting his own assertion.

[80] *Ibid.*, 91.

an acciaccatura[81] – marked by a little diagonal stroke on each tail. However, at bar 32 he wrote an appoggiatura – without a little stroke crossing the tail of the G – ornamenting the F# downbeat. According to C. P. E. Bach, the appoggiatura should be performed by taking half of the F# crotchet value. However, the 'conflict' comes at bar 29a. In the words of the treatise's editor, the little quaver crossed by a little diagonal stroke was firstly noticeable in early 19th-century editions, especially in those by André. However, as we can see in the autograph, he was already using acciaccaturas for notating this kind of ornament. Which performance did Mozart want to suggest with these short appoggiaturas ornamenting the descending scale? How were these subtle nuances of 18th-century performing practice, such as little rhythmic inflexions or minute dynamic oscillations, reproduced in later editions? Knowing that Artaria's first print was made supposedly under his supervision, we should consult it first.

Example 1-16b: Bars 27 – 32 (Artaria's first edition, 1st print, 1785)

In Artaria's first print (Example 1-16b), all the ornaments at bar 29a were transformed into the usual 18th-century short appoggiaturas – described by C. P. E. Bach as a tone which is represented carrying 'one, two, three, or more tails and is played so rapidly that the following note loses scarcely any of its length' – while the 'normal' appoggiatura remained equally represented. In my opinion, it is highly possible that Mozart, during the supervision of the editorial process, decided to change his own notation into a more comprehensible version for 18th-century players. Thus, and according to C.P.E. Bach's explanation, those ornaments at bar 29a should be performed more tenderly due to the character of the *Adagio*. Moreover, recalling

[81] In the Spanish translation of the treaty, the editor, Eva Martínez Marín, explains that 'in the second half of the 18th century, the short appoggiatura, played extremely fast and before the beat or almost together with the real note, is occasionally known as an *acciaccatura*.'. In Spanish: *Ensayo sobre la verdadera manera de tocar el teclado*, trans. Eva Martínez Marín (Madrid: Dairea Ediciones, 2017). 79.

Barth's inspiring words regarding the performance of these ornaments, some little rhythmic or dynamic inflexions were inherent in their performance.

Example 1-16c: Bars 29a – 34 (Artaria's *Nouvelle Edition*, 1785)

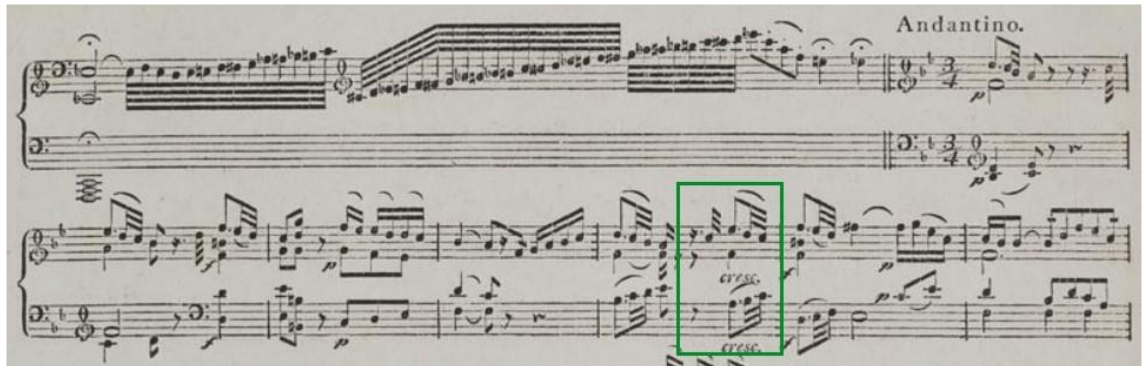
The transmission of this element to Artaria's *Nouvelle Edition* (Example 1-16c) could not be more disappointing. It substitutes all the ornaments, independently of short or 'normal' appoggiaturas, into acciaccaturas (Mozart's original short appoggiatura notation). Knowing the 18th-century meaning of each symbol already, *Nouvelle Edition*'s reading offers a distorted representation of what Mozart wrote in the autograph, especially at bar 32. Unfortunately, as we will see further on, this was a premonitory rendering for several important 19th-century editions.

Example 1-16d: Bars 29a – 33 (B&H *Oeuvres Complettes* 1798-99)

In contrast to the *Nouvelle* Edition, Breitkopf's reproduction of these ornaments represents a kind of editorial emendation, suggesting a much more convincing performance according to Mozart's autograph (see Example 1-16d). As I mentioned previously, although Breitkopf und Härtel's main source may have been Artaria's *Nouvelle Edition*, elements from the first print, as well as from the autograph can be found too. In this case, the *Oeuvres Complettes* edition replaces Mozart's original short appoggiaturas at bar 29a for semiquavers with crossed tails, merging, somehow, the two

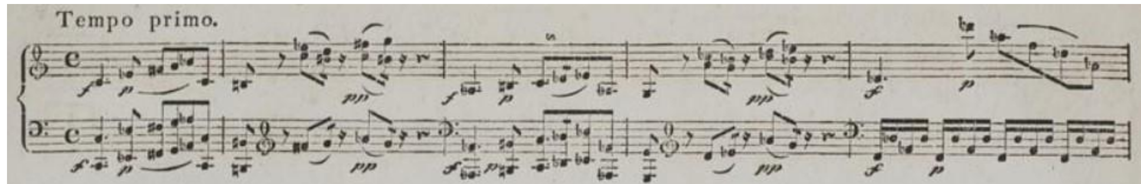
Artaria readings into one. Moreover, the original representation of Mozart's appoggiatura at bar 32 was correctly interpreted by Breitkopf und Härtel's editors.

Example 1-17: *Andantino*, bars 85 – 104 (B&H *Oeuvres Complettes* 1798-99)



The *Andantino* of the Fantasy arrives after the long cadence, in which Breitkopf's edition scrupulously follows *Nouvelle Edition*'s reading (see Examples 1-8c and 1-17). In fact, the section of the Fantasy is a good example of the utilitarian essence of Breitkopf's edition. For instance, Mozart's original stemming[82] is partially respected. Both in the autograph and Artaria prints, Mozart's original distribution of the material between the hands on both staves – the right hand's motives 'invading' the left hand's in the lower staff or vice versa – was correctly reproduced. However, in Breitkopf's edition, the material in both hands has been reorganised, obviously searching for clarity and independence for both hands.

Example 1-18: Recapitulation, bars 161 – 165 (B&H *Oeuvres Complettes* 1798-99)



After the *Più Allegro* section, in which the enharmonic version of both Artaria's prints of the first edition was fully reproduced, it is interesting to note how, while Artaria's *Nouvelle Edition* is almost omnipresent in *Oeuvres Complettes*, Breitkopf's version of the recapitulation differs completely from its main source (see Examples 1-11b, 1-11c and 1-18). Indeed, in the first four bars of the *tempo primo*, Breitkopf's

[82] See Examples 1-8a and 1-9a.

edition surprisingly takes Artaria's first print as its model,[83] starting the right hand's slur from the Eb and correcting the added bar line. As could not be otherwise, the rendering of the final pair of thirds coincides with *Nouvelle Edition*'s reading,[84] consolidating its reproduction in subsequent 19th-century editions.

Despite the clear inspiration from Artaria's *Nouvelle Edition*, Breitkopf's *Oeuvre Complettes* presents a more practical, less elegant and utilitarian text than its predecessors. It retains independent dynamic signs for both hands, an idea from Artaria's *Nouvelle Edition*, but it clarifies *Nouvelle Edition*'s confusing articulation, especially regarding the difference between dots and strokes. Its practical conception, being the first 'complete' monumental edition, is easily noticeable through its reproduction of Mozart's original stemming, which becomes, after successive editions, less and less close to the autograph.

Three years after the publication of the Fantasy in the *Oeuvres Complettes*, a Mozart edition advertised as '*faite d'après le manuscrit original de l'auteur*' appeared on the international market, published by the firm of Johann Anton André. That will be the next edition of the Fantasy in this study.

1.1.4 The André Editions

Around the turn of the 19th century, there was stiff competition between the publishing firms Breitkopf und Härtel and Johann André for prestige in the market. In the midst of the conflict, Mozart's widow published a statement reassuring the public that André had become 'the sole legal possessor [...] of an almost complete collection of absolutely accurate and absolutely authentic works in original manuscript [form] from Mozart's earliest youth until his death'.[85] Founded between 1775 and 1776 by the composer and pianist Johann André, the firm passed to his son Johann Anton André in 1799. It was in that year that the sale of Mozart's almost complete estate was agreed, ensuring the expansion of the company.[86]

As a counter-attack to Breitkopf's aggressive marketing, 'André advertised his editions as '*Edition faite d'après la partition en manuscrit'*, a sure indication that the

[83] See Example 1-11b.

[84] See Example 1-12c.

[85] O. E. Deutsch: *Mozart: A Documentary Biography* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966). 495.

[86] A detailed account of the firm's history is available at the International Music Score Library Project, www.imslp.org (accessed 10 December 2020).

edition [was] based on Mozart's own original autograph score, and that the work [was] absolutely authentic.'[87]

According to the critical report to the two-volume edition of Mozart's piano sonatas made by Wolfgang Plath and Wolfgang Rehm in 1998, the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe* from 1986 took into consideration four André editions – from 1802, 1829, 1841 and 1842 – in order to elaborate their own critical edition.[88] The editions shown in my study are those from 1802 and 1842, the former released in Offenbach am Main as an '*Edition faite d'après le manuscrit original de l'auteur*' and the latter presented, as the series title underlines, as a 'new and corrected original edition'.[89]

Example 1-19a: Opening bars (André, Offenbach a. M., 1802)

Example 1-19b: Opening bars (André, Offenbach a. M., 1842)

[87] Eisen, 526. Part of the paragraph was taken and translated by Eisen from G. Haberkamp, *Die Erstdrucke der Werke von Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart* (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1986). 23.

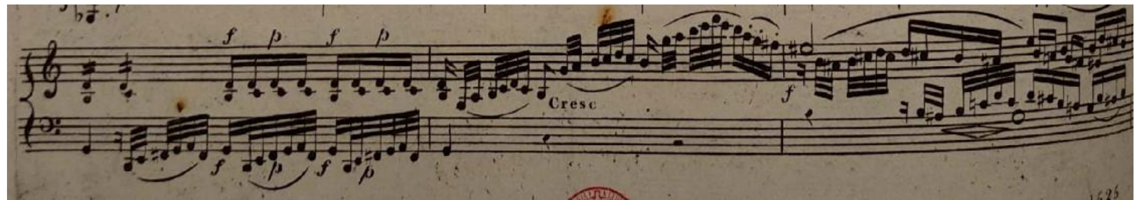
[88] Wolfgang Rehm: 'Kritische Berichte' to the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe*, Serie IX. Werkgruppe 25, Klaviersonaten Band 1 und 2 (Kassel-Basel-London-New York-Prague: Bärenreiter, 1998). 127.

[89] *Ibid.*

In these first bars of the Fantasy, looking at Examples 1-19a and 1-19b above, it is easy to suspect what will be confirmed later in this study: that Mozart's autograph was not the only source on which André's 1802 edition was based. Artaria's first print was also a notable influence; that some of the 'corrections' made for André's 1842 edition had their origin in Artaria's *Nouvelle Edition*, and all the editorial changes had important consequences for future editions; and that André's mid-19th-century edition, despite having been based on primary sources, could not resist the powerful influence of the Romantic style of its time.

Knowing this, it is not surprising that bar 5 in both André's editions (Examples 1-19a and 1-19b) coincides with Artaria's readings and not with the autograph. However, the scarcity of dynamic indications (though not as much as in the autograph, as we will see) could be considered a distinctive feature of André's editions.[90] For example, both *pp* present at bars 2 and 4 in Artaria's first and seventh prints are missing in André's editions, so here André follows the autograph. In my opinion it is the label 'edition [supposedly] supervised by the author' on the first Artaria print which, encouraged the editors of the André's 1802 edition to include the dynamics found therein.

Example 1-20a: Bars 19 – 21 (André, Offenbach a. M., 1802)



Example 1-20b: Bars 17 – 21 (André, Offenbach a. M., 1842)

[90] See Examples 1-1b and 1-1c.

Example 1-20c: Bar 21 (Mozart's autograph, 1785)

In the same vein, the *cresc* in both André's editions (Examples 1-20a and 1-20b) does not originate from the autograph (see Example 1-2a) but in both Artaria prints (see Examples 1-3a and 1-4a).[91] There are plenty of other 'conflicts' between the autograph and the editions based directly on it. The curious misreading found at bar 21 in both André editions[92] illustrates the discrepancies. In this bar, Mozart wrote a semibreve G, dominating the bass of the whole bar. Inexplicably, the 1802 André edition interpreted that bass as a momentary dynamic inflection – opening-closing hairpins – which was dutifully followed by the 1842 edition.

Possibly because of the influence of Artraria's *Nouvelle Edition*[93] and the Romantic performing practice trend at the time, the way in which the 1842 André edition merged both independent *f* and *p* into a single *fp* in bar 19 resembles the 'emendation' made by the Artaria *Nouvelle Edition* and confronts – and supposedly 'corrects' – the reading provided by André's 1802 version, which coincided with the autograph.

However, between the two André editions, in 1826, a new edition of Mozart's Fantasy was released by Tobias Haslinger.[94] Haslinger's firm was founded in 1807 by Alois Senefelder and in 1826, Tobias Haslinger became the sole owner until his death in 1842. Largely based on Artaria's *Nouvelle Edition* and Breitkopf's *Oeuvres Complettes,* Haslinger's edition in bar 19 of the Fantasy (Example 1-20d) merges both *f* and *p* into a single *fp*. Meanwhile, at the end of the piece, André's 1842 edition did not merge both dynamic signs (in Example 1-21b, this reading is only noticeable at bar 172). The extract from Tobias Haslinger's edition (Example 1-20d) allows us to understand the connection between the two André editions much better. The apparently inexplicable

[91] See Example 1-3a.

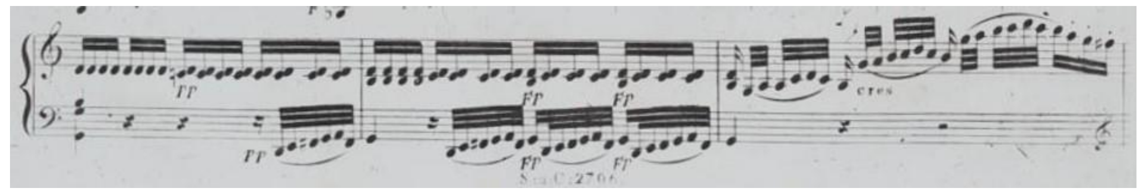
[92] In my opinion, that is the only plausible answer, and a better answer than an editorial addition, mainly because there are no more additions of this kind in the whole score.

[93] See Example 1-4a.

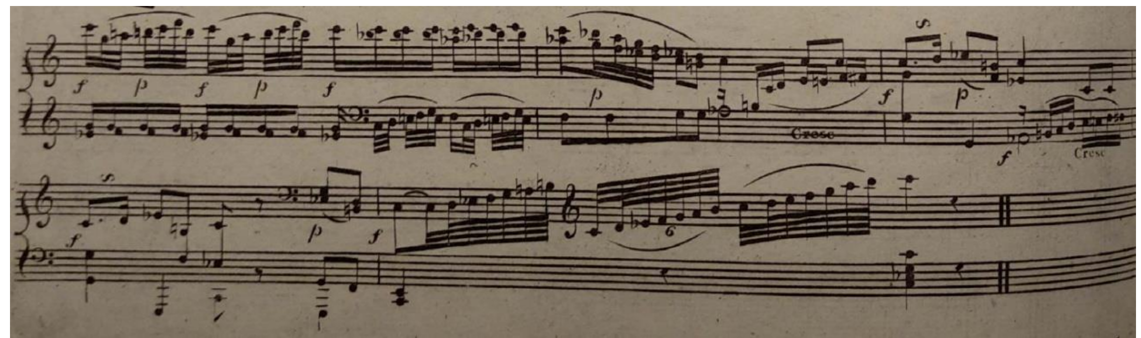
[94] More information is available at the International Music Score Library Project, www.imslp.org (accessed 10 December 2020).

editorial decision of merging both *f* and *p* signs into one *fp* sign at bar 19 in André's 1842 edition (Example 1-20b) but not in André's 1802 edition (Example 1-20a) can be explained by the 1842 edition basing its text on Haslinger's 1826 rendering. Even the opening hairpins in bars 172 and 174 were copied, as well as the aforementioned separate *f* and *p* indications (see Examples 1-21b and 1-21c), contravening its own reading at bar 19.

Example 1-20d: Bars 18 – 20 (Tobias Haslinger, Wien, 1826)

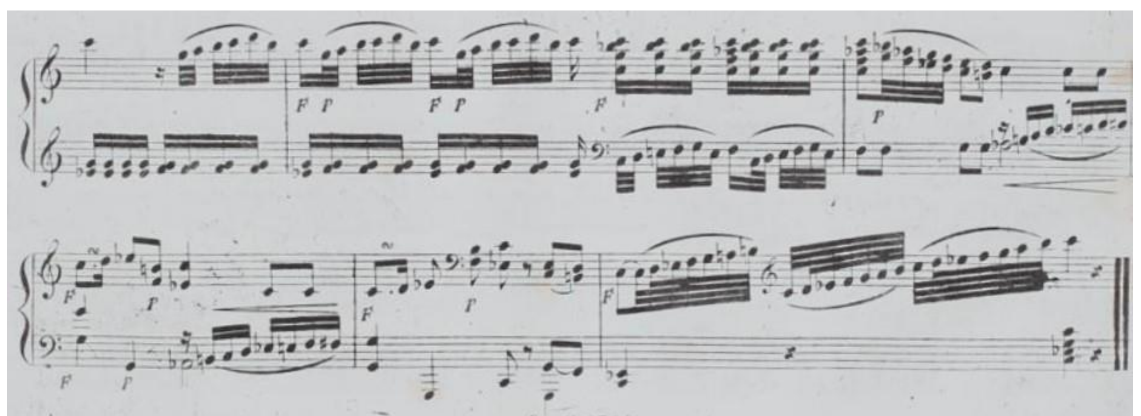


Example 1-21a: Bars 172 – 176 (André, Offenbach a. M., 1802)



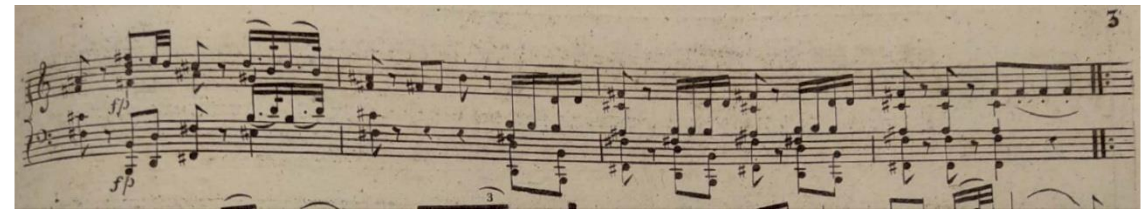
Example 1-21b: Bars 171 – 176 (André, Offenbach a. M., 1842)

Example 1-21c: Last two beats of bar 171 until bar 176 (Tobias Haslinger, Wien, 1826)



It is interesting to observe in André's 1842 edition the immense distance between some editorial decisions. For instance, often it based its text on clearly emended editions yet, by contrast, at other times it shows a clear determination to follow the autograph, often to an extreme. For example, it follows the autograph's and André's 1802 edition's reading of the right hand at the end of bar 172 (see Examples 1-12a and 1-21a). However, it also includes the controversial reading of the last pair of thirds offered by Artaria's *Nouvelle Edition* (see Example 1-12c).

Example 1-22a: Bars 22 – 25 (André, Offenbach a. M., 1802)



Example 1-22b: Bars 22 – 25 (André, Offenbach a. M., 1842)

Good examples of this 'purity' and 'faithfulness' to the autograph can be found in the transitional bars which connect the first section with the D major section (Examples 1-22a and 1-22b). Neither of the André editions supplies the additional dynamic indications which Artaria's first print does. I am referring especially to the *calando* indication, as well as to the *pp* and later *cresc* which appeared in Artaria's first print.[95]

However, as before, one of the most interesting editorial transmissions – and, consequently, performing issues – comes in the next part of the D major section. The readings of the ornaments at bars 29a and 32 of both André editions are provided below:

Example 1-23a: Bars 29a and the beginning of bar 32 (André, Offenbach a. M., 1802)

[95] See Example 1-5b.

Example 1-23b: Bars 29a – first two beats of bar 32 (André, Offenbach a. M., 1842)

The supposedly 'corrected' version of André's 1842 edition coincides with Haslinger's 1826 edition (Example 1-23c). By contrast, André's 1802 first edition (Example 1-23a) provides a faithful representation of Artaria's first print.[96] This example represents, again, the connection between Artaria's first print and André's 1802 edition, making it even more evident that its claim about its direct inspiration from Mozart's autograph was, perhaps, dictated by commercial considerations. Indeed, according to C. P. E Bach's suggestion about the correct performance of all the different types of appoggiaturas, the reading offered by André's 1802 edition is the one which represents a proper performance of the ornaments. However, André's 1842 edition (Example 1-23b) offers at bar 29a a more 19th-century representation, according to the C. P. E. Bach treatise's editor[97] – yet it offers the original version of the ornament at bar 32.

Example 1-23c: Bars 29a – 33 (Tobias Haslinger, Wien, 1826)

[96] For consulting Artaria's first print extract, see Example 1-16b.

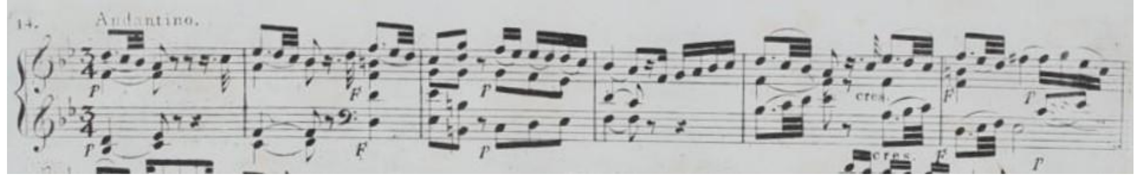
[97] C.P.E Bach, 91.

The parallel between Haslinger’s 1826 edition and André’s 1842 edition pervades the whole piece, with the interesting exception of the *Andantino*.

Example 1-24a: First bars of the *Andantino* (André, Offenbach a. M., 1802)

Example 1-24b: First bars of the *Andantino* (André, Offenbach a. M., 1842)

Example 1-24c: First bars of the *Andantino* (Tobias Haslinger, Wien, 1826)



There is an important notational change between Haslinger’s edition (Example 1-24c) and both André editions (Examples 1-24a and 1-24b): the substitution of the minim F written in the middle voice for a crotchet tied to a quaver. This was firstly presented in Czerny’s edition published in 1803 in Bonn by N. Simrock. According to Wolff, the autograph pretends ‘slightly to stress the fifth of the chord [...] and to furnish greater continuity and connectedness. […] If it was Mozart who made this series of changes in the first edition [Artaria’s first print (?)], he may have decided that he

preferred the more articulated, less fussy effect of having all three voices end simultaneously, as they do in measure 89 of the autograph, for example.'[98]

Wolff's assertion about the differences between the autograph and Artaria's first edition is surprising, mainly after the analysis and comparison between both the autograph and Artaria's prints of the first edition in which no notational changes were found. As a counterpoint, Eisen and Wintle reply to Wolff's assertion: 'the crotchet tied to a quaver reading not only lacks authorial sanction, it appears to be a nineteenth-century invention'.[99]

As I clarified at the introduction to this chapter, it is not my intention to give answers to all the notational problems which appear along the editorial evolution of this piece. However, a plausible reason for this notational change in the *Andantino* might be found, perhaps, in the evolution of the piano as a musical instrument. Regarding this matter, Georgiou commented:

> 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 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. [...] In accordance with nineteenth-century performance practices, editors often took the initiative of 'modernizing' or 'simplifying' aspects of the older notation.[100]

A main feature of 19th-century pianos was their richer sound quality and the greater resonance in comparison with their predecessors. Perhaps for this reason 19th-century editors felt it necessary to specify and coordinate the end of the F with the end of the upper motive in bar 2 (see Example 1-24c). In contrast, with the less resonant 18th-century pianos, 18th-century editors did not have this specific notational necessity because both voices ended simultaneously (see Examples 1-24a and 1-24b). However,

[98] Wolff, 34-35.
[99] Eisen and Wintle, 32.
[100] Georgiou, 144-145.

for the purposes of this case study, and despite the whole interesting in-depth analysis of the musical reasons developed in Eisen's and Wintle's article, I reproduce just a little extract of the article which caught my attention:

> Perhaps there is no editorial problem after all – perhaps the problem is our unwillingness to accept Mozart as something other than a purveyor of 'classical' regularity, both technically and affectively. The chief fault with many modern Mozart editions, after all, is not that they sometimes fail to take seriously the composer's notes; on the contrary, many of them scrupulously reproduce the autograph pitch readings. Rather, it is that they arbitrarily misread or falsify other notational details, including dynamics and articulation, or fail - on the basis of anachronistic stylistic assumptions - to confront the possible implications of that notation and to explicate in detail the numerous passages requiring special comment.[101]

Another striking difference between the André editions comes with the reading of the enharmonised passage at the *Più Allegro*.

Example 1-25a: Bars 132 – 134 (André, Offenbach a. M., 1802)

Example 1-25b: Bars 132 – 133 (André, Offenbach a. M., 1842)

André's 1802 edition (Example 1-25a) is the only one which offers the original reading from the autograph.[102] However, the 1842 edition (Example 1-25b) provides the enharmonised version which was presented in Artaria's first print in 1785. Again, in my

[101] Eisen and Wintle, 36. For a study on the same matter, see also László Somfai's article 'Critical Edition with or without Notes for the Performer'. *Studia Musicologica,* Vol. 53, nos.1-3. (March 2012). 113-140. 113.

[102] See Examples 1-10a, 1-10b and 1-10c for consulting the extracts of the autograph and both Artaria prints.

opinion, such changes can be explained thanks to the unstoppable growth and the prestige in music-making and piano-playing in 19th-century society and its impact and influence upon the music publishing market, and the commercial needs of music publishing firms.

Example 1-26a: Bars 153 – 160 (André, Offenbach a. M., 1802)

Example 1-26b: Bars 152 – 156 (André, Offenbach a. M., 1842)

Example 1-26c: Bars 154 – 160 (Tobias Haslinger, Wien, 1826)

The editorial conflict shown through the previous three extracts resembles the dynamic problem present in both André editions at bar 19. Again, André's 1842 edition (Example 1-26b) merges both separate *sf* and *p* presented in André's 1802 edition (Example 1-26a) into a single *sfp*. As the second extract proves, Haslinger had already taken this editorial decision in 1826 (Example 1-26c). However, it cannot be found in Artaria's *Nouvelle Edition*, allowing us to suppose that André's 1842 edition was fully based on Haslinger's text while similarities with Artaria's *Nouvelle Edition* were, apparently, mere coincidences.

The André editions from 1802 and 1842 represent a different source for future editions, and both were the text of reference for the monumental *Alte Mozart Ausgabe*

released by Breitkopf und Härtel in 1878. However, as we have seen, André's 1842 edition is far from being a reliable 'revised' version, mainly because it includes many readings from sources such as Haslinger's 1826 edition – which were not based directly upon the autograph. This combination of sources is the most visible feature of the instructive editions from the last decades of the century and leads us towards Bartók's performing edition.

1.1.5 Breitkopf und Härtel's *Alte Mozart Ausgabe* (1878) and Ernst Rudorff's *Akademische Ausgabe* (1895)

As it was noticeable through the comparison of André's and Haslinger's editions, the reception and categorisation of Mozart's music during the 19th century was far from being regular and unanimous. The discussion of classifying his music as Classical – composers like Schumann, Schubert and Tchaikovsky were supporters of this Classical 'view' – as opposed to the Romantic conception – with E. T. A. Hoffmann as its principal and more relevant advocate – was in vogue throughout the 19th century.[103] Moreover, the mid-19th century represents a turning point regarding editorial purposes: while in the first half of the century music was issued mainly for the use of performers, the second half of the century witnessed the appearance of printed music designed for study.[104] '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.'[105]

It is in this context that two monumental editions issued by Breitkopf und Härtel came to life: namely, the *Alte Mozart Ausgabe* in 1878 (henceforth abbreviated to AMA) and its subsequent revised version, *Akademische Ausgabe* edited by Ernst Rudorff in 1895 (henceforth abbreviated to AA).

In my opinion, it is extremely important to understand what I consider the crucial difference between early-19th-century editions and late-19th-century editions: while all the renderings at the beginning of the century gave preference to the editor's

[103] See the introduction to this chapter.
[104] Georgiou, 139.
[105] *Ibid.*, 136.

and consumer's taste to the detriment of the composer's primary intentions, late 19th-century editions started to 'react' against the imposition of a style alien to the work.

In this context, we can view the AMA (1878) as the first monumental scholarly edition of the century and its subsequent AA (1895) as a reading which counteracts the alterations and inaccuracies typical of most editions of the time, being the first which employed the term *urtext*. As Eisen says, 'the AMA represented the apex of 19th-century musical scholarship. Its stated aim was to reproduce faithfully Mozart's autographs, and to eliminate altogether arbitrary editorial intervention.'[106] However, in Giegling's words (translated by Eisen in the same article), 'the desire to produce as complete an edition as possible and, wherever necessary, a text with restored performance directions, frequently resulted in the alteration of Mozart's intentions.' Giegling continues by saying that 'Mozart's hastily written slurs, often inexact and inconsistent, were interpreted in the sense of the 19th century: measure-long legato slurs and, particularly in keyboard works, uniform legato markings over long stretches appear in place of motivic and upbeat divisions.'[107] Regarding dynamic indications, Giegling, highlights and criticises the regularisation of them in the AMA – in all Mozart's keyboard pieces in the AMA edition, the editorial criteria changed in favour of simplifying separate dynamic signs for both hands into a single one. According to Rehm, '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.'[108] Despite its noble attempt to create a scholarly-critical text, the AMA did not gain a good reputation amongst 20th-century scholars. The revised AA edition by Ernst Rudorff was held in only slightly higher regard. However, the deep influence of AMA in the conception and development of Mozart's performing style in the last decades of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century is undeniable. As Eisen highlights, 'the AMA, perhaps more than any other source, has conditioned how we think about Mozart.'[109]

[106] Eisen, 513.

[107] Translation, provided by Eisen at page 514, of Giegling's 'Probleme der Neuen Mozart-Ausgabe' *Schweizerische Musikzeitung* (Zürich. 96. 1956). 41-43. 42-43.

[108] 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). 426-427.

[109] Eisen, 524.

As the main purpose of this study is to follow the editorial evolution of the Fantasy from the autograph to Bartók's performing edition, Somfai's view regarding the sources upon which Bartók based the text of his performing edition is important:

> Bartók was anxious to work from the best available 'urtext' which was in general the Breitkopf und Härtel. [...] His first and probably most ambitious Mozart edition was the Fantasia and Sonata in C minor K 475/457. Bartók used as his main source a paperback edition of either the old Mozart Werke edition (Breitkopf & Härtel 1878) or the somewhat improved urtext by E. Rudorff (Breitkopf & Härtel 1895).[110]

Given Somfai's knowledge and his admirable contributions to Béla Bartók's music and persona, and his status as a source of inspiration for many generations of scholars, I am in no position to correct his view. However, as we will see, the editorial connection that he suggests is not exactly correct. The following table shows the discrepancies between both Breikopf's editions and Béla Bartók's performing edition. It lists the indications which are present – or missing – in Breitkopf's editions and, consequently, do not correspond to Bartók's edition.

[110] Somfai László: 'As Bela Bartok Played Classics'. Catalogue of the *Temporary Exhibition in the Museum of Music History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences* (Budapest, 1986). 22.

Table 1-1: Discrepancies between B&H 1878 (AMA) and 1895 (AA) editions and Bartók's performing edition (P.E) in Mozart's Fantasy in C minor K. 475

Bars 2 and 4 – Dynamic discrepancies	AMA 1878 (X) AA 1895 (X) Bartók's P. E. (Bartók wrote a *pp* sign in regular size font, showing it as original from the source)
Bar 10 – Dynamic discrepancies	AMA 1878 (*fp*) AA 1895 (X) Bartók's P. E. (*f* *p*)
Bar 11 – Dynamic discrepancies	AMA 1878 (*fp*) AA 1895 (X on the first beat, *p* on the second beat) Bartók's P. E. (an f and then p on the 2nd semiquaver of the first beat)
Bar 15 – Dynamic discrepancies	AMA 1878 (*sf*) AA 1895 (*f*) Bartók's P. E. (Bartók wrote a *f* sign in small size font, showing it as his own contribution and not original from the source)
Bars 16-18 – Text discrepancies	AMA 1878 (No independent inner voice in crotchets) AA 1895 (No independent inner voice in crotchets) Bartók's P. E. (Independent inner voice in normal size crotchets. See the Preface to the NMA)
Bars 26-35b – Text discrepancies	AMA 1878 } Same organisation of the AA 1895 } text in the score. Bartók's P. E. Different organisation compressing the presentation of the score by adding repetition signs.

Bar 29 – Dynamic discrepancies	AMA 1878 (*p*) AA 1895 (*p*) Bartók's P. E. (X) – The absence of dynamic sign is probably due to the *p* sign written one bar before, avoiding redundancy.
Bar 35b – Text discrepancies	AMA 1878 (*D* in the first of the left hand) AA 1895 (*D* in the first of the left hand) Bartók's P. E. (*C* natural in the first of the left hand)
Bar 53 – Dynamic discrepancies	AMA 1878 (X) AA 1895 (X) Bartók's P. E. (Bartók wrote a *mf* sign in regular size font, showing it as original from the source)
Bar 82 – Text discrepancies	AMA 1878: No bar line cutting bar 82 AA 1895: Same reading that AMA Bartók's P. E.: Bar line separating bars 82 and 83
Bar 100 – Dynamic discrepancies	AMA 1878 (X) AA 1895 (X) Bartók's P. E. (Bartók wrote a *p* sign in regular size font, showing it as original from the source)
Bar 102 – Dynamic discrepancies	AMA 1878 (X) AA 1895 (X) Bartók's P. E. (Bartók wrote a *mf* sign in regular size font, showing it as original from the source)

Bar 104 – Dynamic discrepancies	AMA 1878 (X) AA 1895 (X) Bartók's P. E. (Bartók wrote a *p* sign in regular size font, showing it as original from the source)
Bar 106 – Dynamic discrepancies	AMA 1878 (X) AA 1895 (X) Bartók's P. E. (Bartók wrote a *f* *p* sign in regular size font, showing it as original from the source)
Bar 110 – Dynamic discrepancies	AMA 1878 (X) AA 1895 (X) Bartók's P. E. (Bartók wrote a *mf* sign in regular size font, showing it as original from the source)
Bar 112 – Dynamic discrepancies	AMA 1878 (X) AA 1895 (X) Bartók's P. E. (Bartók wrote a *p* sign in regular size font, showing it as original from the source)
Bar 114 – Dynamic discrepancies	AMA 1878 (X) AA 1895 (X) Bartók's P. E. (Bartók wrote a *f* *p* sign in regular size font, showing it as original from the source)
Bars 118-119 and 120-121– Dynamic discrepancies	AMA 1878 (X) AA 1895 (X) Bartók's P. E. (Bartók wrote *f* – *p* - *pp* signs in regular size font, showing them as original from the source)

Bars 150-152 – Dynamic discrepancies	AMA 1878 (X) AA 1895 (X) Bartók's P. E. (Bartók wrote *cresc.* - - - *f* signs in regular size font, showing them as original from the source)
Bar 172 – Text discrepancies	AMA 1878 (No inner voices in the chords of the right hand) AA 1895 (No inner voices in the chords of the right hand) Bartók's P. E. (Bartók's edition includes a filled version of the right hand's chords, coinciding with the autograph, both Artaria editions, *Oeuvres Complettes* and Haslinger's edition)
Bar 174 – Dynamic discrepancies	The *p* sign, which is in the same place in all the three editions (AMA, AA and Bartók's P. E.) is in a different place in Bartók's edition (2nd half of the second beat in both AMA and AA editions, 4th beat in Bartók's P. E.)

Bartók was an extremely meticulous editor. Not only in terms of furnishing the score with lots of detailed performing indications regarding articulation, accentuation, dynamic, agogics, tempo and expression, but also in terms of respecting the original text on which his performing editions were based. Knowing that, it is highly improbable to find tone changes or dynamic indications not represented differently from the originals added by him. Obviously, it is always possible to find an occasional mistake in any edition. However, the great number of discrepancies found between the Breitkopf editions and Bartók's allows me to consider the existence of another source upon which he based his text.

At the beginning of her research on Béla Bartók's performing editions of Mozart's piano sonatas, Igrec Srebrenka wrote the following statement regarding Bartók's editorial sources:

> My research has shown that the text of eight sonatas (K.280, K.281, K.310, K.330, K.331, K.332, K.333, and K.576) out of a total of twenty sonatas in Bartok's edition was based on the *Gesammtausgabe* [that is, AMA]. He used the *Urtextausgabe* [namely, the AA] as the source edition for eight other sonatas (K.279, K.282, K.283, K.284, K.309, K.311, K.545, and K.570). Because of the differences in text between Bartok's edition and his known sources, it is clear that none of the three editions [that is, the AMA, AA and Lebert's *Ausgewählte Sonaten und andere Stücke für das Pianoforte von W. A. Mozart* (Edition Cotta)] served as the direct source for the four remaining sonatas. Thus, the Fantasy, K.475 and the sonatas in C minor, K.457, B-flat major, K.498a, F major, K.533/494, and F major, K.547a, must have been based on still other source(s), which at this time remain unknown.[111]

It is important to notice that, in a footnote on page four of Srebrenka's dissertation, she asserts that in a 'personal letter from Prof. Somfai to the author, dated October 1, 1992, László Somfai identified the above mentioned 1871 Cotta edition as the third source Bartók consulted'.[112] Moreover, László Vikárius, in his article *Bartók's Neo-Classical Re-evaluation of Mozart*, supports Srebrenka's assertion, saying that 'two decades later, when Bartók prepared his edition of all the Mozart sonatas, this commented upon and editorially treated edition [referring to the 1871 Cotta edition] was his prescribed model'.[113]

In this study I aim to find Bartók's unknown source by comparing and looking for connections between three editions: the C. F. Peters edition edited by Louis Köhler and Richard Schmidt (1879), the Cotta edition by Sigmund Lebert (1892)[114] and the Rozsnyai Károly edition by Béla Bartók (1910).

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[111] Igrec Srebrenka: *Béla Bartók's Editions of Mozart's Piano Sonatas* (Baton Rouge: The Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical Col., 1993). 5.

[112] Srebrenka, 4.

[113] Vikárius László: 'Bartók's Neo-Classical Re-evaluation of Mozart.' In: Dobszay László et al. (ed.): *The Past in the Present*. Papers Read at the IMS Intercongressional Symposium and the 10th Meeting of the Cantus Planus. Budapest & Visegrád, 2000 (Budapest: Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music, 2003). 473–98. 474. In this article, Vikárius shows a letter written by Bartók to his mother in which he describes the progress he has made in his piano studies as follows: 'I have already learnt the 12 Mozart sonatas; the teacher told me that they are too easy for me and now I am studying the last sonata, the Fantasy, which uncle Altdörfer played at Szöllös.' Presumably, these 12 sonatas were the first volume of Lebert's edition (1871).

[114] The copy of Lebert's edition that I have had access to is a later edition (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1892) than, according to Somfai and Srebrenka, Bartók used as his third source.

1.1.6 *Instruktive Ausgabe*: Performing Practice at the End of the 19th Century

A short extract from a review of Riemann's edition of Mozart's sonatas (1884) provides the best explanation of what exactly an 'instructive' edition is:

> This is an interesting addition to the many existing editions of the great master's pianoforte Sonatas. Its distinguishing characteristics consist of 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 rendered by their composer… There are marks here for absolute expression, as well as for the mere mechanical aids to it, such as *staccato*, *mezzostaccato*, *tenuto*, &c [sic].[115]

In the last decades of the 19th century, editions similar to performing manuals started to flourish, produced by renowned pianists and pedagogues. Similar to the changes in first editions in the middle of the 18th century, when amateur players became the main market for published music, late-19th-century instructive editions were aimed at amateur instrumentalists 'who would perform the published music with or without the guidance of a professor'.[116] At the beginning of this chapter, when referring to the Fantasy's first edition (Artaria) – directly compared to the autograph – I stated it was the best example of 'performance-notation' and an invaluable source for performers who would like to deepen their awareness of 18th-century performing practice. It seems best to consider 19th-century instructive editions as similar sources, but for a different musical period. However, as we will see in the following examples, the importance and influence of the editor had grown considerably since Mozart's time: rather than producing an edition that was a mere reflection of the performing style of the period, the influence of the editor's own performing practice, as well as his musical education, performing tradition and musical taste, were crucial in these late-19th-century instructive editions. In short, these editions represent a mixture of the performing practice of the turn of the century and the musical influence of the editor. Georgiou supports this:

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

[116] Georgiou, 145.

> 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.[117]

The three instructive editions that I will analyse are the C. F. Peters edited by Louis Köhler and Richard Schmidt from 1879, the Cotta Edition by Sigmund Lebert from 1892 and the Rozsnyai Károly edition by Béla Bartók from 1910. For instance, Köhler's edition is described as intending to satisfy 'nineteenth-century ears' for which 'Mozart's music was too choppy and not sufficiently expressive'.[118] In a translation of the Lebert edition's preface made by Percy Goetchius and reproduced in Barth's article *Mozart performance in the 19th-century*, the editor explains that the instructive edition was conceived to provide 'the best possible facilities and guide for a truly artistic technical reproduction, a correct intellectual conception, and an appropriate interpretation'.[119] Also Bartók's performing edition, in the same article, was described as follows: 'while [...] more pedagogical than scholarly, it nevertheless shows a growing concern for sources and an awareness of 18th-century practice. [...] While the detail seems almost obsessive [...] it is the very detail that reveals this to be one of the most artistic and sensitive of the 19th-century-style instructive editions.'[120] A detailed comparison between the three editions will shed light on the accuracy of these descriptions.

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117 Georgiou, 146.

118 Mikako Ogata: *History of the Performance Practice of Mozart's Fantasie and Sonata K. 475/457* (New York: City University of New York, 2012). 145.

119 Barth, 546.

120 *Ibid.*, 550.

Example 1-27a: Opening bars (C. F. Peter, Louis Köhler and Peter Schmidt, 1879)

Example 1-27b: Opening bars (Rozsnyai Károly, Béla Bartók, 1910)

Example 1-27c: Opening bars (Edition Cotta, Sigmund Lebert, 1892)

The beginning of the piece reveals all the additions previously mentioned: metronome markings, detailed ornament-performance instructions, lots of added dynamic signs, a proliferation of articulation indications (including the aforementioned lengthened slurs) and other performing indications. As previously mentioned, it is not my intention to comment upon the reason for and significance of all these additions. My purpose is to find connections, if possible, between Bartók's performing edition and previous instructive editions.

Of the three, Köhler's edition (Example 1-27a) is the one which includes fewer additions. This will be a general rule in the upcoming comparison. However, there is a general slurring criterion: all three editions extend the first slur of the motive until the first note of the next bar. This feature in Bartók's edition (Example 1-27b) was frequently attributed to the idea of an instructive score outlined by Riemann above. However, by comparing these three instructive editions (see Examples 1-27a, 1-27b and 1-27c), it seems more plausible to understand this slurring as an editorial inheritance or as a proof of Riemann's deep influence upon most of the German instructive editions in the last decades of the 19th century. Indeed, what could be understood as a true influence of Riemann's upbeat-downbeat bar organisation are Bartók's opening hairpins in bars 1 and 3, both clearly directed towards the next bars.[121] It is curious to see in Riemann's own edition (Example 1-27d) how the little over-explained musical gesture prevails over all the musical features previously described as genuine from his musical theories. These ones, indeed, are often related to the structure and the overall shape.

Example 1-27d: Opening bars (N. Simrock, Hugo Riemann, 1884)

In terms of dynamic indications, little differences start to appear. Lebert's edition does not differentiate between original and added dynamic signs. In consequence, we cannot know whether the *p* sign at bar 6 was taken from its source or, by contrast, added by Lebert. However, this dynamic indication is not present in

[121] Somfai László: 'Nineteenth-Century Ideas Developed in Bartók's Piano Notation in the Years 1907 – 14'. *19th-Century Music* XI/1 (Summer, 1987). 73-91. 85.

Köhler's or Bartók's editions. Moreover, Lebert's use of opening and closing hairpins is more similar to Riemann's than to Bartók's. In fact, Lebert also uses them for suggesting performance directions, something that it is not present in any of the editions previously shown.

Lastly the presentation and organisation of bars in Köhler's and Bartók's scores are curiously identical, while Lebert's edition differs significantly.

Example 1-28a: Bars 19 – 22 (C. F. Peter, Louis Köhler, 1879)

Example 1-28b: Bars 19 – 22 (Rozsnyai Károly, Béla Bartók, 1910)

Examples 1-28a and 1-28b show the controversial bars of the first *Adagio* section. As we have discovered through the editorial evolution of the piece, the merged *fp* signs at bar 19 are not from the autograph – the first edition which offered this reading was Artaria's *Nouvelle Edition*. However, the dynamic sign which strikes my

attention is the *fp* sign at bar 22. Bartók wrote a footnote in his edition clarifying his personal interpretation of what he called 'original dynamic indications':

> In Mozart we find almost no dynamic indications other than *f* and *p* (with an occasional *mf and pp).* Even an accent is marked simply with an *fp.* Therefore, the *f* must be understood in his works in a broader sense; at different times it signifies a different balance of volume. In such cases we have put the *f* of the original [Bartok refers here to his sources] in parentheses; and we have added the dynamic indication which corresponds to modern usage.[122]

Apart from all the interesting musical implications of these words which will be discussed further on, what seems evident is that, after analysing bar 22 in the three instructive editions (see Example 1-28c below), the 'original *fp*' sign is present in Köhler's reading but not in Lebert's, which is clearly separated in two different *f* and *p* signs. Did Bartók take some liberties to merge or separate dynamic signs without warning the performer about the change? Yet Bartók states in the quote above that he put original dynamic signs in parenthesis when he considered it important to differentiate them from other performing signs of his own. Would Bartók change original dynamic signs from his source just because he disagreed with the performance that suggested them? In the words of Somfai, 'fortunately, it is easy to separate Bartók's additions from those he believed to be in the *Urtext*'[123] (referring to the AMA and AA as *Urtext* editions). In the same article, Somfai insists upon Cotta's influence on Rozsnyai's editorial style, giving details about Bartók's personal library, full of 'standard repertory from the Cotta editions' that he studied in his early years.'[124] On the one hand, the influence of Lebert's instructive editions on Bartók's musical education is undeniable.

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[122] *'Bei Mozart sehen wir beinahe keine andern Zeichen zur Bestim mung der dynamischen Grade als f un p (hie und da mf und pp). Auch die Betonung bezeichnet er blos mit fp. Das f ist demzufolge in seinen Werken in weiterem Sinne zu verstehen; es bedeutet zuweilen blos mehr oder weniger Betonung. An solchen und ähnlichen Stellen haben wir das f des Originals in Parenthese gestellt und daneben die entsprechenden heutzutage gebräuchlichen Zeichenhingesetzt.'* English translation provided by Igrec Srebrenka on page 33 of her dissertation *Béla Bartók's Editions of Mozart's Piano Sonatas*.

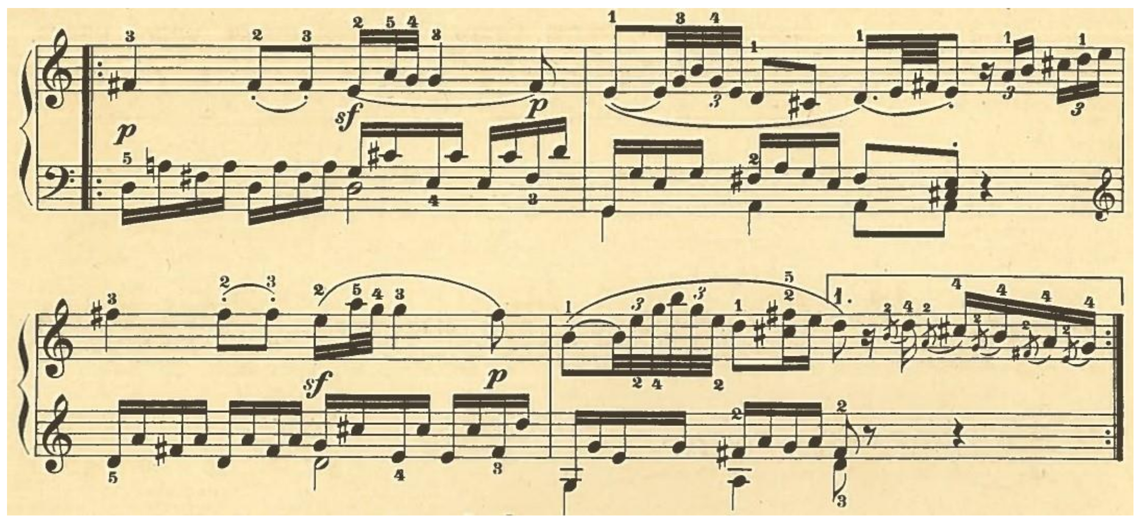
[123] Somfai László: 'Nineteenth-Century Ideas Developed in Bartók's Piano Notation in the Years 1907 – 14'. 85.

[124] *Ibid.*, 85

Example 1-28c: Bars 18 – 25 (Edition Cotta, Sigmund Lebert, 1892)

However, does it mean that the Cotta edition of the Fantasy was the source that Bartók edited? In my opinion, and after observing Bartók's meticulous approach and honesty in all of his sensitive editorial additions, as well as noticing the correspondence, even in the fingerings, between Köhler's and Bartók's editions, I think that it is more plausible to see Köhler's edition as the basis of Bartók's performing edition. However, in order to find more clues to support this theory, I will continue analysing different extracts of these instructive editions.

Example 1-29a: Bars 26 – 29a (C. F. Peter, Louis Köhler, 1879)

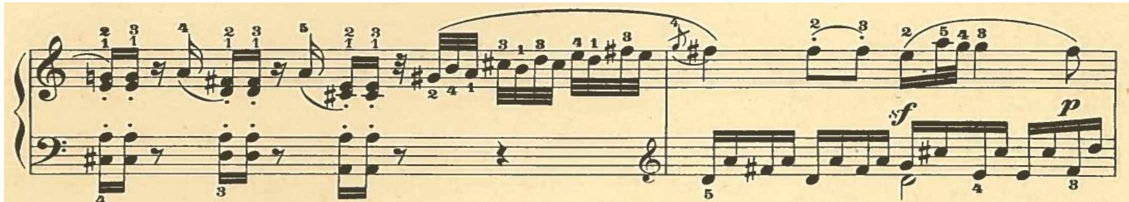


Example 1-29b: Bars 26 – 29a (Rozsnyai Károly, Béla Bartók, 1910)

Example 1-29c: Bars 26 – 29b (Edition Cotta, Sigmund Lebert, 1892)

In order to support my hypothesis, I will compare the three extracts shown in Examples 1-29a to 1-29c, searching for more proof of Köhler's influence. As can be seen in bar 28 of Köhler's edition (Example 1-29a), there is no dynamic indication on the first beat. Consequently, Bartók wrote his suggested *mp* dynamic indication in smaller font, as he did when no dynamic indication was provided by his source (see Example 1-29b). However, Lebert's instructive edition (Example 1-29c) clearly offers a *p* sign under the F# first beat. Moreover, Lebert, unlike both Köhler's and Bartók's editions, substitutes the *sf* sign for a *fz*.

Example 1-30a: Bars 31 – 32 (C. F. Peter, Louis Köhler, 1879)



Example 1-30b: Bars 31 – 32 (Rozsnyai Károly, Béla Bartók, 1910)

Example 1-30c: Bars 31 – 32 (Edition Cotta, Sigmund Lebert, 1892)

Exactly the same problem appears in Bartók’s edition at bar 32 (Example 1-30b). While Lebert’s edition (Example 1-30c) provides a *pp* sign at the first beat, Bartók’s follows Köhler’s decision not to include any dynamic indication (see Example 1-30a). Furthermore, at the downbeat of bar 33 (not shown in the extract) Lebert’s edition furnishes the downbeat with a *p* sign, while Bartok chooses the same indication but in small font, coinciding with the omission of any dynamic indication in Köhler’s edition in the same bar.

Example 1-31a: Bars 55 – 63 (C. F. Peter, Louis Köhler, 1879)

Example 1-31b: Bars 55 – 63 (Rozsnyai Károly, Béla Bartók, 1910)

Example 1-31c: Bars 55 – 63 (Edition Cotta, Sigmund Lebert, 1892)

Looking carefully at bar 60 in Lebert's edition (Example 1-31c), it is one of the few bars in the whole text without dynamics. However, in Bartók's performing edition (Example 1-31b), and Köhler's (Example 1-31a), there is a *p* sign written in regular font, suggesting that it is not an addition but, comes from his source. I consider the correspondences between Bartók's and Köhler's right-hand fingerings in bar 62, as well as the extremely similar appearance of both editions (notice the organisation of the voices in bar 56) more evidence with which support my hypothesis.

The same conflict appears in the first bars of the *Andantino* section, as shown in Examples 1-32a to 1-32c below. In the last bar of the extracts, Köhler's edition (Example 1-32a) does not supply any dynamic indication. Consequently, Bartók provides his own *p* sign in smaller font (see Example 1-32b). By contrast, it was Lebert who furnished that bar with a *p* sign without stating its origin (Example 1-32c), discrediting the idea of it being the source that Bartók worked from.

Example 1-32a: The opening bars of the *Andantino* (C. F. Peter, Louis Köhler, 1879)

Example 1-32b: The opening bars of the *Andantino* (Rozsnyai Károly, Béla Bartók, 1910)

Example 1-32c: The opening bars of the *Andantino* (Edition Cotta, Sigmund Lebert, 1892)

Examples 1-33a to 1-33c focus on bars 118 and 124 in the three instructive editions, and will further illuminate not only Köhler's influence on Bartók's text but also Riemann's influence on Lebert's edition.

Example 1-33a: Bars 118 – 124 (C. F. Peter, Louis Köhler, 1879)

Example 1-33b: Bars 118 – 124 (Rozsnyai Károly, Béla Bartók, 1910)

Example 1-33c: Bars 116 – 124 (Edition Cotta, Sigmund Lebert, 1892)

Where there is a the *diminuendo* towards the end of each two-bar group in these Examples, both Köhler and Bartók (Examples 1-33a and 1-33b) add separate and gradual dynamic indications starting in *forte* and finishing in *pianissimo*. However, Lebert (see Example 1-33c) added a *cresc* indication at the end of each group, showing an evident influence of Riemann’s upbeat-downbeat pattern applied to the first two groupsIn the last bars of the section, all three editions correspond in supplying the same dynamic indications for the nexus with the following *Più Allegro*.

Example 1-34a: Bars 169 – 176 (C. F. Peter, Louis Köhler, 1879)

The last few staves of the Fantasy reveal, finally, not only more proof of Köhler’s connection with Bartók’s performing edition, but also Bartók’s editorial inheritance. As I have highlighted throughout this analysis, the dynamic incongruence between bars 19, 169 and 172 started with Breitkopf’s *Oeuvres Complettes*, was

followed by Tobias Haslinger (in his 1826 editions) and then André's 1842 edition.[125] Obviously, the history of editing never quite follows a straight line, in this case mainly because so many editions were involved and influenced each other (including Artaria's *Nouvelle Edition* and André's 1802 edition). However, both Breitkopf's AMA and AA do not follow Köhler, AMA being the edition which provides a merged version of the dynamics in all these bars (19, 169 and 172), and AA the edition which offers a separate version of the dynamics in the same places.

Knowing that, Lebert followed the version used by AMA for his instructive edition – and that version was not continued by Rudorff. It is important to remember that, thanks to Srebrenka's analysis of Bartók's sources, we know that Bartók produced 16 performing editions of Mozart's music that follow the editorial line of AMA and AA, but those 16 did not include the Fantasy and Sonata in C minor K.475/457, the B-flat major Sonata K.498a (generally thought to be unauthentic and partially attributed to August Eberhard Müller) the F major Sonata K.533/494 and the F major Sonata K.547a. Knowing that the performing edition of the Fantasy and Sonata in C minor K.475/457 was 'his first and probably most ambitious Mozart edition',[126] why did he then decide to change his sources? Was it, due to a 'growing concern for sources and an awareness of 18th-century practice' as Barth asserts?[127] Was his decision to change the sources finite or, by contrast, dependent upon the piece? All these previous questions will be addressed in the following chapter.

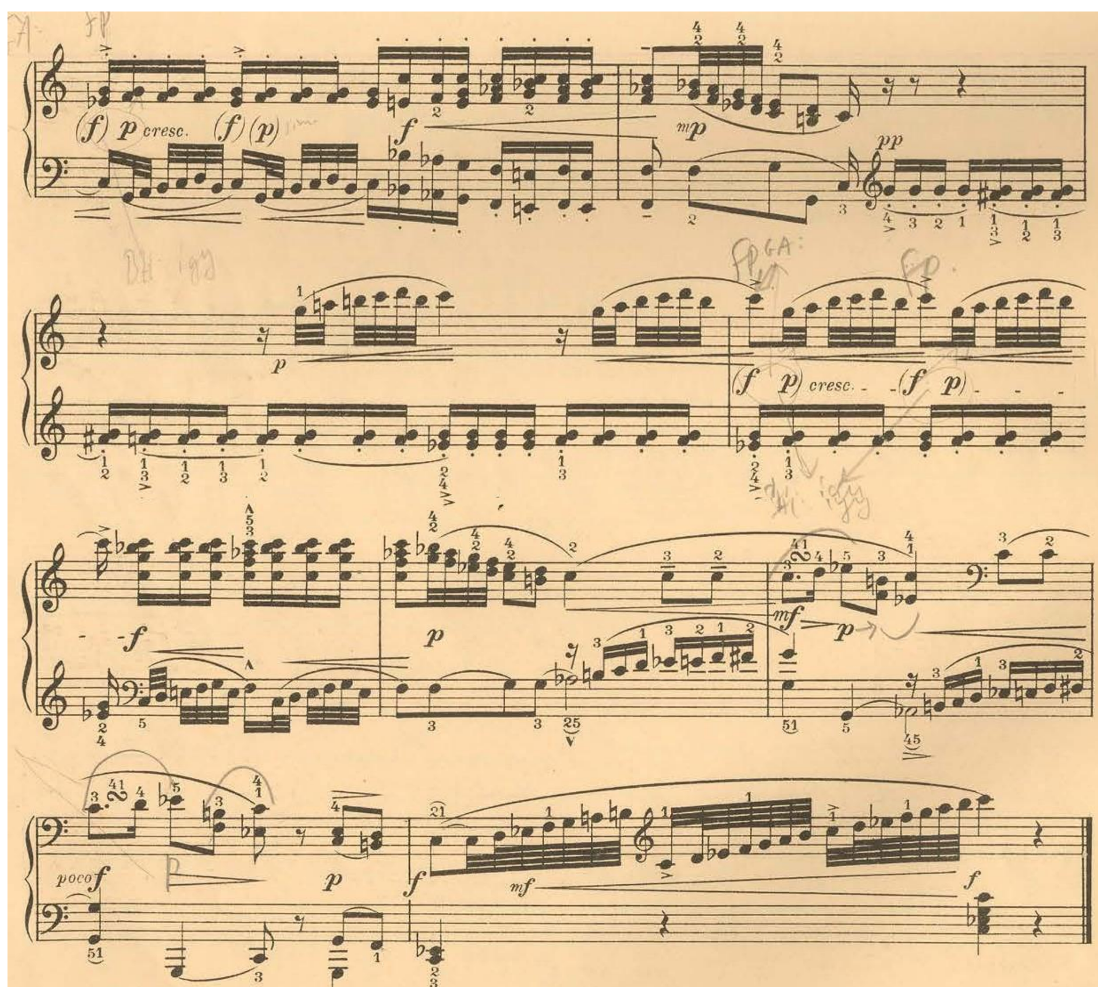
Final evidence of the connection between Köhler's and Bartók's editions are provided in the following extracts:

[125] I had the opportunity to acquire a digitised version of *Mozart's Works Anthology* (piano sonatas and fantasies volume) edited by André around 1860 in which the same reading is provided. For more information, see the *Anthologie aus W. A. Mozart's Werken: Sonaten für das Pianoforte* . Autor / Hrsg.: Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus; Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus. Verlagsort: Offenbach a/M | Erscheinungsjahr: [ca. 1860] | Verlag: André. Signatur: 999/Mus.1,3,154 (Regensburg, Staatliche Bibliothek).

[126] Somfai László: 'As Bela Bartok Played Classics'. Catalogue of the *Temporary Exhibition in the Museum of Music History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences* (Budapest, 1986). 22.

[127] Barth, 550.

Example 1-34b: Bars 169 – 176 (Rozsnyai Károly, Béla Bartók, 1910)



Example 1-34c: Bars 168 – 176 (Edition Cotta, Sigmund Lebert, 1892)

Evidence that supports my view includes the absence of Lebert's *fz* sign in Bartók's edition at bar 170 (Example 1-34b); the consequent *p* sign in regular font in Bartók's edition which is moved one crotchet later in Lebert's edition (Example 1-34c); and the *p* indication in Lebert's edition at bar 171 which is shown in Bartók's reading in regular font. These are all examples of the incongruities between Lebert's edition and Bartók's. Yet they all correspond in Köhler's edition and Bartók's edition (see Examples 1-34a and 1-34b).

Barth states that:

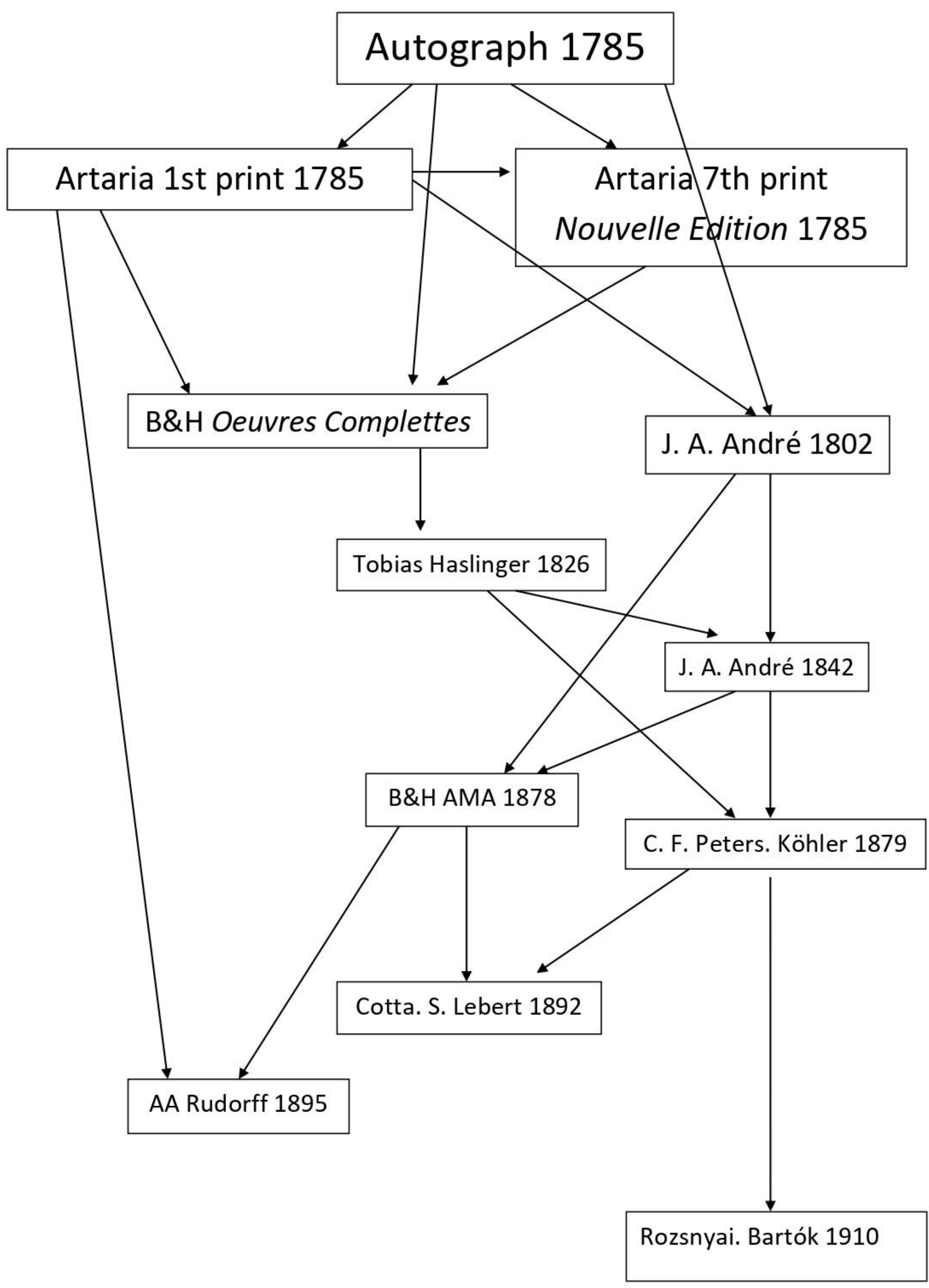
> Bartók's model is the Lebert edition, and he accepts almost exactly Lebert's ordering of the sonatas, many of Lebert's metronome marks, and, in works that were not part of his repertoire, Lebert's fingerings, amending those in the works

> he did [not? Otherwise, it would be 'he performed'] perform (as, for example, the Fantasia in C minor, K457).[128]

The analysis in this chapter demonstrates that Barth's statement is only partially true in the case of Mozart's Fantasy in C minor K475. Indeed, the analysis proves that Bartók used Köhler's edition as his only model and he took from Köhler not only the musical text but also the fingerings. However (remembering Srebrenka's and Vikárius's words regarding Lebert's influence on Bartók's performing editions), Lebert's edition had an undeniable influence on the concept behind all Bartók's performing editions.

[128] Barth, 550.

1.1.7 Editorial Line Sketch



1.2 Conclusions

> Editing mediates between 'the work' (however we may conceive such an ephemeral thing) and our understanding of it.[129]

[129] Eisen, 524

Throughout this chapter I have tried to reflect the step which always mediates between the piece – that is, the composer's original manuscript – and the resultant edition. Excluding the publishers of Artaria's first print, none of the editors of the different editions of Mozart's Fantasy in C minor mentioned here had the opportunity to discuss their interpretation of the sources with the composer. Moreover, there was not always a consensus surrounding the reasons for issuing a new edition over the past 250 years: in Mozart's period, the popularity of his music, together with the increase in the number of amateur players – especially pianists – forced many music publishing firms to publish an immense number of scores in a short time span. However, over time, this conception changed in favour of the editor, who gradually occupied a more central position in the publishing process. Consequently, 'the work' suffered a continuous distortion starting with its first edition, which includes changes to adapt it to 18th-century amateur performing practice. Later editions ensured that the performance-notation of the edition reflected a performing practice better suited to 19th-century standards (and pianos). Then, in the last four decades of the 19th century we witness the rise of a performing and musicological movement which tries to research 'the work'.

Notational problems always exist from the very first moment of the creation of a piece. However, the purposes for which musical notation is used evolves with time. In the case of the Fantasy, Mozart and his contemporary editors simply tried to adapt 'the work' and its performance to their time (that is, the late-18th-century). Late-19th-century critical editors and performers faced a notation that should be adapted to suit 19th-century circumstances and which did not correspond with the meaning of the notation in the 18th-century. It is not only 'performed music' that lives in time but also the notation in the editions from which the music is performed. When editors of *urtext* editions simply reproduce 'the work', they fail to explain what happened to it – and its performance-notation – from its origin until its arrival in our hands.

Bartók favoured musical recordings, saying that they offered 'those infinite, minute nuances which cannot be expressed notationally, yet can be immortalized in their totality on gramophone records.' However, in his opinion, live music is of even greater value 'over stored, canned music' in which the small, but insurmountable difference is 'the variability of live music'.[130] Is it true that notation cannot reflect the variability of live music? If we expect to find in scores all those minute nuances present

[130] Suchoff, 298.

in recordings, undoubtedly Bartók's statement is true. However, bearing in mind Eisen's and Dahlhaus's assertions regarding the concept of performance-notation as a reflection of the piece in some given specific circumstances, would it be possible to see Bartók's performing edition as Mozart saw Artaria's first print? Would it be possible to conceive Bartók's performing edition of Mozart's Fantasy as an ephemeral reading, one of his innumerable and genuine renderings which changes according to 'the variability of his living performances'? Would it be possible to think of music editing bearing in mind 'the variability of musical notation'? Bartók's editions reflect his performing idea of Mozart's Fantasy in a certain specific moment (i.e., his first years as a young piano teacher at the Royal Academy of Music in Budapest). But that was conceived more than 100 years ago and, consequently, forces us to confront again notational problems in his performing editions. How did he conceive musical performance in general? How did he perform the music of the Classical Viennese masters in particular? How did he teach the music of this period to his students? Was he following any particular performance manner typical from his period or, by contrast, did he have a personal performing practice? Was his personal performing style reflected through his 'performance-notation'?

Tradition means connection. The result of that chain is a legacy which should encourage every performer and editor to understand the transformation of a piece, from the autograph to its current reading. Change is an essential part of music, both notated and live.

2. Bartók's Performing Editions of Mozart's Piano Sonatas: A Hidden Tradition and Performing Style

> Your performance always comes the nearest of all to my intention. The simplest, the most articulate, the purest. And still I am not saying that you are absolutely the best pianist. Just that you perform my works in the truest style. And always remember, you are the one who will have to preserve this style, keep it alive, keep it going.[131]

After a concert broadcast on *Magyar Rádió* in which Ditta Pásztory played many of her husband's compositions,[132] Bartók appointed her as the true heiress of his 'style'. Even now, years later, Bartók scholars such as László Somfai and Vera Lampert frequently study and discuss Bartók's personal performing practice – collected in an invaluable ten-hour-collection of recordings[133] – in order to better understand the roots and the true significance of his playing. Those recordings, together with his writings[134] and more than 2000 pages of exquisitely and scrupulously notated performing editions, are perhaps the most telling examples of his performance style and the best guides to understanding his concept of a valuable performance. In this chapter I will interrelate those three aforementioned means (though regarding his performing editions I will focus my attention on Bartók's editions of Mozart's piano sonatas[135]) in order to construct a clearer picture of Bartók the pianist and the editor.

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[131] Agatha Fasset: *Béla Bartók's American Years. The Naked Face of Genius* (Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin Company, Riverside Press, 1958). 252-253.

[132] Büky Virág: 'Bartók's Heiress'. *Studia Musicologica*, Vol. 53, No. 1/3 (March 2012). 187-197. 196.

[133] *Bartók hangfelvételei Centenáriumi összikiadás*: I. album: Somfai László, Kocsis Zoltán (szerk., 1981): Bartók zongorázik 1920–1945. Eredeti hanglemezek, gépzongora[-]felvételek, koncertfelvételek. Budapest: Hungaroton, LPX 12326–33.; II. album: Somfai László, Sebestyén János, Kocsis Zoltán (szerk., 1981): Bartók hangja és zongorajátéka 1912–1944. Magánfelvételek és családi fonográfhengerek. Töredékek. Budapest: Hungaroton, LPX 12334–38.

[134] Benjamin Suchoff (ed.): *Béla Bartók Essays* (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 1992).

[135] *W. A. Mozart Szonáták zongorára*. Átnézte és ujjrenddel ellátta Bartók Béla (Budapest: Editio Musica Budapest, 1950).

2.1 Bartók's 'Inspired Simplicity' and 'Subjective Objectivity': A 'Comprehensive' Performing Practice

> In my opinion all the progressive music of our day has in common two attributes which, however, are interlinked, so to speak, like cause and effect. The one attribute is a more or less radical turning away from the music of yesterday, particularly that of the Romanticists. The second attribute is the urge to approximate the musical styles of older periods. Thus, at first, there came a weariness of the productions of the Romantic Period, and then, as a consequence of this weariness, a search for points of departure which represented the greatest possible contrast to those of the Romantic mode of expression. Half consciously and half unconsciously, composers turn to the musical productions of older days, which, in fact, represented an entire antithesis.[136]

The previous paragraph, taken from Bartók's essay, *The Folksongs of Hungary* written in 1928, explains two features of what he called 'progressive music'. Curiously, according to Somfai, 'Bartók had issues with the meaning of the words "tradition" and "modern" (or "progressive").'[137] One year before in 1927, in a draft Hungarian text, Bartók explained two opposite approaches to progressive music according to the use of those two features in it, and with the concept he established his place in the European modern music scene:

> One (for example, Stravinsky) is revolutionary; that is, on the one hand, it shows a sudden break with the music of yesterday, and on the other, it throws the whole range of dazzling novelties and new departures into the music of today. The other type seems rather to be comprehensive: a summation of all the elements available up to now. It is thus not a revolutionary break with yesterday, for it even rescues everything it can use from romanticism... that is, whatever has vitality. The most characteristic representative of this is the Hungarian Kodály.[138]

[136] Suchoff, 331.

[137] Somfai László: 'Béla Bartók's Concept of Genuine and Valuable Art'. *Danish Yearbook of Musicology* Vol. 32 (2004). 15-27. 17.

[138] Peter Laki (ed.): *Bartók and His World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995). 183.

Taking into consideration that 'it is also characteristic of Bartók's texts that when he praises Kodály's approach he usually describes his own principles',[139] it would be possible to substitute the name of 'Bartók' for that of 'Kodály' at the end of the previous quotation.

As Somfai asserts, Bartók's 'life's work as such, and personality as an artist, obviously rests on romantic foundations'.[140] However, Bartók himself started to feel that 'the excesses of the Romanticists began to be unbearable for many',[141] so a 'comprehensive' evolution from the music of the Romantics seemed necessary. How did Bartók conceive that 'comprehensive' break with the music of the past? Which were his fundamental points of departure that helped him to construct what he considered 'new music'?

> In this harking back to quite ancient musical styles, we again find that the two different methods of procedure are observed. Either there is a reversion to olden peasant music as, for instance, is the case with the Hungarian composers of my own generation and with Stravinsky's works of his so-called Russian period. Or, there is a reversion to the older art music – namely, the art music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This trend we can observe – as is generally known – among the so-called neo-classicists, and notably in Stravinsky's later works.[142]

Bartók did not avoid direct comparisons with Stravinsky in his writings. Indeed, he considered both Stravinsky and Schönberg 'the two leading composers of the last decades' ('of the two, Stravinsky is closer to me', he stated in an interview in 1926)'[143] and, moreover, two composers who developed their art 'based on a steady and continuous evolution', rather than being 'demolishing revolutionaries'.[144] However, and despite sharing a progressive understanding of new music, Bartók and Stravinsky were far from being fellow modernists.

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[139] Somfai, 17.

[140] *Bartók hangfelvételei Centenáriumi összikiadás*: I. album: Somfai László, Kocsis Zoltán (szerk., 1981): Bartók zongorázik 1920–1945. Eredeti hanglemezek, gépzongora [-] felvételek, koncertfelvételek. Budapest: Hungaroton, LPX 12326–33.

[141] Suchoff, 340.

[142] Suchoff, 331.

[143] Somfai, 19.

[144] Somfai, 18.

> About 1920, when the slogan 'objective music' was in vogue, some famous composers (Stravinsky, for instance) wrote compositions specifically for pianola, and they took advantage of all the possibilities offered by the absence of restraints that are an outcome of the structure of the human hand. The intent, however, was not to achieve superior performance but to restrict to an absolute minimum the intervention of the performer's personality. Whether or not this principle is correct is an entirely different matter.[145]

In *Mechanical Music*, one of his most famous texts, written in 1937, Bartók expresses his ideas and opinions about what he called 'mechanised music' that is: 'music in whose creation not only the human body but also some kind of machine is involved'.[146] For instance, recording music on paper through musical notation ('our notation records on music paper, more or less inadequately, the idea of the composer'[147]), or in sound by using 'contrivances with which one can record precisely every intention and idea of the composer',[148] were both acts of 'mechanising' the music by sophisticated means. However, the quote above clearly also refers to an interpretation that strives to limit human intervention by executing the score objectively.

Bartók described Stravinsky's music as 'objective', 'impersonal' and 'curious, but somewhat dry and empty'.[149] Indeed, he elaborated these judgments in an interview with Aladár Tóth in 1922. Tóth reports: 'Stravinsky naturally expounded to Bartók that [Stravinsky's] music is the most objective absolute music; it does not depict, does not symbolize, it does not express anything, it has nothing to do with emotional life, it is just line, harmony and rhythm.'[150] The Hungarian music critic Izor Béldi wrote the following after Stravinky's concert in Budapest in March 1926: '[Stravinsky's] playing was bare rhythm, without colour, spirit, and soul. It is possible that by the time our earth cools and there is ice on the equator, at that time this will be considered too. But as long as feelings and passions find a home in our hearts, this mechanical clattering, this rhythmic but colourless ticking, this mixing of tones without melody or harmony cannot

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[145] Suchoff, 291.

[146] Suchoff, 289.

[147] Suchoff, 298.

[148] *Ibid.*

[149] Somfai László: 'Classicism as Bartók Conceptualized it in His Classical Period 1926-1937'. In: Hermann Danuser (ed.): *Die Klassizistische Moderne in der Musik des. 20 Jahrhuderts* Internationalles Symposion der Paul Sacher Stiflung Basel 1996 (Winterthur: Amadeus Press, 1997). 125.

[150] Laki, 177.

be considered music.'[151] Yet with his extremely personal and 'modern' playing, Stravinsky was able to impress such a magnificent pianist as Sergei Prokofiev 'by turning himself, as far as was humanly possible, into a walking pianola',[152] as the musicologist Richard Taruskin asserts.

I would like to delve into what Bartók described as 'the most objective absolute music', which 'has nothing to do with emotional life'. Pursuing for a while Bartók's definition of Stravinsky's music, it is easy to deduce what Bartók conceived as a varied range of 'objectivity' in 'absolute music', which reached its highest points with Stravinsky's creations. Indeed, Bartók's words presume different grades of objectivity depending on how much the music relies on emotions. Was Bartók, indirectly, comparing his own music and performing style with that of Stravinsky's? Is it possible to label Bartók's music and performing practice as 'objective'?

There is a direct comparison between Bartók's and Stravinsky's performing practices in a letter that Pásztory wrote to her mother-in-law, after the same Stravinsky concert that Izor Béldi harshly criticised:

> Monday was Stravinsky's concert. Now I know quite exactly what the new direction is. Imagine, Mama, for yourself such a music, in which there is absolutely no room for feelings, in which you can find no part that causes tears to come to your eyes. You know bare rhythm, bare hammering, bare some-kind-of-timbre. I can say that the whole thing, as it is, really carries one away. Stravinsky is a magnificent genius, and we very, very much enjoyed the evening: truly one gets caught up in his miraculously beautiful-timbred machine music, music of pulsating rhythm – but if Béla would make such music, then for Béla I would not be able to be the artist that I am and always will be. Because this music is not my homeland. Mine is Béla's music, where there is also the profound pulsating rhythm, the timbre, but where the feelings live and are, and which has soul.[153]

Apparently, it is as if they were from two completely different universes. But is that really the case? In order to explore Bartók's performing practice, it is important to delve into Bartók's relationship with Nature as opposed to Stravinsky's objectivity.

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[151] Laki, 185.

[152] Richard Taruskin: 'Did He Mean It?' *Studia Musicologica,* Vol. 56, No. 1 (2015). 91-122. 107.

[153] Ditta Pásztory Bartók, letter to Paula Voit Bartók, 18 March 1926, trans. David E. Schneider in his study 'Bartók and Stravinsky: Respect, Competition, Influence, and the Hungarian Reaction to Modernism in the 1920s'. In: Péter Laki (ed.): *Bartók and His World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995). 184.

Bartók's fascination with Nature 'was religious in its devotion'.[154] In explaining his views towards Nature, Bartók declared, in a letter to Stefi Geyer: 'to be able to work, one must have zest for life, i.e., a keen interest in the living universe. One has to be filled with enthusiasm for the Trinity… of Nature, Art, and Science.'[155] Indeed, Nature can be seen as fundamental to Bartók's philosophy, and the basis of his admiration for peasant music. In fact, this relationship was explained many times by Bartók himself in his writings. For example, in his essay *The Folk Songs of Hungary*, he says: 'the difference is that we created through Nature: the peasant's art is a phenomenon of Nature.'[156]

Bartók expresses many times in his writings his admiration for 'folk music – peasant music, rural music, as he later preferred to call it – that became an endless source for him'.[157] He firmly believed that 'the Hungarian peasants, as well as the other peasant populations of pre-war Hungary, such as the Slovaks and Rumanians, possess an incredibly large musical treasure in their folk music.'[158] According to him, 'a genuine peasant melody of our [his] land is a musical example of a perfected art.'[159] Indeed, 'the right type of peasant music is the most varied and perfect in its forms. Its expressive power is amazing, and at the same time it is devoid of all sentimentality and superfluous ornaments.'[160]

The last sentence exposes two features that could be considered important characteristics of any 'objective' art: devoid of all sentimentality and superfluous ornaments. However, according to Pásztory, Bartók's playing was full of 'profound pulsating rhythm, timbre, feelings and soul'. Was Bartók contradicting himself when admiring the 'objective' features of peasant music and, at the same time, performing with feeling and pulsating rhythm? Is it possible to consider Bartók's performing style 'objective'?

Even the purest objectivity has a small percentage of subjectivity, simply because we build it from the point of view of our own life: that is, from an educational

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[154] Elliot Antokolletz, Victoria Fisher and Benjamin Suchoff (eds): *Bartók Perspectives: Man, Composer and Ethnomusicologist* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). 25.

[155] Maria Anna Harley: 'Natura naturans, natura naturata and Bartók's Folk Music Idiom'. *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae,* T. 36, Fasc. 3/4 (1995). 329-349. 329.

[156] Suchoff, 338.

[157] Somfai László: 'Béla Bartók's Concept of Genuine and Valuable Art'. 20.

[158] Suchoff, 331.

[159] Suchoff, 333.

[160] Suchoff, 341.

and ethical basis grounded in moral principles together with conscious and unconscious life experience. So over what educational ground did Bartók construct his pretended 'objective' (non-sentimental) performing practice?

As a starting point, it is important to put in context Bartók's extraordinary capability as an interpreter – even though he wanted to present himself 'as a composer rather than a pianist'.[161] On the basis of his outstanding performances of his own music, as well as performances of music by Bach, Scarlatti, Mozart, Beethoven, Chopin, Brahms and Liszt we can consider him to be among the best pianists of the 20th century. Thanks to Lampert's article[162] I had access to many of his contemporaries' testimonies, which indeed highlight unanimously his mastery and above all, the flexibility of his playing. For instance, Andor Földes remembered, from his studies with him, his 'almost uncanny sense of rhythm'. György Sándor highlighted the fact that '[he] would take the most incredible liberties when interpreting his own and other composers' works in order to bring out the structure and essence of the music'. The conductor Otto Klemperer described him as follows: 'he was a wonderful pianist and musician. The beauty of his tone, the energy and the lightness of his playing were unforgettable. It was almost painfully beautiful. He played with great freedom, that was what was so wonderful.' Regarding his 'objective' and non-sentimental performing practice, Ernő Balogh, Bartók's pupil between 1909 and 1915, declared that 'Bartók had no use for sentimental playing, which does not mean that he forbade emotional expression.'[163] Júlia Székely, in a lesson with Bartók presumably in the 1920's, highlights that, after a conversation with him about Chopin's study op. 10 no. 3, Bartók asserted: 'I don't care about the feelings of the performer, I am interested in those of the composer, and he was never sentimental.'[164]

Hence it seems that Bartók sought a kind of objectivity through a non-sentimental, simple, austere and sincere performing practice.[165] Indeed, after listening to

[161] See the extract from Bartók's letter to Calvocoressi in the article by Vikárius László 'Bartók's Neo-Classical Re-evaluation of Mozart.' In: Dobszay László et al. (ed.): *The Past in the Present*. Papers Read at the IMS Intercongressional Symposium and the 10th Meeting of the Cantus Planus. Budapest & Visegrád, 2000 (Budapest: Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music, 2003). 473–498. 487.

[162] Lampert Vera: 'Bartók at the Piano: Lessons from the Composer's Sound Recordings'. In: A. Bayley (ed.): The Cambridge Companion to Bartók (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2001). 231.242. 236-237.

[163] Malcolm Gillies: *Bartók Remembered* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1991). 46.

[164] Stachó László: 'Érzékiség és szigor: az előadóművész Bartók'. *Magyar Zene* 54 (1) (2016). 31-58. 37.

[165] See Bela Bartók's essay 'Hungarian Music', in which he described peasant music as follows: 'One of these characteristics is the complete absence of any sentimentality or exaggeration of expression. It is

his recordings of his own compositions as well as other composers' works, the most striking features of his playing are his 'peculiar, flexible, vibrant'[166] treatment of tempo, rhythm and touch product of a 'naturalness, inspired simplicity'[167] and a subjective comprehension of objectivism.

According to Somfai, 'the meaning and measure of *rubato* is the key-issue in the performance of Bartók's works'.[168] Indeed, I would assert that the meaning and measure of *rubato* in Bartók's playing is the key issue for a complete understanding of the fundamental principles of his performing practice as well. Somfai's statement continues as follows:

> Bartók did not follow 18th century treatises in his use of the term 'tempo rubato'. […] On the other hand, what he had in mind was turn-of-the-century romantic practice, the informal, declamatory *rubato* of the kind of music centred on Liszt that even stepped out of bars. The other tradition he was heir to was that of the *parlando rubato*, the speech rhythms of peasant music, that is the flexible way in which the rhythm of a tune adjusts to the text, and even to the emphatic lengthenings of particular performances.[169]

The aforementioned turn-of-the-century practice centred on Liszt could explain what Somfai usually calls the 'Vienna-Budapest tradition'.[170] Consequently, the two

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this which gives to rural music a certain simplicity, austerity, sincerity of feeling, even grandeur'. Benjamin Suchoff (ed.): *Béla Bartók Essays*. 395.

[166] Büky Virág: 'Bartók's Heiress'. 193.

[167] Somfai László: 'Béla Bartók's Concept of Genuine and Valuable Art'. 22.

[168] *Bartók hangfelvételei Centenáriumi összikiadás*: I. album: Somfai László, Kocsis Zoltán (szerk., 1981): Bartók zongorázik 1920–1945. Eredeti hanglemezek, gépzongora [-] felvételek, koncertfelvételek. Budapest: Hungaroton, LPX 12326–33.

[169] *Ibid.* See also László Somfai's 'Tempo, Metronome, Timing in Bartók's Music: The Case of the Pianist Composer' in which he describes Bartók's *rubato* as follows: 'He knew the tempo *rubato* in its old (C. Ph. E. Bach) sense, as inherited from the Austro-Hungarian tradition which he adopted not only in the rendition of 18th and 19th century music but also in his own works, even in such "drumming" pieces as the "Tambourine" in the *Nine Little Piano Pieces*. In addition, in a certain group of earlier works, including the *Rhapsody op. 1*, *Bagatelles*, *Two Elegies*, we can trace the influence of what I call the "Liszt *rubato*": an exaggerated romantic freedom in speed and beat, often *senza misura*, or as a diabolic jerkiness. But most important, owing to the special folk-music sources of his creative world, Bartók's music is rich in *parlando-rubato* styles that he thought either impossible and impractical to notate exactly, or too complicated to fit into the conception of a piece.' Somfai László: 'Tempo, Metronome, Timing in Bartók's Music: The Case of the Pianist Composer'. In: Jean-Jacques Dünki, Anton Haefeli, and Regula Rapp (eds.): *Der Grad der Bewegung: Tempovorstellungen und -koncepte in Komposition und Interpretation 1900-1950*. Basler Studien zur Musik in Theorie und Praxis I (Bern: Peter Land, 1998). 52.

[170] See Richard Taruskin's article 'Did He Mean It?' in which the author quotes the following statement by Somfai: 'It is a unique situation that one of the greatest composers of our century was also an extraordinary concert pianist who was intimately familiar with the Vienna-Budapest tradition of

main traditions to which Bartók was heir were finally exposed: the 'objective' influence of peasant music as a natural, simple and perfect art by itself; and the more emotional and 'subjective' influence of the Vienna–Budapest tradition and its Romantic foundations, in which feelings were not forbidden, as long as they were sincere and in consonance with the composer's.

In order to answer my own question – 'are Bartók's and Stravinsky's performing styles from different universes?' – it is worth quoting Arnold Schönberg regarding the influence and origins of 'objective' music:

> Today's manner of performing classical music of the so-called 'romantic' type, suppressing all emotional qualities and all unnotated change of tempo and expression, derives from the style of playing primitive dance music. This style came to Europe by way of America, where no old culture regulated presentation, but where a certain frigidity of feeling reduced all musical expression.[171]

Comparing the Bartók–Pásztory recording of Mozart's Two Piano Sonata K. 448 in D major[172] made in 1939, with the one made in the same year by Josef and Rosina Lhévinne[173] (two world-renowned pianists who built their careers in Russia and the United States) is a useful exercise to corroborate Schönberg's assertion. Despite being recorded in the same year and being performed by contemporary interpreters, after listening to both renderings, one cannot avoid being surprised about the enormous distance, in terms of musical conception, that separates them.

Throughout the exposition, the Lhévinnes' rendering is rigid in tempo. Moreover, the changing characters and textures of the music are not particularly differentiated, being clearly homogenised between both pianos. The Lhévinnes' interpretation seems to be conceived solely as a keyboard piece. In contrast, in the Bartók–Pásztory rendering there is great flexibility of tempo ('no strict adherence to

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interpreting common-practice music around the turn of the century.' Richard Taruskin: 'Did He Mean It?' *Studia Musicologica,* Vol. 56, No. 1 (2015). 91-122. 108.

171 Arnold Schönberg; 'Today's Manner of Performing Classical Music'. In: Leonard Stein (ed.): *Style and Idea* (Berkeley – Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984). 320-321.

172 *Bartók hangfelvételei Centenáriumi összkiadás*: II. album: Somfai László, Sebestyén János, Kocsis Zoltán (szerk., 1981): Bartók hangja és zongorajátéka 1912–1944. Magánfelvételek és családi fonográfhengerek. Töredékek. Budapest: Hungaroton, LPX 12334–38.

173 1st movement: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wQeV2fBozXA; 2nd movement: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eP0r9GGxi0U; 3rd movement: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3C_CXc-nb54.

it'[174]) and rhythm. This is particularly evident when putting together the two main themes, in which the rhythm is boldly declaimed and the tempo is adjusted to suit a narrative approach. There are other transitional sections in which the tempo flows faster. It sounds as if the piece was being improvised in that precise moment. Important notes are highlighted not only with dynamic stress or touch but also with slightly lengthened note values. The melody (or sometimes just several chosen notes of it) is delayed in relation to the bass in order to highlight it within the musical speech. In the second movement, spreading chords for emphasis and bringing out clashes within a harmony is a common practice in the Bartók–Pásztory recording which we barely find in Lhevinne's one.[175] As Somfai emphasised about Bartók's recordings, 'expression and rich musical characters are more important than correct technique'.[176] Indeed, the ability of Bartók and Pásztory to capture the orchestral spirit, full of changing characters according to Mozart's operatic conception of music, is deeply admirable. One cannot deny the natural inspiration and objectivity of feelings that the Bartók–Pásztory rendering shows.

A deep connection with Nature was exactly what Bartók was missing in the 'objective' music he referred to, that he felt was permeated by city culture,[177] the same culture that influenced atonal music and despoiled it from its natural relationship between tension and relaxation. Paradoxically, Nature is the source of inspiration for both Bartók's subjective and objective conceptions of music: the relationships present in tonal music were the main source for the subjectivity of his own emotions; however, they come from his beloved Nature, and are also the main source of inspiration for his objective and non-sentimental conception of performing music. Schönberg's short text finishes with the following inspiring words:

> Why is music written at all? Is it not a romantic feeling which makes you listen to it? Why do you play the piano when you could show the same skill on a typewriter?[178]

[174] Lampert, 237.

[175] Somfai László: *Béla Bartók: Composition, Concepts, and Autograph Sources* (London: University of California Press., 1996). 294.

[176] *Ibid.*, 295.

[177] Suchoff, 316.

[178] Schönberg, 321.

Perhaps, it is not only through Bartók's recordings that it is possible to hear how Nature (through peasant music as its instinctive inspiration) became an intimate and inseparable part of him. Perhaps it can be heard and discovered through his performing editions of Mozart's piano sonatas as well.

2.2 A Written Performing Tradition

According to Hermann Danuser in his essay on composition and traditional performing practice, there were four different mechanisms with which composers in the 20th century could transmit their ideas of performing their own works: first, by giving performance instructions in the text; second, by communicating their conception orally or in writing; third by realising and recognising 'exemplary' performances; and fourth by fixing the authoritative performance on a recording medium.[179]

As we have corroborated in this thesis, Bartók used all the aforementioned means to communicate his performing ideas about his own music and about pieces by other composers. In the case of performing editions that he produced from works by Bach, Mozart, Haydn and Beethoven among others, Bartók used three of the above-mentioned channels of transmission: namely, teaching at the piano, writing performance instructions on the original text,[180] and, in a few cases, recording the pieces that he had edited.[181]

Besides the roots and the significance of Bartók's performing practice, Bartók's efforts for conveying to the public, in the most accurate system available, exactly what he considered a valuable performance of a piece – especially regarding his own music – were considerable. Perhaps there is no better explanation of those efforts than the famous and oft- cited sentence in his essay *Mechanical Music*:

> The existence of contrivances with which one can record precisely every intention and idea of the composer is indeed of great importance.'[182] [The

[179] Translation, given by Vera Lampert in his article 'Bartók at the piano: lessons from the composer's sound recordings', of Hermann Danuser's 'Auktoriale Aufführungstradition'. In: Angelo Pompilio *et al.* (ed.): *Atti del XIV Congresso della società Internazionale di Musicologia*, Vol. 3, 1987 (Turin: E.D.T. Edizioni do Torino, 1990). 332.

[180] See chapter I, subchapter 1.2.6 'Instruktive Ausgabe. Performing Practice at the End of the 19th century' in which I discuss the sources of Bartók's performing edition of Mozart's Fantasy in particular and the sources of Bartók's performing editions of Mozart's Sonatas in general.

[181] The only pieces that he edited and recorded were the four Scarlatti Sonatas L.286, L.135, L.293 and L.50 and the six variations op. 34 by Beethoven (only an excerpt of the theme and the first variation).

[182] Suchoff, 298.

> gramophone] offers the possibility for composers to pass on to the world their compositions not only as musical scores but in the form of their personal appearance. […] those infinite, minute nuances which cannot be expressed notationally, yet can be immortalised in their totality on gramophone records.[183]

The limitations of musical notation and its changes in meaning, which were both discussed in the first chapter of this work, are well-known. Indeed, the singularity of each piece, which is partially rooted in the stylistic evolution of music, is intrinsically related to the constant development in the meaning of its notation. However, having previously talked about the flexibility and spontaneity of Bartók's playing, it is at this point that we face an apparent contradiction in Bartók: a meticulous and almost obsessively accurate notation in contrast to his improvisatory-like performing practice.

On the one hand, Bartók considered all the distinctive nuances of his personal performing style not just an essential part of the music, but the genuine expression of the music itself. On the other hand, he was extremely meticulous with the process of notating his musical scores, as well as his performing editions.[184] However, is that really a contradiction? Does a 'Bartókian' performance imply a more ambiguous score in the same way that a Stravinsky-like performance demands absolutely unequivocal notation? In my opinion, by no means. The enthusiasm that Bartók genuinely showed for the gramophone's capability in revealing detail is equally present in his performing editions through the meticulousness of his notation. There is an obvious relationship between his notation and his predilection for all 'those infinite, minute nuances' present in gramophone recordings. His personal performing practice and his interest in leaving accurate and detailed renderings of his and other composers' pieces through gramophone recordings as well as through meticulous performing editions are different manifestations of the same musical persona. In fact, both fields are intimately linked to one another. As far as the former represents his musical '*credo*', the latter represents his faithfulness and commitment to it. Indeed, the freedom and flexibility that is characteristic of his performing style were not inconsistent or capricious so, by the same token, the 'variability' of his own performances, in which he firmly believed, was not anarchic. It is precisely his aim to represent the essence of that 'traditionally rooted'

[183] *Ibid*., 292.

[184] The editorial evolution of Mozart's piano sonatas as well as several features of Bartók's editorial work in those sonatas – special attention put on size differentiation between original and added indications – was studied and explained at Chapter I 'The Editorial Evolution of Mozart's Fantasy in C minor K. 475: From Mozart to Bartók'.

variability and flexibility that led him to explore and broaden the limits of notation in his performing editions.

> There is no substitute [for the irreplaceable superiority] of live music over stored, canned music. This substitute is the variability of music. That which lives changes from moment to moment; music recorded by machines hardens into something stationary. […] the composer himself, when he is the performer of his own composition, does not perform his work in exactly the same way [every time]. Why? Because he lives; because perpetual variability is a trait of a living creature's character.[185]

Bartók's statement shows a sort of hierarchy of music performance in which live music occupies the highest position over recorded music. Moreover, Bartók clearly asserts that live music has something that 'stored' music could never achieve: 'the variability of music'. Thus, 'live music' and 'stored, canned music' were two different and separate elements with different functions. Indeed, the previous paragraph helps us to understand that Bartók did not want to notate all the minute details and nuances produced by the spontaneous inspiration and variability of live music. But he did want to commit to paper the performing essence of his playing, one that his recordings could demonstrate even without that spontaneity that live music intrinsically bears.[186] In other words, he advocated his personal way of performing the music in which the content and the interpretation are intimately linked by his own subjective conception of what objectivity means.

Consequently, it seems evident that an analysis of Bartók's performing editions of Mozart's piano sonatas will reveal important information regarding his notation and his musicianship. Somfai, in his exhibition catalogue from 1986 'As Béla Bartók Played Classics', explained the importance of Bartók's performing editions as follows:

> His performing editions made in the 1910s have naturally become antiquated by now, and are not to be used in teaching any more [in fact, however, they are being used again nowadays], nevertheless they represent a unique source.

[185] Suchoff, 298.

[186] Studio recordings seemed to affect his spontaneity directly. In the words of Somfai, 'he [Bartók] preferred a faultless rendition to another that was more poetic but had wrong notes.' Somfai László: *Béla Bartók: Composition, Concepts, and Autograph Sources*. 281.

> Thanks to the very elaborate instructions, the musicianship and performing ideals of Bartók appear here in an extremely vivid manner.[187]

However, many questions remain: How did Bartók convey in his performing editions his personal conception of each piece with only the help of musical notation? Was he able to communicate his ideas and performing practice, as well as the performing tradition that he had inherited? The next section focuses on Bartók's performing editions of Mozart's piano sonatas and their utility for today's performers as sources for approaching Bartók as a composer, pianist and editor with greater understanding.

2.3 Bartók's Performing Editions of Mozart's Piano Sonatas

Distinguishing between Bartók's additions and the existing indications in his sources is of capital importance in understanding the significance of his notation. In the introduction of her dissertation *Béla Bartók's Edition of Mozart's Piano Sonatas*, Igrec Srebrenka exposes the three editorial editions on which Bartók based his texts: 'Those sources were the Breitkopf and Härtel [sic] 1878 edition (*Gesammtausgabe*) and that publisher's 1895 edition of Mozart sonatas (*Urtextausgabe*), as well as '*Ausgewählte Sonaten and andere Stücke für das Pianoforte*', an instructive edition of Mozart's sonatas published by *Cottaschen Buchhandlung* ("Cotta's Bookstore") in 1871.'[188] However, Srebrenka indicates that Bartók did not use those sources for his editions of Mozart's Fantasy and Sonata in C minor K. 475/457 and Sonatas K. 498a in B flat major, K. 533/494 in F major and K. 547a in F major. As showed in the first chapter of this work, Bartók probably used Louis Köhler's edition (1879) as the main source for his edition of Mozart's Fantasy and Sonata in C minor K. 475/457. Thus, the number of editorial sources he used increases, opening new horizons of musicological research in this field.

> At Rozsnyai's request Bartók edited 20 sonatas by Mozart in 1910 – 1912; in addition to the 18 pieces of the Cotta series he also revised K. 282 and 570, plus

[187] Somfai László: 'As Bela Bartok Played Classics'. Catalogue of the *Temporary Exhibition in the Museum of Music History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences* (Budapest, 1986). 22.

[188] Igrec Srebrenka: *Béla Bartók's Edition of Mozart's Piano Sonatas* (Baton Rouge: The Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical Col., 1993). 4.

> *Fantasia* K. 396. His first and probably most ambitious Mozart edition was the *Fantasia* and Sonata in C minor K. 475/457.[189]

In this quote Somfai contextualises Bartók's editorial work on Mozart's piano sonatas and highlights Mozart's Fantasy and Sonata in C minor as his most remarkable edition. Thanks to the invaluable help and work of Professor László Vikárius, I have been able to establish two different chronological orders of Bartók's editions of Mozart's sonatas, depending on the plate numbers of the Rozsnyai edition or on the contracts made by Bartók with his publisher.

According to the plate numbers of the Rozsnyai edition (R.K.), the chronological order of Bartók's editions is as follows (the number before the key represents Bartók's numbering in his edition and I have only used the old Köchel numbers for identification):

- No. 18. C minor, Fantasy K475 and Sonata K457 (R.K.485)
- No. 9. A major, K331 (R.K.550)
- No. 16. A minor, K310 (R.K.551)
- No. 2. G major, K283 (R.K.632)
- No. 1. C major, K545 (R.K.640)
- No. 7. F major, K332 (R.K.686)
- No. 3. C major, K330 (R.K.727)
- No. 4. F major, K Anh. 135 & 138 (K547a) (R.K.731)
- No. 5. C major, K279 (R.K.732)
- No. 6. F major, K280 (R.K.733)
- No. 8. B-flat major, K281 (R.K.734)
- No. 10. B-flat major, K333 (R.K.735)
- No. 11. C major, K309 (R.K.736)
- No. 12. B-flat, K570 (R.K.737)
- No. 13. D major, K311 (R.K.738)
- No. 14. D major, K576 (R.K.739)
- No. 15. A major, K576 (R.K.740)
- No. 17. F major (R.K.741)
- No. 19. E-flat major, K282 (R.K.872)
- No. 20. B-flat major (R.K.873)

[189] Somfai, 22.

However, if one looks into Bartók's contracts with the publisher, the order is somewhat blurred. It is questionable, for instance, whether the sonatas with consecutive plate numbers (R.K.731–741) were edited in that order or rather in a somewhat different order. That Bartók started with the C minor Sonata – perhaps also the Fantasy – and then went on editing the A major and A minor sonatas seems certain. The sonatas should be clearly identifiable, since they are now mentioned with key, now with Breitkopf & Härtel number and now with the number in the Cotta edition. In any case, 20 sonatas are mentioned in the contracts, so they might be complete:

- before 23 Sept.? 1910: C minor Fantasy and Sonata.
- 23 Sept. 1910: A major, A minor, C minor Fantasy (mentioned again).
- 4 Nov. 1910: nos. 2 and 5.
- 27 Jan. 1911: F major (in 3/4 time).
- 9 May 1911: C major, no. 10.
- 28 Sept. 1911: B-flat major, no. 13, D major, no. 17 (Breitkopf & Härtel numbering).
- 6 Oct. 1911: C major, no. 5, C major, no. 11, F major, no. 6.
- 13 Oct. 1911: D major, no. 13, B-flat major, no. 8, D major, no. 15.
- 27 Oct. 1911: revised nos. 19, 12 (Breitkopf & Härtel numbering: nos. 4 and 16).
- 13 Nov. 1911: C major, no. 1, F major, no. 4, F major, no. 17 (Cotta edition).
- 15 April 1912: no. 20.

The following survey contains five different tables in which all the indications and specific notation in Bartók's Mozart editions are listed. I divided the analysis of his notation into five large groups: (1) articulation signs: accentuation, separation of the notes and written articulation indications; (2) dynamic indications and dynamic range; (3) tempo signs and metronome marks; (4) agogic indications; and (4) written performing indications.

2.3.1 Articulation Signs

Table 2-1: Articulation Signs

Accentuation signs	Separation signs	Accentuation + Separation	Written articulation indications
_ _ _ *tenuto*	· · · *staccato*		*marcato (poco marcato, molto marcato, marcatissimo, molto marcato il basso)*
(fp) Weaker *marcato* sign	‒̣ ‒̣ ‒̣ Half *tenuto*	>̣ *marcato* + *staccato*	*legato (non legato, legatissimo, molto legato, non legato ma tenuto)*
sfp, poco sfp	⌒ Slurred *staccato*	>̠ *marcato* + *tenuto*	*pesante (poco pesante)*
> *marcato*	| Interruption of the sound without an extra rest	> ‒̣ *marcato* + half *tenuto*	*martellato*
> bigger *marcato* sign	, comma: not only an interruption, but also an additional rest	Λ̣ *marcatissimo* + *staccato*	*stacc. (staccato)*
Λ *marcatissimo*	Legato signs	Λ̠ *marcatissimo* + *tenuto*	*egualmente*
sf , *poco* sf	⌒ Phrasing/ *legato* slur	Λ ‒̣ *marcatissimo* + half *tenuto*	*leggiero*
sff	⌒· Phrasing/ *legato* slur (shorter end)		*lunga*
	·⌒ Phrasing/ *legato* slur (shorter end) equally used		*tenuti*

Articulation in Bartók’s performing editions is probably one of the most complex aspects of his editorial work. As shown in Table 2-1, the articulation signs can be divided into three groups: accentuation, separation and legato signs. The third column – accentuation + separation – is the result of the combination of the first two groups, giving to the music a great range of possibilities. The fourth column shows all the Italian terms used by Bartók for indicating different types of articulation – most of them have subtle character implications as well. This organisation is essentially based

upon the division that Somfai shows in several of his articles about Bartók,[190] but with small changes that I will comment upon later.

During the analysis of the recordings made by the Bartóks and the Lhévinnes, I highlighted Bartók's use of different lengths and accentuations between the notes in order to establish a hierarchy between them within the musical speech. Table 2-1 presents all kinds of articulation markings added by Bartók, previously identified after a comparison with the sources that he used for his editions, and shows the richness of Bartók's performing practice regarding the declamation and articulation of the musical delivery. Indeed, as mentioned in subchapter 2.1, that hierarchy depends directly on a congruent relationship between length and accentuation of the notes and their structural importance within the piece or the passage. In fact, both the accentuation and the length of notes are the smallest means that the performer has available for building up the musical delivery. On a higher level, variability of tempo, rhythmic flexibility and dynamic inflections (all intimately related with the traditions to which Bartók was heir) also had a crucial role in the construction of the work.[191]

Bearing in mind that Bartók 'treated the edition he based the particular sonata on as the *Urtext* – that is, original text – by retaining most of the articulation markings and other indications of that edition',[192] I agree with Srebrenka's criteria to categorize Bartók's additional articulation signs into two big basic groups as follows: 'changes and additions to pre-existing articulation markings' and 'articulation markings added to previously unmarked passages'.[193] Srebrenka divided the first category into two further groups: 'changes to pre-existing articulation markings' and 'articulation markings added to pre-existing articulation'.[194]

In the following extracts I will show examples of Bartók's meticulousness while notating the smallest nuances regarding the accentuation and the separation or connection of notes.

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[190] Somfai: *Béla Bartók: Composition, Concepts, and Autograph Sources*. See also Somfai's 'Critical Edition with or without Notes for the Performer'. *Studia Musicologica,* Vol. 53, No. 1/3 (March 2012). 113-140. 126-127.

[191] For the structural function of Bartók's dynamic indications – more specifically, the significance of his opening-closing hairpins in the construction of the whole structure of the piece within the performance of it – see Stachó László: 'Érzékiség és szigor: az előadóművész Bartók'. *Magyar Zene* 54 (1) (2016).

[192] Srebrenka, 11.

[193] For a detailed categorisation of Bartók's additional articulation markings, see the subchapter 'Articulation markings' in Srebrenka's dissertation *Béla Bartók's edition of Mozart's piano sonatas*. 10-33.

[194] *Ibid*.

Example 2-1a: Beginning of the first movement of Sonata K. 331 in A major (AMA, 1878)

Example 2-1b: Beginning of the first movement of Sonata K. 331 in A major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

Examples 2-1a and 2-1b show two versions of the first bars of Mozart's Sonata K. 331 in A major. Example 2-1a is from the AMA edition (1878) on which Bartók, according to Srebrenka, based his edition of the piece; Example 2-1b (and most of the examples shown in this chapter, excluding the excerpts of the Fantasy and Sonata in C minor K. 475/457) shows the new edition that Editio Musica made in 1950 of Rozsnyai Károly's Bartók's performing edition of Mozart's piano sonatas from 1910.

All the indications in Example 2-1b are signs added by Bartók to a previously unmarked passage. Indeed, Bartók respected scrupulously all the slurs provided by the AMA, but nevertheless he decided to include *tenuto* and *half-tenuto* indications. Looking carefully at Bartók's edition, it is noticeable that he always placed the *tenuto* sign on the main beats of the bar, leaving the shorter *half-tenuto* sign for the weaker parts, reflecting the direct influence of the bar in the organisation of the music. Consequently, the relationship between the length of the notes and their importance within the musical delivery is emphasized at the beginning of this sonata.

In the following quote from his *Violinschule*, Leopold Mozart describes how different bar accentuations were understood in Mozart's time:

> Generally, the accent of the expression or the stress of tone falls on the ruling or strong beat, which the Italians call *Nota Buona*. These strong beats, however,

> differ perceptibly from each other. The especially strong beats are as follows: In every bar, the first note of the first crotchet, the first note of the half-bar or third crotchet in 4/4 time; the first note of the first and fourth crotchets in 6/4 or quavers in 6/8 time; and the first note of the first, fourth, seventh, and tenth quavers in 12/8 time. These may be called the strong beats on which the chief stress of the tone always falls if the composer has indicated no other expression.[195]

Indeed, knowing that Bartók 'knew the tempo *rubato* in its old – C. Ph. E. Bach – sense, as inherited from the Austro-Hungarian tradition which he adopted not only in the rendition of 18th and 19th century music but also in his own works',[196] Bartók's connection with the classics through the Vienna–Budapest tradition becomes self-evident.

All the necessary different levels of weight, density and touch – nuances that, if correctly combined, result in the establishment of a musical hierarchy – are represented through both signs. According to Srebrenka, 'Bartók explained *half-tenuto* as an indication for duration as well as for touch: the note with the *half-tenuto* sign should be played with the *tenuto* touch, and the note's duration should be held at least one-half of its full rhythmic value.'[197]

However, the organisation of the notes and their importance within the musical delivery does not always correspond equally to the same musical phenomena. Larger-scale elements, such as phrase structure, harmonic progressions or special rhythmic cells are often combined by the composer, altering the expected bar hierarchy (accentuation) and, consequently, showing an unexpected development of the musical rhetoric. Bartók cleverly interpreted all those elements in their different contexts through his recordings and performing editions (both equally telling). For instance, Example 2-2a shows the 1878 AMA edition – Bartók's source for Mozart's Sonata K. 576 in D major – and Bartók's edition of the same sonata.

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[195] Leopold Mozart: *A Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing*, trans. Editha Knocker (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1951). 219.

[196] Somfai László: 'Tempo, Metronome, Timing in Bartók's Music: The Case of the Pianist Composer'. 52.

[197] Srebrenka, 28. At the same time, she took the information from Benjamin Suchoff's *Guide to Bartok's 'Mikrokosmos'* (London: Boosey and Hawkes Music Publishers Limited, 1971). 14.

Example 2-2a: Beginning of the first movement of Sonata K. 576 in D major (AMA, 1878)

Example 2-2b: Beginning of the first movement of Sonata K. 576 in D major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

If we compare the first bars of Sonata K. 331 (Examples 2-1a and 2-1b) and Sonata K. 576 (Examples 2-2a and 2-2b), it is noticeable that both were written in 6/8 time. However, due to performing considerations such as tempo, character and phrasing, the articulation signs added by Bartók in the Sonata K. 576 (Example 2-2b) are more diverse. The homogeneous *tenuto* and *half-tenuto* signs written at the beginning of Sonata K. 331 call for a *semplice* (an indication added by Bartók) and somehow 'static' or less flexible performance. However, the combination of *marcato*, *marcato-plus-staccato* and *half-tenuto* at the beginning of Sonata K. 576 furnishes the phrase directing it – together with other performing indications – towards the fourth bar. Indeed, it seems that Bartók used the articulation signs for two different purposes: firstly, and most obvious, to articulate the musical delivery – according to his editorial source and to all the aforementioned musical elements such as bar, harmony, original articulation, etc.; secondly, to indicate the proper touch and the correct performance of all the different levels of density which, in the end, result in a subtle phrasing suggestion.

The following examples will shed more light upon Bartók's use of articulation signs.

Example 2-3a: Bars 35-40 of the third movement of Sonata K. 315 in B flat major (AMA, 1878)

Example 2-3b: Bars 35-40 of the third movement of Sonata K. 315 in B flat major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

Examples 2-3a and 2-3b, taken from Mozart's B flat major Sonata K. 315, demonstrate the previously-mentioned subtle phrasing suggestion, shown only through additional articulation signs. Between bars 36 and 38, the right hand has the same articulation while a three-bar *crescendo* indication runs through the whole passage. However, the left hand contains the information of the harmonic progression. So, it is articulated leading from a light *staccato* at bar 36 to the last *marcatissimo* at bar 38 – including, in between, a *marcatissimo*-plus-*half-tenuto* understood as an intermediate degree of intensity. Indeed, the comparison between Bartók's edition and his source reflects the level of erudition and accuracy present in his performing editions, both entirely necessary due to their pedagogical purposes. Indeed, Barth establishes a relationship between the aforementioned level of detail – in his words, 'almost obsessive'[198] – and the main purpose of Bartók's editions, explaining that 'Bartók's assignment from his publisher Rozsnyai was to create an edition for students in the provinces, where music instruction was felt to be primitive at best.'[199]

Equally important to the level of separation and accentuation of the notes was the connection – *legato* – and organisation of groups of notes in motives or phrases –

[198] George Barth: 'Mozart Performance in the 19th Century'. *Early Music,* Vol. 19, no. 4 (1991). 538-555. 550.

[199] *Ibid.*

articulation phrasing – under slurs. However, in the preface to the *Notenbüchlein für Anna Magdalena Bach*,[200] Bartók warned the performer about the fact that both phrasing and *legato* were expressed with the same symbol – a slur. Indeed, as Somfai mentioned, Bartók, due to a logical scarcity of articulation signs in the source of his edition of Bach's *Wohltemperirtes Klavier*, was 'free to use a two-level system of slurring, one for indicating *legato* performance (or in combination with *staccato* and *tenuto* signs, other kinds of touch), and another for suggesting musical phrasing.'[201] Indeed, Somfai explains that 'it is not always immediately clear what is what: whether a long slur indicates *legato* and the short ones under it phrasing, or vice versa.'[202] The same notational problem is present in Bartók's editions of Mozart's sonatas: even though he was not equally free to add slurs, he was able to modify the existent ones.

Example 2-4a: Bars 8-9 of the first movement of Sonata K. 189g in E flat major (AMA, 1878)

Example 2-4b: Bars 7-9 of the first movement of Sonata K. 189g in E flat major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

The extracts of Sonata K. 189g (Examples 2-4a and 2-4b) above demonstrate Bartók's modification of the pre-existing articulation. The way in which he intelligently changed the quasi-homogeneous and less telling slurring offered by his editorial source at the first two beats of bar 8 represents a good example of his musicianship. Both upper

[200] Notenbüchline für Anna Magdalena (Rozsnyai 1st edn., 1916).

[201] Somfai László: 'Nineteenth-Century Ideas Developed in Bartók's Piano Notation in the Years 1907 – 14'. *19th-Century Music* XI/1 (Summer, 1987). 73-91. 80.

[202] *Ibid.,* 82.

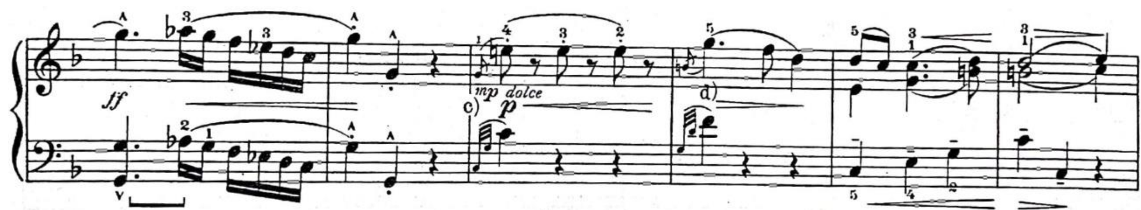
and inner slurs have different lengths and meanings. In my opinion, while the inner slur clearly reflects a two-group articulation for the inner voice, the upper one suggests an independent – in his source, completely parallel – phrasing for the melody, inviting a bigger emphasis upon that line – not in volume, but rather in touch – in the first two semiquavers of the second slur. Clive Brown discusses the accepted performance of slurs written during the Classic and Romantic eras (which implies a minute separation between them) and the challenge of interpreting them.

> During the Classic and Romantic periods, slurs fundamentally meant that the notes that they embraced had to be linked one to another smoothly, as in a vocal melisma or in a figuration written for string instruments which the performer interpreted with a single and continuous movement of the bow. A slur could also imply other things, such as the execution of the phrase in *legato*, which must be deduced by taking into account the period, the background and the notational conventions of each composer, and the musical context. For instance, it is important to determine if the music has been conceived for strings, wind, keyboard or voice, or if it reveals other signs of having been carefully notated (or not). Since the 'natural' bow movement during the pre-Classical period involved a certain accent at the beginning of the slur and a certain separation between different bow movements, a tendency soon emerged to see this interpretive style as something inherent, to some extent, to the notation and to the meaning of the slurs in music written for other instruments.[203]

[203] This extract is my own translation of the beginning of Clive Brown's article 'Ligaduras y articulación durante el Clasicismo y el Romanticismo (1750 – 1900)'. *Quodlibet*, n.21, 2001 (2001). 27-59. 27. The article is from Clive Brown's book *Classic and Romantic Performance 1750 – 1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). The original Spanish text is as follows: 'Durante el Clasicismo y el Romanticismo la ligadura significaba fundamentalmente que las notas que abrazaba debían enlazarse unas con otras suavemente, como en un melisma vocal o en una figuración que un instrumentista de cuerda interpretara con un solo movimiento continuo del arco. La ligadura podía connotar otros significados relativos a la ejecución de la frase en modo *legato* que deben deducirse en parte del periodo, de la formación y de los hábitos del compositor relativos a la notación, y en parte del contexto musical. Por ejemplo, es importante determinar si la música ha sido concebida para cuerdas, pensando en los instrumentos de viento, en un instrumento de teclado, o en la voz, o si revela otros signos de haber sido anotada con cuidado, etc. Puesto que el movimiento de arco „natural" durante el preclasicismo suponía un determinado acento al comienzo y una cierta separación entre los distintos movimientos de arco, desde pronto surgió una tendencia a ver este estilo interpretativo como algo inherente, en cierta medida, a la notación y al significado de la ligadura en la música destinada a otros instrumentos'.

Example 2-5a: Bars 38-45 of the first movement of Sonata K. 300k in F major (AMA, 1878)

Example 2-5b: Bars 39-44 of the first movement of Sonata K. 300k in F major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)



Another fundamental aspect of Bartók's performing practice, as I mentioned in subchapter 2.1, is his captivating declamation of the notes. Indeed, it is well known that Bartók had a non-pianistic interpretation of Mozart's piano works. This can be corroborated by reading Bartók's footnote on the first page of his performing edition of Mozart's Fantasy in C minor, in which he compared the original *forte* written by Mozart with 'an actual *f*, a quasi-orchestral *f*'.[204] Supporting this idea, Vikárius translated a paragraph of Júlia Székely's book 'Bartók tanár úr' into English in which she asserts that 'in teaching [Mozart's] piano works, he always checked whether the pupil was familiar with the rules governing the scoring of Mozart's orchestral works.'[205] Moreover, Somfai gave us a new point of view of Bartók as a composer and performer when he asserted that 'characters and allusions within his oeuvre – perhaps similar to Mozart's instrumental characters with reference to his operas – interconnect Bartók's stage works – the lake of tears, his wooden prince, etc. – and instrumental pieces with or without character titles.'[206] Such an interconnection between instrumental and stage works allows me to compare the previous extract of Bartók's edition of Sonata K. 300k

[204] *W. A. Mozart Szonáták zongorára*. Átnézte és ujjrenddel ellátta Bartók Béla (Budapest: Editio Musica Budapest, 1950). 251.

[205] Vikárius, 494.

[206] Somfai László: *Béla Bartók: Composition, Concepts and Autograph Sources* (London: University of California Press, 1996) 295.

(Example 2-5b) with the following extract of his edition of Mozart's Fantasy in C minor K. 475 (Example 2-6b).

Example 2-6a: Bars 9-10 of Fantasy K. 475 in C minor (C. F. Peter, Louis Köhler, 1879)

Example 2-6b: Bars 10-11 of Fantasy K. 475 in C minor (Rozsnyai Károly, Béla Bartók, 1910)

In the appendix to Bartók's revised second edition of Bach's *Wohltemperirtes Klavier Bd. I*,[207] Bartók wrote that 'the *half-tenuto* sign means a sort of semi-shortness combined with [a] *tenuto*-touch. The interpretation of the *portamento* sign is closely related to it. The only difference between the two is that the *portamento* [recte: *portato*] requires a greater degree of ease [*Leichtigkeit*]' (as translated by Somfai).[208] In the extract of Sonata K. 300k shown above (Example 2-5b), Bartók clearly furnished the three 'naked' quavers of the AMA edition (Example 2-5a) with a *portamento* [sic] sign (usually called *portato* or slurred *staccato*). However, in his edition of Mozart's Fantasy in C minor (Example 2-6b), Bartók furnished the whole accompaniment in semiquavers with *half-tenuto* signs. In my opinion, apart from the difference in the 'degree of ease' between them, Bartók consciously used the slurred *staccato* sign for passages permeated by the operatic character present in Mozart's music, so their vocal nature becomes self-evident. However, Bartók used the *half-tenuto* sign in passages in which

[207] J. S. Bach. Wohltemperirtes Klavier, Band I. Editor: Béla Bartók (R. K. 246), ca. 1913.

[208] Somfai László: 'Nineteenth-Century Ideas Developed in Bartók's Piano Notation in Years 1907-1914'. 81.

Mozart's orchestral mind was more noticeable. This becomes obvious while listening to the Bartók–Pásztory recording of Mozart's two piano Sonata K. 448 in D major. Indeed, by listening to the recording and following the AMA 1878 edition of the piece (Example 2-7a), one can appreciate that Bartók's performance of the D major theme in the second movement is truly revealing. Both the AMA and the modern NMA include the slurred *staccato* in this passage. But in the second and third beats of the motive, Bartók uses a quasi-*pesante* touch in the left hand (as if it were furnished with *half-tenuto* signs) whilst playing a lighter and *cantabile* touch in the right hand – hypothetically marked *portato.* exactly as he described it in the appendix to Bach's *Wohltemperirtes Klavier*.

Example 2-7: Bars 49-55 of the second movement of Sonata for Two Pianos K. 448 in D major (AMA, 1878)

It is worth commenting on the two articulation signs present in Examples 2-8a and 2-8b: namely, the *staccato* dot at the end of a slur and the bigger *marcato* sign which was not, in fact, mentioned by Srebrenka.

Example 2-8a: Beginning of the third movement of Sonata K. 315 in B flat major (AMA, 1878)

Example 2-8b: Beginning of the third movement of Sonata K. 315 in B flat major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

Often Bartók added *staccato* and *tenuto* signs at the end of the slurs provided by his sources. However, according to Srebrenka, 'Bartók was inconsistent with his practice of indicating short endings of slurs; often he did not indicate *staccato* markings in subsequent measures with similar musical text.'[209] Yet Bartók's 'inconsistency' corresponds, most of the times, to a musical purpose. Bartók, in his preface to Bach's *Notenbüchlein für Anna Magdalena*,[210] wrote a special warning, revealing that, in his youth, eighteenth-century keyboard traditions were still alive:

> The end of a slur marking the phrase by no means indicates that the note under the end of the slur is played staccato, or that the duration of it should be shortened at all. This is the case only if there is a staccato sign (dot) above the last note of the phrase or a sign of division (|) after it.[211]

Indeed, in the same preface to Bach's music, Bartók illustrated his point with the following explanation: 'both phrasing and legato were conventionally expressed with a slur'.[212] Further clarification is provided by Somfai, who asserts that 'an eighteenth-century practice was still valid in the first decade of this century [the twentieth century]: Bartók wanted to prevent the pianist from playing the last note under a slur automatically short'.[213] Since the same symbol expresses two different meanings, Bartók felt it necessary to fix and clarify the performance of both articulations by using additional *staccato* dots to differentiate one from the other. Consequently, he was not inconsistent in his practice, but wanted to specify the length and character of the notes at the end of a *legato* slur.

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209 Srebrenka, 23.

210 Notenbüchline für Anna Magdalena (Rozsnyai 1st edn., 1916).

211 Somfai László: *Béla Bartók: Composition, Concepts and Autograph Sources*. 266.

212 Somfai László: 'Nineteenth-Century Ideas Developed in Bartók's Piano Notation in Years 1907-1914'. 82.

213 *Ibid.*

Bartók was however inconsistent when it came to putting the *staccato* dot inside or outside at the end of some slurs. Somfai asserts that 'for the major part of his oeuvre the notation of the slur-and-staccato ending was conventional in Bartók's handwriting: the dot either continued the curve of the slur or was between the end of the slur and the note; sometimes (if the articulation was above and not under the notes), whether intentionally or not, it was outside the curve.'[214] According to Somfai, 'Bartók was still learning the nuances of notation in 1908, and the vast amount of earlier piano music for which he was to prepare performing editions in the following years became the central medium of his self-education.'[215] Indeed, Bartók's editorial work of other composers' music and his experimental search for new musical notation – i.e. inside-outside slur-and-staccato endings – led him to become 'fussy about whether the dot was inside [...] or outside' during the 1930s.[216] In fact, 'the staccato outside the slur appears in his piano music edited for print in the second half of the 1930s (e.g. *Mikrokosmos*).'[217] However, the composition of his Second Violin Concerto (1937/1938) and his work with the violinist Zoltán Székely, whose 'most elaborate interference in the notation concerned the length and final position of slurs',[218] seem to have had a particular influence on Bartók's use of this articulation sign in his late years. In fact, in a letter to Boosey & Hawkes in December 1939, Bartók explains that 'in string (bow-) instruments (a) 'dot inside the slur' and (b) 'dot outside the slur' have a different meaning. (a) means an interruption before the last quaver, (b) means a shorter sound of the last note, without any interruption.'[219]

A completely new and interesting accentuation sign appears in Bartok's edition of sonatas K. 284b (first movement: bar 114; third movement: bars 30, 145, 149, 150, 199, 235, 247 and 249), K. 315 (third movement: bars 2 and 6) and K. 300i (first movement: bars 11 and 12 of the second variation). Looking more closely at Example 2-8b, taken from Sonata K. 315, it is noticeable that, at bars 2 and 6, Bartók used a

[214] Somfai László: *Béla Bartók: Composition, Concepts and Autograph Sources*. 266.

[215] Somfai László: 'Nineteenth-Century Ideas Developed in Bartók's Piano Notation in Years 1907-1914'. 83.

[216] *Ibid.*

[217] Somfai László Somfai's 'Critical Edition with or without Notes for the Performer'. *Studia Musicologica,* Vol. 53, No. 1/3 (March 2012). 113-140. 113.

[218] Somfai László: 'Idea, Notation Interpretation: Written and Oral Transmission in Bartók's Works for Strings'. *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarium Hungaricae* 37/I (1996). 37-49. 47.

[219] Somfai László: *Béla Bartók: Composition, Concepts and Autograph Sources*. 267. In this article, both elements (a) and (b) were represented through musical notation.

bigger *marcato* sign than normal. It just could be interpreted as a little closing hairpin. However, it appears only over the first of a group of notes and never runs through it. Another example is shown in Example 2-9a:

Example 2-9a: Bars 27-31 of the third movement of Sonata K. 284b in C major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

If we compare the *marcato* signs in bars 28 and 30, the one in bar 30 is clearly bigger than the one in bar 28. Both are furnishing identical musical material in identical musical contexts. What exactly did Bartók want to express with the two signs? Was the bigger accentuation sign functioning as a stronger local stress (as is suggested in Example 2-9a) or, by contrast, did he intend it as a minute closing hairpin (as Example 2-8b might indicate)? Let us compare Bartók's articulation and accentuation signs in two very similar motives in similar musical contexts:

Example 2-9b: Bars 145-154 of the third movement of Sonata K. 284b in C major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

Example 2-9c: First bars of the first movement of Sonata K. 300h in C major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

In bar 2 of Example 2-9c there is a slanted closing hairpin which furnishes the dynamic shape and musical gesture of the ornament on the downbeat. The slanted hairpin guides the performer through an upbeat-downbeat 'Riemannesque' conception of the organisation of the bar, suggesting a clear direction from the beginning of the movement towards the first beat of the second bar. The musical material present in that second bar is very similar to Example 2-9b, Sonata K. 284b (bars 1, 5 and 6). But Bartók interpreted each differently. In Sonata K. 284h (Example 2-9b), a more local emphasis, restricted to the immediate surrounding of the first note of the motive, furnishes the music. The two different *marcato* hairpins (small and large) are shown together. Consequently, it is plausible to theorise about a possible connection between the bigger or smaller size of the accentuation sign depending on the dynamic context in which the motive is shown.

Obviously, cases like the present one will always cause mistrust over the reliability of the printing. However, the great number of examples found in Sonatas K. 300i, K. 315 and especially in K. 284b allows me to seriously consider a genuine intention in Bartók's notation. In my opinion, it is difficult to establish whether Bartók simply wanted a bigger accentuation sign than his regular *marcato* indication or, alternatively, a small closing hairpin. I would rather suggest interpreting each case individually. For instance, both bigger *marcato* signs present in the 3rd movement of Sonata K. 315 (Example 2-8b) show a minute gradual *diminuendo* which furnishes dynamically the *legato*-plus-*staccato* articulation. In contrast, the extract of the third movement of Sonata K. 284b (Example 2-9b, bars 27-31), shows a more local accentuation. Indeed, it shows, in my opinion, a combination of both nuances, suggesting a stress over the downbeat but, at the same time, a logical *diminuendo* together with the *legato* articulation of the motive.

Example 2-10a: Bars 14-24 of the first movement of Sonata K. 310 in A minor (AMA, 1878)

Example 2-10b: Bars 14-24 of the first movement of Sonata K. 300d in A minor (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

In Examples 2-10a and 2-10b, both taken from Mozart's A minor Sonata K. 310, a sort of connection between dynamics and articulation is noticeable in the two-bar motive in bars 16-17 which is repeated in bars 18-19. As I mentioned previously, in both cases the articulation signs also suggest a subtle phrasing of the passage through the difference in the accentuation, length and touch of the notes. However, Bartók adapted those signs to the dynamic context of each motive, using a *marcatissimo*

indication which shows the peak of the phrase for the one in *forte*, and the less incisive *marcato* sign for the *piano* motive.

In regard to Examples 2-10a and 2-10b, it is also worth mentioning that a cliché present in many performances of Mozart's music during the 20th century (especially in the second half) is the 'echo' effect. In the words of the Badura-Skodas, 'there is nothing more wearisome than the constant stereotyped recurrence of echo effects, which can often hopelessly break up the overall line'.[220] Although Bartók used that effect in bars 18 and 19 of his performing edition of Sonata K. 300d in A minor (Example 2-10b), the *p* sign in bar 18 is Mozart's original, as the Badura-Skodas recognise when they say that 'in the entire A minor Sonata there is only one passage of this kind, in the first movement, bar 18 (and in the recapitulation, bar 99).'

The cadence in G major in bars 21 and 22 in Example 2-10b is especially interesting. As I mentioned in the first chapter of this work, during the 19th century the image of Mozart as a purveyor of classical stereotypes was far from unanimous, and at the beginning of the 20th century the dichotomy between the Romantic Mozart and the Classical Mozart was still very much in vogue. It would be interesting to discover what Mozart's opinion was regarding how to manage feelings during the performance of his music, from the performer's point of view. The following letter written by Mozart gives us some idea:

> [...] as passions, whether violent or not, must never be expressed in such a way as to excite disgust, and as music, even in the most terrible situations, must never offend the ear, but must please the hearer, or in other words must never cease to be music [...].[221]

Haydn's and Wagner's statements regarding the Example of Mozart as a composer illustrate the contrasting views of Mozart in the Classical and Romantic eras. On the one hand, Haydn defined Mozart, as follows when writing a letter to Mozart's father: '[your] son is the greatest composer known to me either in person or by name. He has taste and, what is more, he has the most profound knowledge of composition'.[222]

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[220] Eva and Paul Badura-Skoda: *Interpreting Mozart on the Keyboard* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1962). 25.

[221] Extract from a letter to his father Leopold written in 1781 and quoted on page 26 of Eva and Paul Badura-Skoda's book *Interpreting Mozart on the Keyboard* (see above).

[222] Laurence Dreyfus: 'Mozart as Early Music: a Romantic Antidote'. *Early Music,* Vol. 20, No. 2 (1992). 297-298+300-303+305-306+308-309. 298.

On the other hand, here are Richard Wagner's words, through which he expressed his ideals:

> I believe in God, Mozart, and Beethoven and likewise their disciples and apostles. I believe in the Holy Spirit and the truth of the one, invisible Art. [...] I believe that he who once has bathed in the sublime delights of his high Art, is consecrated to Her forever and never can deny Her.[223]

Between Haydn's restrained words and Wagner's passionate ones lies the essential difference between both conceptions. Mozart's music has transcended all kinds of stylistic labels and this dichotomy in the reception of his music has its origins immediately after his death, remaining alive even today. At the beginning of the 20th century, the predominant image of Mozart's music as quaint, graceful, tender, cheerful and simple was still very much in vogue. Indeed, it is plausible to see that 'cheerful and quaint' Mozart as a reaction of certain post-Romantic composers and performers against the style in which they themselves were immersed. Somehow, it is possible to imagine them seeing Mozart's music as something alien to their time and, consequently, something in need of proper 'characterisation'. In that line we find, during Bartók's youth, Hugo Riemann as one of the principal leaders of this conception and the one who consolidated this image of a 'graceful' Mozart. However, that Mozart's image, still alive nowadays, clashed directly with that 'masculine Mozart' that Székely perceived in the performances of Zoltán Kocsis, Dezső Ránki and András Schiff as genuine continuations of Bartók's understanding of Mozart's style.[224]

Wolff states that 'the shortening of end notes of a phrase is a terrible habit which dates back many generations, when Mozart's music was considered mainly quaint and graceful'.[225] Indeed, the automatic 'tender' *diminuendo* that accompanied those shortened notes at the end of a phrase was also an established performing cliché characteristic of that 'graceful' Mozart viewpoint.

Coming back to the cadence of bars 21 and 22 in Bartók's edition of Sonata K. 300d in A minor (Example 2-10b), it is noticeable that Bartók's long *legato* articulation

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223 *Ibid.*

224 Translation provided by László Stachó, at page 19 of his article 'Érzékiség és szigor: az előadóművész Bartók' of the extract taken from Júlia Székely's book *Bartók tanár úr* (Budapest: Kozmosz Könyvet, 1978) 57, 60-61.

225 Konrad Wolff: *The Teaching of Arthur Schnabel. A Guide to Interpretation* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972). 106.

remains unaltered from his source – even the *forte* indication which starts at bar 20 and runs through the whole cadence. However, if we apply 'tenderness' and 'delicacy' to the performance of the passage, the performer would progressively shorten the first three beats of bar 22, accompanying them with a slight *diminuendo*. According to the Badura-Skodas, however– and certainly going against the idea of the 'cheerful and quaint' Mozart – there are several rules for recognising the proper dynamic of certain passages, and, passages with 'octaves and full chords'[226] are among the first examples which automatically bear an implicit *forte* indication.

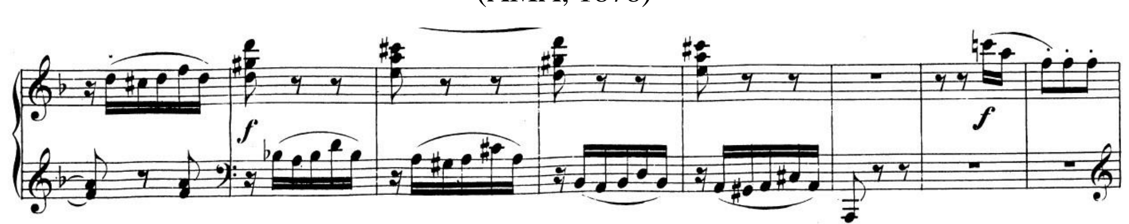
In short, considering all these examples preferring the performance suggested by Bartók in his performing editions to a viewpoint of Mozart's music as 'graceful', and the discussion of the Bartók–Pásztory recording of Mozart's two piano Sonata K. 448, it is possible to affirm that the image of Mozart prevalent in the first decades of the 20th century in Europe (particularly in Hungary[227]) failed to convince Bartók, as a performer and as an editor.

Székely confirms this: 'the "delicate lace-like Mozart" and its basically wrong preconception vanished in Bartók's hands. [...] Through Bartók we got acquainted with a new and genuine Mozart. Harsh, almost knocking *forti*, *piani*, which were not at all "fine" but rather steadfast in rhythm and speech-like, firm and closed formal structures free of sentimentality, pretence and showy virtuosity.'[228]

Bartók added accentuation in several different ways (see Table 2-1): by adding symbols such as *marcatissimo*, *marcato* and bigger *marcato* signs; by supplying additional indications such as *sf*, *sff* and *tenuto* indications; and by transforming or reinterpreting Mozart's original *fp* indications. As we will see in further examples of his editions of Mozart's sonatas, the *sf*, *sff* and *tenuto*, as new accentuation indications, differ from the *marcatissimo* and *marcato* symbols in their intensity and meaning.

[226] *Ibid.*, 21.
[227] Stachó, 18.
[228] Vikárius Laszló: 'Bartók's Neo-Classical Re-Evaluation of Mozart'. 494.

Example 2-11a: Bars 100-106 of the third movement of Sonata K. 280 in F major (AMA, 1878)



Example 2-11b: Bars 100-106 of the third movement of Sonata K. 189e in F major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

According to Somfai's accentuation hierarchy, taken from Bartók's preface to *Notenbüchlein für Anna Magdalena*,[229] the grades of accentuation are between *sff* and *tenuto*, the *sff* being the strongest accent, followed by the *marcatissimo* indication, *marcato* sign and, finally, the *tenuto* sign.[230] By comparing the 1878 AMA edition and Bartók's editions of Mozart's Sonata K. 280 in F major, it is noticeable that Bartók used an even stronger accent than his regular *sf* sign. As shown in Example 2-11b, Bartók used *sforzandissimo* signs in Sonata K. 189e. This demonstrates that Bartók established the *sff* (*sforzandissimo*) sign as the highest degree in accentuation in his editions of the Mozart sonatas (and elsewhere in his work).

Example 2-12: Bars 8-11 of the first movement of Sonata K. 205 in D major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)[231]

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229 Notenbüchline für Anna Magdalena (Rozsnyai 1st edn., 1916).

230 Somfai László: *Béla Bartók: Composition, Concepts, and Autograph Sources*. 264.

231 The absence of comparison with the source – which, according to Srebrenka, is Rudorff's AA from 1895 – is simply because of my lack of access to it.

In Example 2-12 there is a *sforzando* sign added by Bartók in bar 9 (the second bar in the extract). Following two consecutive *marcato* signs written in bar 8, the *sf* sign furnishes the cadence in D major. In my opinion, however strong the *marcatissimo* and *marcato* signs, both *sff* and *sf* represent a 'wider' and less direct accent than the *marcatissimo* and *marcato* signs, which are both more local and are like stinging, sharp accents.

Example 2-13a: Bars 50-59 of the third movement of Sonata K. 280 in F major (AMA, 1878)

Example 2-13b: Bars 52-58 of the third movement of Sonata K. 189e in F major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

Example 2-13b represents a good example of Bartók's reinterpretation of Mozart's original sign of emphasis.[232] Indeed, Bartók systematically substituted the original *fp* signs for his own *sf* indications. Does this substitution mean that Bartók's *sf* sign has a similar meaning to Mozart's *fp* sign? In my opinion, that straightforward connection would be too precipitate. As I mentioned previously, Bartók placed all the dynamic and accentuation signs that he considered too wide or imprecise in brackets, and then provided his own interpretation of the original sign by placing, in smaller font, additional dynamic or accentuation indications.

[232] See subchapter 2.3.2 in which I quote Bartók's own words regarding Mozart's original dynamic and emphasis signs placed in brackets (footnote 109).

Example 2-13c: First bars of the second movement of Sonata K. 284b in C major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)[233]

However, as seen in Example 2-13c, sometimes Bartók left the source's accent sign in brackets without supplying any additional indication. According to Bartók's own words written in a footnote as an explanation to the passage shown above, 'these and similar *fp* indications have the meaning of weaker *marcato* signs'.[234] Knowing that the *fp* sign in brackets is Mozart's original indication (it appears in the NMA from 1985) it is helpful to refer to Leopold Mozart's *Violinschule* for an explanation 'the accent is mostly used on the highest note, in order to make the performance right merry. So, it may happen here that the stress falls on the last note of the second and fourth crotchets in simple time, but on the end of the second crotchet in 2/4 time; especially when the piece begins with the up stroke. [...] In 3/4 and 3/8 time the accent can fall also on the second quaver.'[235]

Example 2-14: Bars 86-91 of the second movement of Sonata K. 533 in F major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

Another editorial practice typical of Bartók involved transforming the original signs provided by his source by adding letters in smaller font in order to alter their

[233] The absence of comparison with the source – which, according to Srebrenka, is Rudorff's AA from 1895 – is simply because of my lack of access to it.

[234] *W. A. Mozart Szonáták zongorára*. Átnézte és ujjrenddel ellátta Bartók Béla (Budapest: Editio Musica Budapest, 1950). 139.

[235] Leopold Mozart: *A Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing*, trans. Editha Knocker (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1951). 221.

meaning. An example of this is Example 2-14, in which Bartók added a little 's' transforming the original *fp* sign into a *sforzando*-plus-*piano* sign. As I mentioned previously, this editorial practice was also noticeable in his dynamic indications, some of them being a result of a mixture between the original dynamic sign and Bartók's additional letter, the principal aim of which was to alter the meaning of the original indication.

2.3.2 Dynamic Indications and Dynamic Range

> P. means *piano* or soft; two or more of the letters standing together denote greater softness. M.F. means *mezzo forte* or half loud. F. Means *forte*; to denote greater loudness two or more of the letters are placed together. In order to control all shades from *pianissimo* to *fortissimo* the keys must be gripped firmly and with strength. However, they must not be flogged; but on the other hand, there must not be too much restraint. It is not possible to describe the contexts appropriate to the *forte* or *piano* because for every case covered by even the best rule there will be an exception. The particular effect of these shadings depends on the passage, its context, and the composer, who may introduce either a *forte* or a *piano* at a given place for equally convincing reasons.[236]

In 1949, when this paragraph from C. P. E. Bach's essay was translated by William J. Mitchell, it was seen to justify the performance of dynamic signs present in Classical and Pre-Classical music as 'terrace-like' gradations,[237] even though 'all shades from *pianissimo* to *fortissimo*' had already been explained by C. P. E. Bach in his *Essay*. Forty years before Mitchell's translation, Bartók had already given his opinion regarding Mozart's original dynamic signs (that is, the dynamic signs present in his sources AMA, C. F. Peters Köhler and AA edition) while explaining his opinion about the *forte* sign at the beginning of his edition of Mozart's Fantasy in C minor:

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[236] Carl Philippe Emanuel Bach: *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, trans. William J. Mitchell (New York: WW Norton&Co., 1949).162-163.

[237] William J. Mitchell, in his English translation of C. P. E. Bach's essay, explains that 'throughout this paragraph Bach is speaking of graded as well as terraced dynamics. The terms *crescendo* and *diminuendo* appear in his later compositions, but only sparingly. Modern signs for graded changes were only evolving in his time.' However, Eva Martínez Marín, in her Spanish translation of C. P. E. Bach's essay, explains in footnote 57 at page 158 that 'at the time of the English translation, this passage of the essay served to justify the practice known as 'dynamic by terraces', today widely surpassed.'

> In Mozart we find almost no dynamic indications other than *f* and *p* (with an occasional *mf and pp).* Even an accent is marked simply with an *fp.* Therefore, the *f* must be understood in his works in a broader sense; at different times it signifies a different balance of volume. In such cases we have put the *f* of the original [Bartok refers here to his sources] in parentheses; and we have added the dynamic indication which corresponds to modern usage.[238]

That Bartók did not see Mozart's dynamic indications as different levels of intensity organised in terraces is clearly confirmed by Bartók's two available recordings of Mozart, the Rondo in A major K. 386 conducted by Ernst von Dohnányi and the two-piano Sonata in D major K. 448.[239] Indeed, Bartók's explanation of his interpretation of Mozart's dynamic signs is confirmed and corroborated by the Badura-Skodas: 'Mozart was familiar with all the dynamic gradations between *pp* and *ff* (*pp*, *p*, *mp** [footnote: the modern *mp* corresponds to the eighteenth-century], *mf*, *f*, *ff*). Unfortunately, he was often content, in accordance with tradition, to give mere hints about dynamics.'[240]

In the following table I show all the dynamic indications written by Bartók in his performing editions of Mozart's sonatas. Note that I have included the 'accentuation signs' column again from Table 2-1. That is because I have followed Somfai classification of Bartók's 'Dynamics and characters',[241] in which he included Bartók's accents as dynamic instructions. As I have already mentioned in subchapter 2.3.1, length and accentuation of the notes were intimately related in Bartók's performing practice (see the third column of Table 2-1). Indeed, both nuances were indispensable in the construction of Bartók's genuine manner of 'speaking the music' (the hierarchy of notes intrinsic to the development of musical speech). After listening to Bartók's playing and so knowing that the importance of a note inside the musical structure defines its length and dynamic stress, it seems crucial to include the accentuation signs in the following table.

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[238] 'Bei Mozart sehen wir beinahe keine andern Zeichen zur Bestim mung der dynamischen Grade als f un p (hie und da mf und pp). Auch die Betonung bezeichnet er blos mit fp. Das f ist demzufolge in seinen Werken in weiterem Sinne zu verstehen; es bedeutet zuweilen blos mehr oder weniger Betonung. An solchen und ähnlichen Stellen haben wir das f des Originals in Parenthese gestellt und daneben die entsprechenden heutzutage gebräuchlichen Zeichenhingesetzt.' English translation provided by Igrec Srebrenka at page 33 of her dissertation *Béla Bartók's editions of Mozart piano sonatas*.

[239] *Bartók hangfelvételei Centenáriumi összikiadás*: II. album: Somfai László, Sebestyén János, Kocsis Zoltán (szerk., 1981): Bartók hangja és zongorajátéka 1912–1944. Magánfelvételek és családi fonográfhengerek. Töredékek. Budapest: Hungaroton, LPX 12334–38.

[240] Eva and Paul Badura – Skoda: *Interpreting Mozart on the Keyboard*. 20.

[241] Somfai László: *Béla Bartók: Composition, Concepts, and Autograph Sources*. 264.

Table 2-2: Dynamic Indications and Dynamic Range

Dynamic range	Accentuation signs	Written dynamic indications
ff → Very often used	_ _ _ *tenuto*	*poco* cresc. *sempre* *più* dim. *molto*
f, mf, mp, p } Present in all the sonatas	*(fp)* – *Weaker marcato sign*	*sonore*
	sfp, poco sfp	*subito* *assai* (Used only two times in all the sonatas, always together with a *f* sign, in Sonata K. 300d)
pp → Very often used	> *marcato*	*smorz. (smorzando)* (Used only two times, both in Sonata K. 533)
ppp → Used only in sonatas K. 300h, K. 205 and K. 475	> bigger *marcato* sign	Slanted hairpins
	Λ *marcatissimo*	
	sf, *poco* sf	
	sff	

According Srebrenka, Bartók's additional dynamic indications fall into two categories: 'additional dynamic signs to previously unmarked passages' and 'modifications of pre-existing dynamics'.[242] A new category, not mentioned by Srebrenka and, indeed, very rare, was Bartók's 'additional dynamic signs acting as reminders of previously marked passages by the source'.

[242] Srebrenka, 34.

Example 2-15: Beginning of the first movement of Sonata K. 284c in D major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

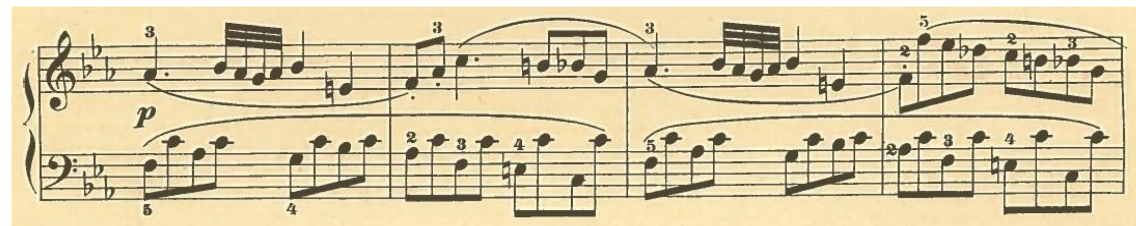
Example 2-15 shows the beginning of Sonata K. 284c in D major edited by Bartók on the basis of Rudorff's 1895 AA edition.[243] I have been unable to consult that AA edition, but the difference in font size of Bartók's additional dynamic signs permits us to imagine that the AA edition was unmarked, beyond a few articulation signs. However, that difference is not always consistent through all Bartók's indications. As Srebenka confirms, 'while some of Bartók's added *crescendo* and *decrescendo* markings written in the form of hairpins [...] appear thinner than the hairpins that he copied from his two main sources [...], most of them are not distinguishable from the hairpins that stem from his sources.'[244] Bartók was not consistent in supplying different types of hairpins depending on their source so, consequently, without access to that source, it is impossible to know their origin. After consulting the most informed and updated *Urtext* editions available (namely, the 2006 *Henle* edition and the 2004 *Wiener Urtext* edition), and considering that Mozart 'seems not to have used the hairpin signs in his music'[245] at all, and knowing that both of Bartók's editorial sources did not supply slanted hairpins in their editions, it would be plausible to assume that all those slanted hairpins at the beginning of the sonata come from Bartók.

[243] Srebrenka, 5.

[244] Srebrenka, 34.

[245] Sandra Rosenblum: *Performance Practices in Classic Piano Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988). 70.

Example 2-16a: Bars 79-82 of the first movement of Sonata K. 457 in C minor (C. F. Peters, Louis Köhler, 1879)



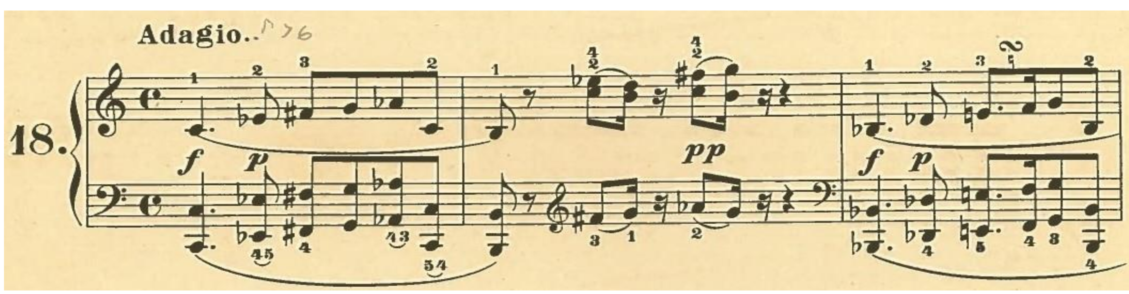
Example 2-16b: Bars 79-82 of the first movement of Sonata K. 457 in C minor (Rozsnyai Károly, Béla Bartók, 1910)

According to the chronological order of Bartók's performing editions provided by Somfai, Bartók edited all the Mozart sonatas after having worked, for more than two years, on an edition of five Beethoven sonatas and a four-volume edition of *Wohltemperiertes Klavier* by J. S. Bach. In a study of the notational evolution of Bartók's Bagatelle no. 1 (composed in 1908, the same year that Bartók's *Wohltemperiertes Klavier* edition was published), Somfai compares the first autograph draft with an intermediary draft written before the first edition (published by Rozsnyai). It is notable how Bartók modified his own original hairpins into slanted ones. Bartók also does this in his edition of Bach's *Wolhtemperiertes Klavier* alongside many other notational improvements such as the slurred *staccato,* the slurred *tenuto* and the *half-tenuto*. Somfai describes this as follows: 'In the case of J. S. Bach's keyboard music, where the original text had no dynamics, it was possible (and clever) to differentiate editorially between the size and the function of dynamic shadings by means of signs in different type sizes. [In footnote 32, Somfai explains that 'the < > (hairpin symbols) sign with thin lines denotes a slight *crescendo* and *decrescendo* restricted to one voice, thicker < (hairpin symbol), a larger and more general crescendo affecting all voices

alike.[246]] The same technique could not, however, be used in editing Viennese Classical music, a task which Bartók had soon to face.'[247]

Bartók's additional hairpins bear a double function as dynamic and phrasing indications and both deserve comment. It is true that Bartók did not preserve the difference in the size of each hairpin from his sources for his editions of Mozart's sonatas. However, they retained their slant, shaping not only the dynamics but also the phrase of each passage – as shown in Examples 2-16a and 2-16b.

Example 2-17a: Beginning of Fantasy in C minor K. 475 (C. F. Peter, Louis Köhler, 1879)



Example 2-17b: Beginning of Fantasy in C minor K. 475 (Rozsnyai Károly, Béla Bartók, 1910)

Example 2-18a: Bars 114-120 of the third movement of Sonata K. 333 in B flat major (AMA, 1878)

[246] Béla Bartók. Appendix to the revised edition of J. S. Bach Wolhtemperierte Klavier. (Rozsnyai 2nd edition, ca. 1913).

[247] Somfai László: 'Nineteenth-Century Ideas Developed in Bartók's Piano Notation in Years 1907-1914'. 83.

Example 2-18b: Bars 114-119 of the third movement of Sonata K. 315 in B flat major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

Example 2-19a: Bars 34-35 of the second movement of Sonata K. 457 in C minor (C. F. Peter, Louis Köhler, 1879)

Example 2-19b: Bars 34-35 of the second movement of Sonata K. 457 in C minor (Rozsnyai Károly, Béla Bartók, 1910)

Example 2-20a: Bars 59-63 of the first movement of Sonata K. 300h in C major (AMA, 1878)

Example 2-20b: Bars 59-63 of the first movement of Sonata K. 300h in C major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

> Bartók modified pre-existent dynamic signs by using different means: by adding 'term(s) and/or abbreviation(s) — such as *poco, sempre, subito,* or *m* for *mezzo* — immediately before or after the marking. Many times [...] he placed an original marking in parentheses and added his own dynamic marking(s).'[248]

In this quote, Srebrenka explains how Bartók took advantage of his sources by modifying the dynamic indications already present in them. Examples 2-17a to 2-20b represent different examples of this practice: while the two extracts from Mozart's Fantasy in C minor (Examples 2-17a and 2-17b) exemplify Bartók's dynamic modification by adding an 'm' to the original *p* sign, the other six extracts (Examples 2-18a, 2-18b, 2-19a, 2-19b, 2-20a and 2-20b) display different examples of Bartók's editorial practice of putting original dynamic signs in brackets. However, at the same time, Examples 2-18a to 2-20b demonstrate Bartók's inconsistency in supplying additional dynamic indications for those original indications that he decided to put in brackets.

Examples 2-18a and 2-18b (from Mozart's Sonata K. 333 in B flat major) show Bartók's editorial practice of putting the original *forte* indication in brackets and adding his own *mezzo-forte* indication to the beginning of the connecting passage in quavers. However, Examples 2-19a to 2-20b show just a few of the many places in his performing editions in which some information regarding the dynamic treatment of a passage is missing. What exactly did an original dynamic in brackets mean for Bartók when he did not supply any other explanatory dynamic sign? Would it be possible to establish a connection between the meaning of Mozart's original *fp* signs that Bartók put in brackets and all those other dynamic signs in his sources that he put in brackets without supplying any other dynamic information?

[248] Srebrenka, 34

In my opinion, Example 2-20b, the extract from Sonata K. 300h edited by Bartók, gives us a lot of clues in order to interpret Bartók's approach to dynamics. Looking closer at Examples 2-20a and 2-20b, it is clear that, in the AMA edition, the last two bars had four identical *sf* signs when, however, the music of those bars should not be interpreted similarly, because of the sudden change of character. In the last bar of both extracts the music turns from major to minor with a completely sudden and unexpected change of mood. Consequently, Bartók not only added two different dynamic indications for each bar – *mf* and *mp* – but also put the two last *sf* signs present in the bar in the minor mode in brackets. In my opinion, and as Bartók himself explained at the beginning of his edition of the Fantasy in C minor, those brackets encourage the performer to understand Mozart's dynamic signs in a broader sense, and not to give them terrace-like treatment. However, it is important to highlight that Bartók always put dynamic signs from his sources in brackets when he apparently wanted to soften their effect, never to increase it. This is evident in Example 2-19b, from his edition of Sonata K. 457. Bartók's explanation, warning students (for whom these pedagogical editions were made) not to exaggerate the effect of Mozart's original *fp* should be also relevant for all other dynamic signs that he also decided to put in brackets without supplying additional information.

There are more examples of Bartók's practice of supplying additional dynamic information to Mozart's scores. In a footnote in the first movement of Sonata K. 300k, Bartók explains a non-bracketed *fp* sign, asserting that 'here and in the following bars, *fp* means *poco sf*'.[249] This is Bartók's new and different interpretation of this sign. It shows his meticulousness and willingness to explain all the minute details of his ideal performance.[250]

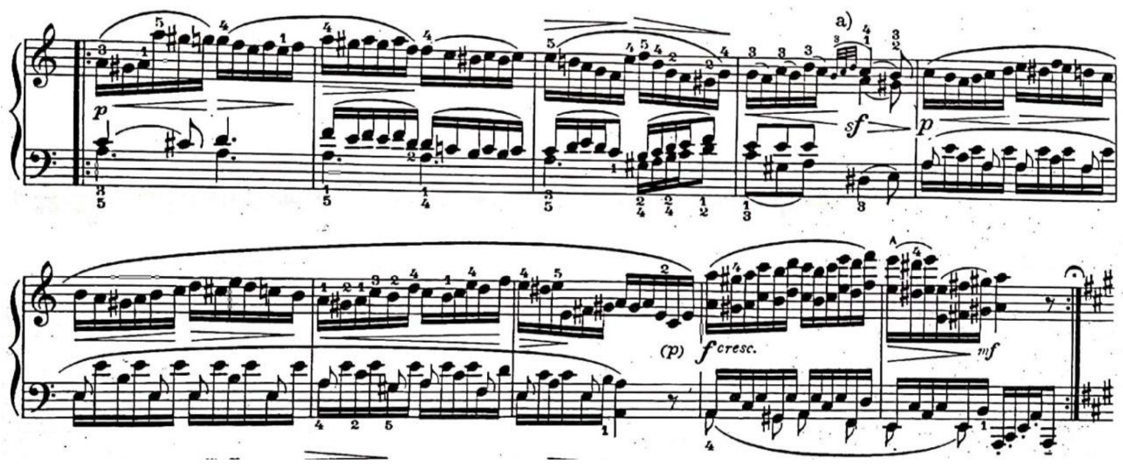
In short, remembering Bartók's explanation of his own approach to the dynamic indications in his sources at the beginning of Mozart's Fantasy in C minor in which he asserted that, sometimes, he 'put the original [dynamic signs] in parentheses' adding together 'the dynamic indication which corresponds to modern usage' – we can conclude that Bartók was not consistent with this personal editorial principle, sometimes leaving a supplementary dynamic indication, and at other times putting

[249] *Mozart Szonáták zongorára*. Átnézte és ujjrenddel ellátta Bartók Béla (Editio Musica Budapest, 1950). 72

[250] Note that, according to the contracts with the publisher, Bartók edited the F major Sonata no. 6 K. 300k circa October 6th of 1911. Consequently, it is very surprising to notice slight changes in his editorial policies in a sonata on which he worked after having edited the other eleven Mozart sonatas.

original dynamic signs in brackets without supplying other dynamic indications and, every now and then, simply explaining his performing idea with words.

Example 2-21: Third variation (bars 9-18) of the first movement of Sonata K. 331 in A major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)



As I mentioned at the beginning of subchapter 2.3.1, in Sonata K. 331 in A major I found new evidence of Bartók's meticulousness, not only regarding the notation of his editions but also about his pedagogical concerns. As shown in Examples 2-21 and 2-22, Bartók wrote at bar 16 a smaller *p* sign in brackets. It is obvious that Bartók wanted to remind the performer to play the whole passage, which starts at bar 13, *piano* to the very end, and he also wished to prevent the performer from following the instinct of many students of playing an unwritten *crescendo* at the end of the passage in order to anticipate the following *forte* and connect with the next phrase.

Example 2-22: Fourth variation (bars 9-18) of the first movement of Sonata K. 331 in A major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

2.3.3 Tempo Signs – Metronome Marks

> Rozsnyai copied the house style of Cotta's *Instruktive Ausgabe* in many ways. The editor had to furnish the score with letters indicating first theme, transition, second theme, etc. – a practice which Bartók detested. Nor did he feel comfortable with having to supply metronome markings: he often borrowed these in whole or in part from Lebert's edition for Cotta,[251] a fact that might surprise those aware of Bartók's fastidiousness about metronome marks and timings in his own works.[252]

As I mentioned at the end of subchapters 1.2.5 and 1.2.6, Lebert's *Instruktive Ausgabe* published by Cotta in 1871 played a fundamental role in Bartók's editorial work, being one of his main models for his performing editions, especially regarding the metronome markings and the fingerings.

It is important to emphasise that the tempo and metronome markings listed in Table 2-3 in Bartók's column are the ones published by Editio Musica Budapest in 1950, except for Mozart's Fantasy and Sonata in C minor K. 475/457, which were taken from the original Rozsnyai edition from 1912.[253] Lebert's tempo and metronome marks, in the

[251] Somfai, in his article 'Nineteenth-Century Ideas Developed in Bartók's Piano Notation in the Years 1907 – 14', completed the explanation with the following information added in footnote 41 at page 83: 'Or in some cases Bartók simply gave no metronome marks. [...] Of the ten [Haydn] sonatas edited in 1911 – 12 with metronome marks, only in three or four cases did Bartók alter Lebert's suggestions substantially'.

[252] Somfai László: 'Nineteenth-Century Ideas Developed in Bartók's Piano Notation in the Years 1907 – 14'. 83-84.

[253] During the elaboration of this survey, I had permanent access to the Editio Musica Budapest edition from 1950. However, due to the central role that the Fantasy and the Sonata in C minor play in this

second column, are from the edition made by William Scharfenberg and Julius Epstein 'after an earlier edition by Sigmund Lebert' (presumably Lebert's 1871 edition) entitled *Nineteen Sonatas for the Piano* published by G. Schirmer in 1893,[254] except for the markings of the Fantasy and Sonata in C minor K. 475/457 which I took from Lebert's 1892 Cotta edition.[255] However, after comparing the metronome markings specified by Srebrenka, which were taken from the 1871 Cotta edition (Lebert), with the markings provided by the 1893 Schirmer edition (also Lebert), I could corroborate that none of them were modified in the latter so, consequently, the metronome and tempo markings that this edition provides are absolutely valid for the comparison table as well as for our case study.

Schirmer's 1893 edition respected exactly the same order as the Cotta's 1871 edition, as follows:

- Sonata I, K.545
- Sonata II, K.283
- Sonata III, K.330
- Sonata IV, K.547a
- Sonata V, K.279
- Sonata VI, K.280
- Sonata VII, K.332
- Sonata VIII, K.281
- Sonata IX, K.331
- Sonata X, K.333
- Sonata XI, K.309
- Sonata XII, K.498a

work, I also had permanent access to the original Rozsnyai edition (1912) of these two pieces. In the case of Mozart's Fantasy and Sonata in C minor, I decided to use the tempo and metronome indications from Rozsnyai's edition – as well as all the musical examples shown in the dissertation – because of its 'original' condition. However, both editions are exactly the same at all levels.

[254] Sigmund Lebert and William Scharfenberg (eds.): *19 Sonatas for the piano* (New York: G. Schirmer, 1893). International Music Score Library Project, www.imslp.org (accessed 16 February 2021).

[255] Unfortunately, except for the Fantasy and Sonata in C minor, I did not have the opportunity to fully consult the 1892 Cotta edition. On the other hand, I had permanent access to the G. Schirmer's edition, presumably based on Lebert's 1892 edition from 1892. In the case of Mozart's Fantasy and Sonata in C minor, I decided to use the tempo and metronome indications from Lebert's 1892 edition because of its 'original' condition, as both editions are exactly the same in terms of tempo and metronome indications.

- Sonata XIII, K.311
- Sonata XIV, K.576
- Sonata XV, K.284
- Sonata XVI, K.310
- Sonata XVII, K.533/494
- Sonata XVIII, K.475/457
- Sonata XIX, K.282

According to Srebrenka the 1871 Cotta edition, only included eighteen sonatas,[256] but it is noticeable that Bartók decided to substitute the spurious B flat major Sonata K. 498a (in red in Table 2-3, attributed to August Eberhard Müller) for the original Sonata K. 570, also in B flat major, putting the unauthentic sonata at the end of the second volume.

Knowing that Sonata K. 282 was not included in the 1871 Cotta edition or in the 1893 Schirmer edition (based on Lebert's 1892 edition), and also knowing that this sonata occupies the same place (Sonata no. 19) in both the Rozsnyai and Schirmer editions, the connection regarding the order of the pieces between the Bartók and the Schirmer edition seems obvious. Indeed, and in order to corroborate this assertion, after noticing that Schirmer's edition does not include metronome indications for Sonata K. 282 (neither, obviously, in Sonata K. 570) it is possible to assert that, most probably, Bartók based his tempo and metronome indications on Lebert's 1871 Cotta edition – adding his own for the sonatas which were not included in that Lebert edition – and took the order of the pieces in Lebert's 1892 Cotta edition – which was fully respected by the 1893 Schirmer's edition.

As a last observation, apart from Sonata K. 498a, which changed its position in Bartók's edition, I have also marked in red all of Bartók's Italian terms regarding tempo indications which do not match, partially or totally, with Lebert's.

It is worth bearing in mind Leopold Mozart's reflection on the difficulty a composer faces when notating and suggesting the correct speed of a piece and, consequently, the challenges for a performer when subjectively choosing the proper tempo for it.

> [...] Now we come to an important point, namely, the question of speed. Not only must one beat time correctly and evenly, but one must also be able to divine from

[256] Sonatas K. 570 and K. 282 were missing from Lebert's 1871 edition.

the piece itself whether it requires a slow or a somewhat quicker speed. It is true that at the beginning of every piece special words are written which are designed to characterize it, such as 'Allegro' (merry), 'Adagio' (slow), and so on. But both slow and quick have their degrees, and even if the composer endeavours to explain more clearly the speed required by using yet more adjectives and other words, it still remains impossible for him to describe in an exact manner the speed he desires in the performing of the piece. So one has to deduce it from the piece itself, and this it is by which the true worth of a musician can be recognized without fail. Every melodious piece has at least one phrase from which one can recognize quite surely what sort of speed the piece demands. Often, if other points be carefully observed, the phrase is forced into its natural speed. Remember this, but know also that for such perception long experience and good judgement are required. Who will contradict me if I count this among the chiefest perfections in the art of music?[257]

[257] Leopold Mozart: *A Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing*. 33.

Table 2-3: Comparison of Tempo and Metronome Markings in Bartók's and Lebert's Performing Editions of Mozart's Sonatas

Bartók (EMB, 1950)	Lebert (G. Schirmer, 1893)
K. 545	K. 545
Allegro ♩ = 130	*Allegro* ♩ = 132
Andante ♩ = 60	*Andante* ♩ = 60
Rondo ♩ = 100	Rondo. *Allegretto grazioso* ♩ = 104
K. 189h	K. 189h
Allegro	*Allegro* ♩ = 138
Andante	*Andante* ♩ = 58
Presto	*Presto* ♩. = 92
(*Allegro*, *Andante*, *Presto*:) No metronome indications.	
K. 300h	K. 300h
Allegro moderato	*Allegro moderato* ♪ = 126
Andante cantabile	*Andante cantabile* ♩ = 54
Allegretto	*Allegretto* ♩ = 88
(*Allegro moderato*, *Andante cantabile*, *Allegretto*:) No metronome indications.	
K. 547	K. 547
Allegro ♩ = 126	*Allegro* ♩ = 126
Allegretto ♩ = 100	*Allegretto* ♩ = 104
K. 189d	K. 189d
Allegro ♩ = 112-108	*Allegro* ♩ = 112
Andante ♩ = 72	*Andante* ♩ = 60
Allegro ♩ = 120	*Allegro* ♩ = 120
K. 189e	K. 189e
Allegro assai ♩ = 126	*Allegro assai* ♩ = 138
Adagio ♪ = 96	*Adagio* ♪ = 76

Presto ♩. = 88-96	*Presto* ♩. = 96
K. 300k	K. 300k
Allegro	*Allegro* ♩ = 152
Adagio (No metronome indications.)	*Adagio* ♪ = 84
Allegro assai	*Allegro assai* ♩. = 96
K. 189f	K. 189f
Allegro ♪ = 132	*Allegro* ♪ = 132
Andante amoroso ♩ = 96 (♪= 96?)	*Andante* ♪ = 96
Rondo *Allegro* 𝅗𝅥 = 76	Rondo *Allegro* 𝅗𝅥 = 76
K. 300i	K. 300i
Tema. Andante grazioso	*Tema. Andante grazioso* ♪ = 120
Menueto - Trio (No metronome indications.)	*Menueto – Trio* ♩ = 116
Alla turca. Allegretto	*Alla turca. Allegretto* ♩ = 126
K. 315	K. 315
Allegro ♩ = 116	*Allegro* ♩ = 116
Andante cantabile ♩ = 56	*Andante cantabile* ♩ = 56
Allegretto grazioso ♩ = 138	*Allegretto grazioso* ♩ = 138
K. 284b	K. 284b
Allegro con spirito ♩ = 144	*Allegro con spirito* ♩ = 144
Andante un poco adagio ♩ = 56	*Andante un poco adagio* ♩ = 50
Rondo. *Allegretto grazioso* ♩ = 88-80	Rondo. *Allegretto grazioso* ♩ = 88
K. 570	**K. 498a**
Allegro ♩ = 152	***Allegro moderato* ♩ = 126**
Adagio ♩ = 60-56	***Andante* ♪ = 76**

Allegretto ♩ = 132	***Menuetto. Allegretto*** **♩ = 144** ***Rondo. Allegro*** **♩. = 100**
K. 284c	K. 284c
Allegro con spirito ♩ = 132	*Allegro con spirito* ♩ = 132
Andante con espressione ♩ = 54-58	*Andante con espressione* ♪ = 96
Rondo. *Allegro* ♩ = 96 (♩. = 96?)	Rondo. *Allegro* ♩. = 96
K. 576	K. 576
Allegro ♩. = 84	*Allegro* ♩. = 84
Adagio ♪ = 96	*Adagio* ♪ = 96
Allegretto ♩ = 88	*Allegretto* ♩ = 88
K. 205	K. 205
Allegro ♩ = 126	*Allegro* ♩ = 126
Rondeau en Polonaise. Andante ♩ =72	*Rondeau en Polonaise. Andante* ♩ =72
Tema. ***Allegretto*** 𝅗𝅥 = 66 *Minore* (No tempo indication) *Maggiore* (No tempo indication) *Adagio cantabile* ♩ = 40 *Allegro* ♩ = 126-130	Tema. *Andante* ♩ = 120 *Minore* ♩ = 112 *Maggiore* ♩ = 126 *Adagio cantabile* ♪ = 92 *Allegro* ♩ = 132
K. 300d	K. 300d
Allegro maestoso ♩ = 110	*Allegro maestoso* ♩ = 116
Andante cantabile con espressione ♪ = 96	*Andante cantabile con espressione* ♪ = 96
Presto (No metronome indication)	*Presto* 𝅗𝅥 = 92
K. 533	K. 533
Allegro 𝅗𝅥 = 72	*Allegro* 𝅗𝅥 = 72

Andante ♩ = 58	*Andante* ♩ = 58
Rondo. *Allegretto* 𝅗𝅥 = 60	Rondo. *Allegretto* 𝅗𝅥 = 63
Fantasy K. 475	Fantasy K. 475
Adagio ♪ = 76	*Adagio* ♪ = 76
Allegro ♩ = 144	*Allegro* ♩ = 144
Andantino ♩ = 52	*Andantino* ♩ = 52
Più Allegro ♩ = 66	*Più Allegro* ♩ = 66
K. 457	K. 457
Molto Allegro 𝅗𝅥 = 74	*Molto Allegro* 𝅗𝅥 = 84
Adagio ♪ = 69	*Adagio* ♪ = 69
Assai Allegro 𝅗𝅥. = 66	*Allegro assai* 𝅗𝅥. = 66
K. 189g	K. 189g (No metronome indications)
Adagio ♩ = 58-56	*Adagio*
Menueto I ♩ = 58 *Menueto* II ♩ = 112	*Menueto* I *Menueto* II
Allegro (No metronome indication)	*Allegro*
K. 498a	
Allegro moderato **♩ = 126**	
Andante **♪ = 76**	
Menuetto. Allegretto **♩ = 144**	
Rondo. Allegro **♩. = 100**	

It is important to remark that Bartók's editorial source for the Fantasy and Sonata in C minor K. 475/457 was the C. F. Peters edition by Louis Köhler and Richard Schmidt in 1879. However, this instructive edition did not have any metronome markings. So, in Table 2-3, I compare the tempo and metronome markings of Bartók's editions with the 1892 Cotta Edition by Sigmund Lebert.

As seen in Table 2-3, Bartók was not very consistent in writing metronome marks in his editions of Mozart's sonatas (nor was he with his editing of Haydn sonatas[258]). Sonatas K. 189h, K. 300h, K. 300k, K. 300i and the third movements of K. 189g and K. 300d were edited without metronomic suggestions. Moreover, he only followed the metronome marks provided by Lebert in four of the twenty sonatas: namely, K. 189f, K. 315, K. 576 and K. 475 (Fantasy). On the other hand, he revised the tempi of the rest of the sonatas. I decided to leave the following sonatas out of this survey: Sonata K. 498a (since it is unauthentic), Sonata K. 570 (not included in Lebert's 1871 edition) and Sonata K. 189g (which does not have metronome markings in Lebert's G. Schirmer 1893 edition).

The changes in the metronome marks introduced by Bartók can be divided into two groups: 'minute and insubstantial changes', for instance those found in sonatas K. 545, K. 547, K. 300d and K. 533; and 'notable and substantial changes' which I will comment upon below.

Before starting to comment on Bartók's tempo interpretations, it is useful to refer to Mozart's own words, in a letter to his father, warning him about the performance of his music by his sister: 'Please tell my sister that there is no *adagio* in any of these concertos – only *andantes*.'[259]

Mozart's words reveal an interesting controversy regarding the performance of the slow movements of his pieces, even in his lifetime. Indeed, the Badura-Skodas say that 'as regards *andante* and *adagio* movements, Mozart's remarks and those of his contemporaries rather suggest that he preferred a flowing tempo.'[260] In fact, they insist on the idea that 'in Mozart's time "*andante*" was not really a slow tempo — that was a nineteenth-century development. For Mozart it was fairly flowing tempo, still in

[258] Somfai László: 'Nineteenth-Century Ideas Developed in Bartók's Piano Notation in the Years 1907 – 14'. 83.

[259] Eva and Paul Badura-Skoda: *Interpreting Mozart on the Keyboard*. 30. Mozart's letter to his father on the 9th of June of 1784.

[260] *Ibid.*, 30.

accordance with the original meaning of the work, "moving", and it lay roughly half way between slow and fast.'[261]

The Badura-Skodas' words are directly relevant to Bartók's modifications of the metronomic indications in sonatas K. 189d, K. 189e, K. 284b and 284c. Indeed, the most drastic tempo changes occur in the slow movements. For instance, if we look at Sonata K. 189d in Table 2-3, it becomes evident that Bartók increased the speed of the *Andante* considerably, giving to the music an unusually fluent tempo, especially when comparing it with a stereotypical post-Romantic performance. Slightly less drastic than this is Bartók's metronome marking for the *Andante un poco adagio* in Sonata K. 284b, with which he shows the powerful influence that the *adagio* indication (as a slower tempo, coinciding with Mozart's original conception) has over the *andante*. However, the *Andante con espressione* in Sonata K. 284c catches my attention: apart from suggesting a rather faster tempo, Bartók established the crotchet as the rhythmic unit of the metronome marking, contrary to Lebert's suggestion (quaver). This apparently naive change reveals a much more congruent performance according to the time signature (2/4) and suggests, subtly, a much more fluent interpretation of it.

The third movement of Sonata K. 284b represents a good example of Bartók's sensitivity about the importance of a correct tempo for this piece. He seems to have considered Lebert's metronome mark too fast in relation to Mozart's original *Allegretto grazioso* indication. Instead, he added a slower metronome mark which, in my opinion, fits the character and tempo indication much better than Lebert's. Regarding the performance of faster movements, the Badura-Skodas define each tempo marking used by Mozart in his keyboard music. For example:

> *Allegretto grazioso*: whereas the suffix 'grazioso' in an andante movement indicates a more flowing tempo, in allegretto movements the opposite holds good. Grace goes with leisure.[262]

In Sonata K. 189d, Bartók copied Lebert's metronome indication (crotchet equals 112) for the first movement, *Allegro,* but amended it to suggest slightly slower

[261] *Ibid*.

[262] All the definitions of tempo indications shown on this and the following page were taken from Eva and Paul Badura-Skoda's book *Interpreting Mozart on the Keyboard* at page 36. For Leopold Mozart's conception of each Italian tempo indication, see the First Chapter, third section, § 27 of his *Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing*, trans. Editha Knocker (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1951). 32-33.

range (starting at crotchet equals 108) in order to avoid a hurried performance of the movement. The Badura-Skodas provide the following comment about this tempo marking: '*Allegro*: this, Mozart's commonest marking, takes in everything that comes under the heading "quick". Suffixes for a steady allegro are "allegro ma non troppo" or "allegro maestoso".

It is also interesting to observe that, with the exception of Sonata K. 284c, Bartók also modified the metronome marking of a movement by adding a slower suggestion to Lebert's original one and not directly changing it. In the words of Srebrenka, 'Bartók modified the metronome marking provided by Cotta by adding next to it one that indicates a somewhat slower tempo'.[263] The first movement of Sonata K. 300d bears an *Allegro maestoso* indication. Following the same 'rule', Bartók suggested a slower metronome marking, probably considering Lebert's original suggestion too hasty.

Mozart marked the first movement of Sonata K. 457 *Allegro molto*. Lebert wrote a metronome indication (minim equals 84) which suggests a much brisker performance than Bartók's, who decided to drastically drop the tempo to minim equals 74. According to the Badura-Skodas' definition, '*Allegro molto* and *Allegro assai* are more akin to Mozart's quickest tempo, *Presto*.'

Bartók's metronome mark for the first movement of Sonata K. 189e is, again, much slower than Lebert's, suggesting a performance closer to a standard *Allegro*.

In the same Sonata K. 189e, Bartók suggested, again, a double metronome indication (dotted crotchet equals 88 to 96) for the third movement (*Presto*) by adding a slower metronome mark to Lebert's. According to the Badura-Skodas, '*Presto* should be played as fast as possible, i.e., while still allowing every note and every articulation mark to come through clearly, and without obscuring the translucency of the texture.'

An excerpt from the beginning of this movement is shown below.

[263] Srebrenka, 84.

Example 2-23: First bars of the third movement of Sonata K. 189e in F major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

The characteristic tempo flexibility of Bartók's performing practice fits well with all those double metronome markings. Taking this *Presto* movement of Sonata K. 189e as an example (Example 2-23), in a hypothetical Bartók performance of this movement, it is easy to imagine him rushing slightly while performing the second part of the main motive between bars 5 and 8 and returning to the '*tempo primo*' (♩. = 88) at bar 9.

Bartók's double metronome markings confirm his conception of tempo in music as something flexible and elastic, even when, as is the case in his performing editions, the 'recipient' of these indications was a student and something more prescriptive might be expected. Indeed, Bartók's conception of tempo was inherited from his post-Romantic musical education and a logical consequence of his admiration for the 'natural simplicity' of peasant music. However, as is evident in Table 2-3, his predilection for quicker performances of slow movements, as well as slower performances of the fast movements, gives us valuable information about his personal performing practice, especially regarding speed and musical diction.

2.3.4 Agogic Indications

Knowing the accepted conception of tempo in piano performance during the late Romantic era, the long list of agogic terms used by Bartók in his performing editions of Mozart's piano sonatas should not surprise us. Table 2-4 represents the wide range of possible tempo fluctuations within a piece: all the different nuances that a performer has to interpret while decreasing the speed of the music (*ritardando, ritenuto, rallentando,*

calando, allargando, smorzando, raddolcendo, etc.), when a performer has to keep or sustain the pulse (*sostenuto, tranquillo, quieto, egualmente,*[264] *tenuto,* etc.) or when the way in which the music is written suggests a quickening of the tempo (*agitato, vivo, accelerando,* etc). Note that many of the musical terms shown in Table 2-4 will be included in Table 2-5 ('Written Performance Indications') due to their double meaning.

Table 2-4: Agogic Indications

ritardando (*ritard., rit., poco rit., poch. rit., pochiss. rit., rit. pochiss., rit. poch., pochett. rit., poco a poco rit.)*

𝄐

ritenuto

rallent. (*sempre rallent.)*

tranquillo (*sempre tranquillo, molto tranquillo)*

a tempo (*a tempo* (*ma tranquillo*)*, a tempo, ma tranquillo, tempo*)

agitato (*poco agitato, poco a poco più agitato*)

vivo (*più vivo, sempre più vivo, sempre vivo, poco più vivo, poco meno vivo*)

sostenuto (*poco sostenuto, sostenuto sempre, sostenuto e poco a poco rall.)*

poco a poco allarg. (*pochiss. allarg.*)

meno allegro

poco più andante

[264] Written at bar 176 of the third movement of Sonata K. 533 in F major as '*egaalmente*', clearly as a misprint. *W. A. Mozart Szonáták zongorára*. Átnézte és ujjrenddel ellátta Bartók Béla (Budapest: Editio Musica Budapest, 1950) 250.

più adagio
poco rubato
L'istesso tempo
smorzando
raddolcendo
egualmente
sempre quieto (*poco quieto, sempre molto quieto*)
lunga
sempre accel.

Table 2-4 seems to be truly revealing regarding the characteristic flexibility of Bartók's performing style. The following testimony of Ernő Balogh, Bartók's student at the Royal Academy of Music in Budapest from 1909 to 1915,[265] regarding Bartók's conception of agogics in music, confirms this:

> [Bartók] was against excessive rubatos and ritardandos which prevent the continuous, undisturbed flow of music. Within this continuous flow some freedom of tempi was permitted, but it had to be in the proper place, and in the proper proportion.[266]

Reading about Bartók's treatment of agogics in music, while he was teaching or playing, can lead to confusion. Indeed, while the opinions of his own students on the rhythmic and tempo flexibility of his playing were unanimous, they were not so consistent when discussing his teaching, which depended directly on the student's talent.[267] Consequently, Antal Dorati's description of Bartók as a teacher who easily accepted 'liberties dictated by the performer's temperament'[268] contrasts with the one given by Júlia Székely, who affirmed that 'Bartók never allowed so-called "personalities" to develop freely'.[269] However, I consider especially interesting Ernő Balogh's words regarding 'the proper place' in which Bartók considered it appropriate to introduce flexibility into the use of tempo and the rhythm of the music. According to

[265] Malcom Gillies: *Bartók Remembered* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1991). 44.
[266] *Ibid.*, 46.
[267] Malcolm Gillies: 'Bartók as a pedagogue'. *Studies in Music*, No. 24 (1991). 64-86. 68.
[268] Marilyn M. Grast: *How Bartók Performed his own Compositions*. Tempo 155 (Uxbridge: Brunel University, 1985). 15-21.
[269] Malcolm Gillies: *Bartók as a pedagogue*. 68.

Srebrenka, those places in which Bartók consciously indicated more 'freedom of *tempi*' are 'transitions between sections'.[270] This theory is also supported by László Stachó in his study about Bartók's performing editions of Beethoven's piano sonatas, in which he asserts that 'in his interpretation of metrical filler materials Bartók took into account their function in the construction of the larger form'.[271] However, after analysing Bartók's complete edition of Mozart's sonatas, I can conclude that, however true Srebrenka's and Stachó's words might be, Bartók's characteristic rhythmic and tempo flexibility did not happen exclusively in transitions between sections. Indeed, Bartók's *rubato* 'was turn-of-the-century romantic practice, the informal, declamatory *rubato* of the kind of music centred on Liszt that even stepped out of bars.'[272] Also deeply influenced by the *parlando rubato*, 'the speech rhythms of peasant music, that is the flexible way in which the rhythm of a tune adjusts to the text, and even to the emphatic lengthening of particular performances.'[273] Consequently, structuring the whole piece through slight tempo variations was just one feature inside a whole performing 'culture' in which 'flexibility was present at the more local level' and 'steadiness of the pulse was regarded as unnatural.'[274]

Having talked about the flexibility of the tempo during the Romantic period and Bartók's personal sense of rhythm as a performer, in Table 2-4 I have categorised his agogic indications depending on their function. There are several examples in which Bartók's agogic indications have a more 'local' effect and other ones in which their meaning is intrinsically related to the structure of the piece.

The following two examples from the Fantasy and Sonata K. 475/457 in C minor represent what I consider a 'local' tempo inflection during the musical speech of both pieces.

---

[270] Srebrenka, 61.

[271] Stachó, 14.

[272] Somfai László: 'The Centenary Edition of Bartók's Records. Bartók at the Piano. III. The Source Value of the Composer's Performance' (from the Angle of a Professional Musician). Hungaroton, LPX 12326–33;

[273] *Ibid.*

[274] Lampert Vera: 'Bartók at the piano'. 237.

Example 2-24a: Bars 64 – 67 of Fantasy K. 475 in C minor (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

Example 2-24b: Bars 73 – 79 of the third movement of Sonata K. 457 C minor (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

The passages above (Examples 2-24a and 2-24b) are extremely similar. Indeed, in both cases, the tempo change is not directly related to the structural importance of the passage or with the character of the music. Looking closer at the excerpts, it is noticeable that both examples follow the same pattern: i.e., a short and repeated motive separated by quaver silences and sustained by a soft and regular harmonic structure displayed by a classical accompaniment. In my opinion, it is precisely that 'hiccup' effect of the silences, together with the step-like direction of the phrases, which moved Bartók to furnish the whole passage with a very appropriate *agitato* indication.[275]

Examples 2-25a to 2-25c represent three different endings in Bartók's Mozart edition. Indeed, putting together the three examples it is easy to notice the richness of his indications, always descriptive, suggestive and personal, never following prescribed practices. While the first two extracts (Examples 2-25a and 2-25b) suggest a performance following the well-known Romantic convention of gradually slowing down the tempo at the end of a piece, the other two extracts present an unusual richness in terms of agogic indications – even suggesting an *accelerando* towards the end of the first movement of Sonata K. 284b (Example 2-25c) – and allow us a glimpse of the influence of his orchestral conception of Mozart's piano sonatas.

[275] In the words of Professor Ferenc Rados, when talking about the first movement of Chopin's 2nd Piano Sonata, the effect of the *agitato* indication written at the very beginning of the main theme is 'focused' directly in the silences, and not so much on the notes.

Example 2-25a: Last bars of the second movement of Sonata K. 300d in A minor (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

Example 2-25b: Last bars of the third movement of Sonata K. 300h in C major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

Bartók's *poco ritard.* highlights the effect of the deceptive cadence.

Example 2-25c: Last bars of the first movement of Sonata K. 284b in C major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

Bartók's *poco più vivo* suggests an overture-like and comical end to the piece, showing an operatic and orchestral understanding of it.

As I have already mentioned in subchapter 2.1, Bartók's style of showing different levels of structural importance through slight changes of *tempi* was his personal 'label', and so was missing from the Lhévinnes' recording. However, Bartók's Mozart editions do not always reflect this practice. Only in Sonata K. 457 do we find a deliberate tempo decrease at the second theme of the first movement (Example 2-26a).

Example 2-26a: Bars 21-25 of the first movement of Sonata K. 457 C minor (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

Indeed, Bartók followed the same practice while indicating *a tempo, ma tranquillo* in the third thematic motive of the third movement *Assai Allegro* [sic] (Rondo-Sonata) (Example 2-26b).

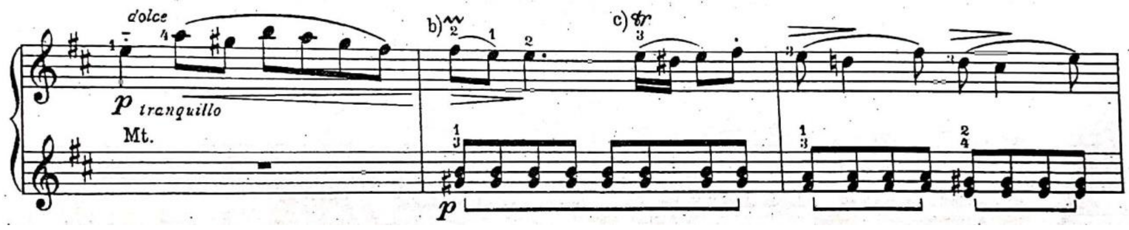
Example 2-26b: Bars 157-165 of the third movement of Sonata K. 457 C minor (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

Although Bartók did not write any specific change of tempo while editing most of the second themes of Mozart's first movements, he indicated the word *dolce* in many of them. It has already been shown how the Bartók–Pásztory recording of Mozart's Two Pianos Sonata in D major K. 448 deliberately decreases the tempo of the A major second theme. Moreover, it is interesting to observe that most of the editions of that time – including the 1878 AMA edition and Rudorff's from 1895, which were probably the editions that they played from in their performance – have Mozart's original *dolce* indication over the second theme of the first movement (see Example 2-27a).

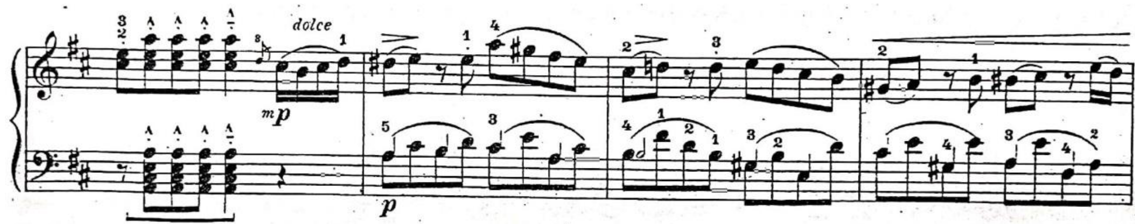
Example 2-27a: Bars 34-40 of the first movement of the Sonata for Two Pianos K. 448 in D major (AMA, 1878)

Consequently, knowing that decreasing the general tempo of a piece at important structural points was part of Bartók's performing practice (both when performing a solo or a duo with his wife) and taking also into consideration that many of Mozart's second themes of the first movements of his sonatas were intentionally contrasting with the character of the main motive and with the character of the whole sonata (see, for instance, Examples 2-27b and 2-27c shown below), did Bartók apply the term *dolce* to those second themes to suggest a slight decrease in the general tempo as well?

Example 2-27b: Bars 22-24 of the first movement of Sonata K. 205 in D major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)



Example 2-27c: Bars 16-19 of the first movement of Sonata K. 284c in D major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)



Coming back to Stachó's explanation of Bartók's performing style of 'metrical filler materials' and Srebrenka's assertion about Bartók's freedom of *tempi* in

transitional sections, I have selected six extracts of Mozart sonatas in which the end of the development section is connected with the beginning of the recapitulation through passages that consist of melodic and harmonic fillers with a prevailing improvisational character (Examples 2-28a to 2-28f). Indeed, the improvisational performance that those passages suggest fits with the late Romantic flexible and malleable performing style, which was in vogue when the young Bartók started his musical education and so was something he absorbed from the very beginning. However true Stacho's and Srebrenka's assertions may be, I consider it extremely important to study and analyse each case independently.

Example 2-28a: End of the development section in the first movement of Sonata K. 189h in G major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

Example 2-28b: End of the development section in the first movement of Sonata K. 189f in B flat major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

Example 2-28c: End of the development section in the first movement of Sonata K. 315 in B flat major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

Example 2-28d: End of the development section in the first movement of Sonata K. 300d in A minor (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

Examples 2-28a, 2-28b, 2-28c and 2-28d are linking passages with a clear melodic nature ('melodic fillers') and Examples 2-28e and 2-28f are simply extended passages in which a single harmony is presented, so of a predominantly harmonic nature. It is especially interesting to compare Example 2-28d with the other 'melodic fillers': while in Examples 2-28a, 2-28b and 2-28c Bartók clearly suggests a flexible performance of the transitional passage (*tranquillo-a tempo*; *meno allegro*/*poco rubato-a tempo*; *poco rit.*/*dolcissimo-a tempo*), in Example 2-28d he indicates the opposite: no agogic indication, just a *crescendo* towards the recapitulation (according to the energetic and rhythmic character of the whole sonata). Indeed, looking more closely at Examples 2-28a, 2-28b and 2-28c, the richness with which Bartók furnished each passage according to its character comes up again: he did not write any *ritardando* markings in Sonata K. 189h (Example 2-28a), separating both sections only with a little articulation sign suggesting an interruption without extra rest, due to the clear direction that the whole transitional section has towards the recapitulation. In contrast, in Sonata K. 189f (Example 2-28b), he added both a *ritardando* plus a comma (meaning an interruption with an additional rest[276]), due to the hesitating character of the filler. As a middle-ground between these two examples, in Sonata K. 315 (Example 2-28c) he indicated *poco ritardando* and *dolcissimo* in order to connect with the recapitulation with a gradual decline of sound and touch – *half-tenuto* plus *ritardando*.

[276] See Table 2-1.

Example 2-28e: End of the development section in the first movement of Sonata K. 457 in C minor (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

Example 2-28f: End of the development section in the first movement of Sonata K. 284b in C major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

The linking harmonic passages in sonatas K. 457 and K. 284b (Examples 2-28e and 2-28f) were not treated with less meticulousness. As can be seen in Example 2-28e (the extract from Sonata K. 457), the long seven-bar dominant seventh chord has two clear parts: firstly, the main motive is shown in *fortissimo* and, immediately after this, the transitional passage starts, which consists of an apparent disintegration of the material towards the last dominant seventh chord. Bartók marked this progressive fading of the music with a *poco a poco ritardando* accompanying the gradual transition from *piano* towards *pianissimo*. However, his performance of the whole transitional passage shown in Example 2-28f (the extract from Sonata K. 284b) is the opposite of

the interpretation of the 'metrical filler' shown in Example 2-28e (Sonata K. 457). With the exception of several *marcato* signs which suggest a similar touch for every entrance of the motive, Bartók barely marked the section at all, indicating that the main entry in C major should be similar to the other two previous 'false entries' without changing the tempo of the passage or making it more flexible.

Bartók's explanations of written improvisational passages are among the most useful sources for understanding the connection between his personal performing style and the influence that 19th-century improvisational culture had on it, especially with regard to rhythmic flexibility and freedom.

The extracts shown below compare the cadenza in the third movement of Sonata K. 315 (Example 2-29a) published in the 1878 AMA edition (which, according to Srebrenka, was Bartók's editorial source for this sonata[277]) and Bartók's 'transcription' of it (Example 2-29b).

Example 2-29a: Cadenza in the third movement of Sonata K. 315 B flat major (AMA, 1878)

[277] Srebrenka, 5.

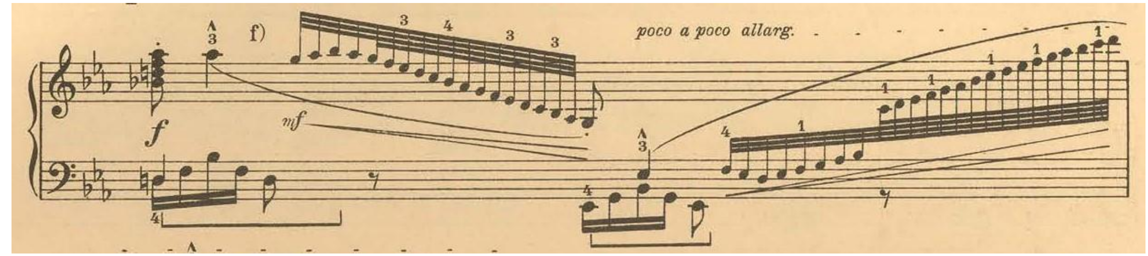
Example 2-29b: Cadenza in the third movement of Sonata K. 315 B flat major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

Starting from AMA's *ad libitum* indication (Bartók clearly disagreed with it, placing the indication in brackets), Bartók meticulously transcribed every scale, *arpeggio* and ornament which connects the five different F pitches in the passage – the last F corresponds with the first note of the *Rondo* theme (not shown in the extracts). The bracketing of the *ad libitum* indication, together with the slanted open hairpin which runs along the whole diminished seventh *arpeggio*, suggests that Bartók preferred a straightforward direction towards the bass. However, immediately after this, his *vivo* indication – not accompanied by any other dynamic sign – suggests that this scale could be understood as the end of the first improvisational gesture that contained these two first fillers. Against the very common practice of starting each trill slowly and gradually accelerating its speed towards the end of it (emphasising some improvisational freedom) Bartók suggests a continuous quick performance of it, which leads the music towards the high F, and all this is accompanied by two consecutive closing and opening hairpins obviously connected with the aforementioned improvisational freedom. At this point the last transitional passage starts, which opens a door towards the recapitulation to all the circular improvisational designs shown so far. It is interesting to observe how Bartók intended to reproduce a sort of *rubato* performance combining both *ritardando* and *a tempo* indications one after the other.

Connected with Bartók's 'transcriptions' of written improvisational passages are his explanations of Mozart's fillers in the second movement of his Sonata in C minor K.

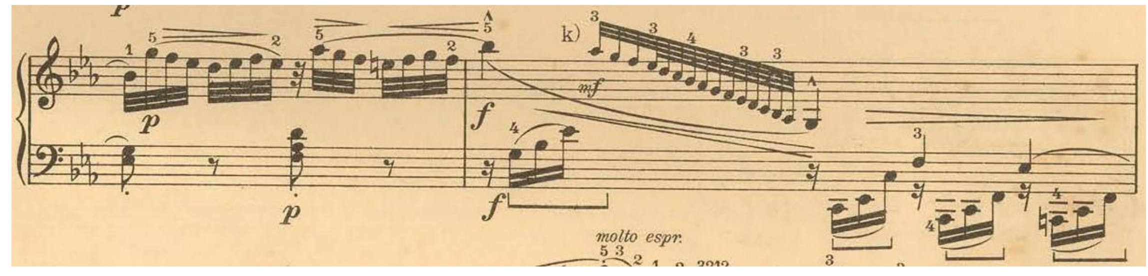
457 (Examples 2-30a and 2-30b), of crucial importance for understanding not only 19th-century performing practice of Classical music but also for getting closer to Bartók's conception of freedom and flexibility.

Example 2-30a: Bar 29 of the second movement of Sonata K. 457 in C minor (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)



f) The passages should start immediately after the bass notes of the 2nd and 4th beats and, beginning slowly, avoiding any *rubato*, should be performed *accelerando*.[278]

Example 2-30b: Bars 50-51 of the second movement of Sonata K. 457 in C minor (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)



k) Start with the passage on the 4th sixteenth; in case this slows down the beat, you can start on the 3rd.[279]

2.3.5 Written Performance Indications

The performance indications that Bartók used are among the most telling sources for revealing the influence of the 19th-century tradition that he inherited. Indeed, as Srebrenka emphasises, 'although the 1871 Cotta edition contains similar added performance indications, these differ from Bartók's, and are not nearly as numerous. All

278 '*Dei Passagen werden unmittelbar nach den Basstönen des 2. beziehungweise 4. Viertels eingesetzt und langsam beginnend jedes rubato vermeidend accelerando durchgeführt.'* W. A. Mozart Szonáták zongorára. Átnézte és ujjrenddel ellátta Bartók Béla (Editio Musica Budapest, 1950). 269.

279 '*Mann setzt mit der Passage auf dem 4. Sechzehntel ein; im Falle dies den Takt aufhält, kann man schon auf dem 3. einsetzen.' W. A. Mozart Szonáták zongorára*. Átnézte és ujjrenddel ellátta Bartók Béla (Budapest: Editio Musica Budapest, 1950). 271.

of the small print expression and tempo markings in Bartok's Mozart edition therefore stem from Bartok himself.'[280] Looking at all the performing indications that Bartók wrote in these performing editions (see Table 2-5), a few important questions stand out immediately.

Table 2-5: Written Performance Indications

dolce	*leggiero*	*vigoroso*
dolcissimo	*leggierissimo*	*energico*
cantabile	*martellato (K. 284b)*	*con bravura (K. 284c)*
espressivo	*egualmente*	*pesante* (only twice alone, not together with a dynamic sign, in the first movement of Sonata K. 533)
quasi espr. (only once in the second movement of Sonata K. 189h)	*semplice*	*smorzando* (K. 533)
scherzando/scherz.	*tranquillo*	*raddolcendo* (K. 533)
grazioso	*decido*	*agitato*
	risoluto	*vivo*
	subito	

The contrast between the abundance of Bartók's performance indications and lack of Mozart's original ones will be the first topic to delve into. In Bartók's sources and Mozart's autographs, we find hardly any clues regarding the performance of the piece (Mozart rarely wrote indications such as *mancando,*[281] *a piacere*, *sotto voce* or *raddolcendo*). However, Table 2-5 lists 20 different indications by Bartók, all of them with different degrees and nuances (again accompanied by Italian adverbs like *poco, molto, quasi, sempre,* etc.).

The nature of the signs is also an interesting point to consider. While the words that Mozart wrote in his sonatas are more 'distant' from the performer, Bartók's indications – *con bravura, vigoroso, raddolcendo, grazioso, risoluto,* etc. – are much

[280] Srebrenka, 52.

[281] According to Sandra P. Rosenblum in her book *Performance Practices in Classical Piano Music*, Mozart's original *mancando* indication means *diminuendo*. Sandra P. Rosenblum: *Performance Practices in Classical Piano Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988). 75.

more specific, modifying the performing idea and implying a direct action on the part of the performer. Bartók's indications are mostly typical expressions from the 19th-century Romantic era, and reveal that the relationship between composers and music from past centuries was changing. As was evident in the analysis of the editorial evolution of Mozart's Fantasy in C minor (see chapter 1), during the Romantic period the performer became a much more important part of the whole creation. Consequently, Bartók's performing indications were clearly referring to this new component of the music, in contrast to Mozart's few performance suggestions.

When I collected all the terms for Table 2-5, I made a clear distinction between them and the rest of the words written in the score regarding agogics and articulation. However, most of the performing indications that I included in the list have a double meaning, altering the performance and the rest of the parameters like dynamics, agogics and articulation. That is the case with terms such as *pesante, energico, subito, vigoroso, decido, risoluto* or *con bravura* (the latter used only once in Sonata K. 284c) which are often accompanied by a dynamic sign. I have decided to show several examples (some of them without any further explanation) of the most typical, as well as of the less common, indications present in Bartók's performing editions of Mozart's sonatas.

Example 2-31a: Bars 26-29 of the first movement of Sonata K. 300h in C major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

Example 2-31b: Bars 4-6 (Var. I) of the first movement of Sonata K. 300i in A major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

Example 2-31c: Beginning of the third movement of Sonata K. 300k in A major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

Example 2-31d: Bars 84-86 of the first movement of Sonata K. 284c in D major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

Words like *vivo, agitato, tranquillo* and *semplice*, apart from indicating character, are also related to the agogical aspect of the music. For instance, according to Srebrenka and coinciding with Suchoff's view,[282] 'Bartok's *tranquillo,* besides indicating a "peaceful" mood, may similarly indicate a slightly slower tempo from the basic tempo of the movement as well'.[283]

Example 2-32a: Bars 60-63 of Fantasy K. 475 in C minor (Rozsnyai Károly, Béla Bartók, 1910)

In this passage, Bartók wrote *poco a poco più agitato*, indicating a slightly acceleration of the tempo.

[282] Benjamin Suchoff has suggested that the *tranquillo* indication in No.84 from *Mikrokosmos* stands for 'slower.' Benjamin Suchoff, *Guide to Bartok's Mikrokosmos*, 73.

[283] Srebrenka, 62.

Example 2-32b: Bars 145-150 of the first movement of Sonata K. 300h in C major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

In the last bars of the first movement of Sonata K. 300h (Example 2-32b), Bartók indicated a calmer and rather slower tempo, together with a *ritardando* suggested by his *calando* marking.

Moreover, *leggiero* (and *leggierissimo,* which is found only once in Sonata K. 205, see Example 2-33a), *martellato* (also found only once in Sonata K. 284b, see Example 2-33b) or *egualmente* (used only once in Sonata K. 533, see Example 2-33c) are obviously suggesting a distinctive articulation in a particular passage.

Example 2-33a: Bars 11-13 (Var. X) of the third movement of Sonata K. 205 in D major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

Example 2-33b: Bars 78-81 of the first movement of Sonata K. 284b in C major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

Example 2-33c: Bars 173-176 of the third movement of Sonata K. 533 in F major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

Bartók wrote *egualmente* in order to suggest to the performer a very similar speed and touch for all the quavers in the left hand.

The terms *smorzando* and *raddolcendo*, both appearing only once in all the sonatas and both in the same one, Sonata K. 533, deserve special mention (see Example 2-34). *Raddolcendo* is not a common marking and, like the word *smorzando*, it refers to several different aspects of the music (character, agogic and dynamic).

Example 2-34: Bars 130-134 of the third movement of Sonata K. 533 in F major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

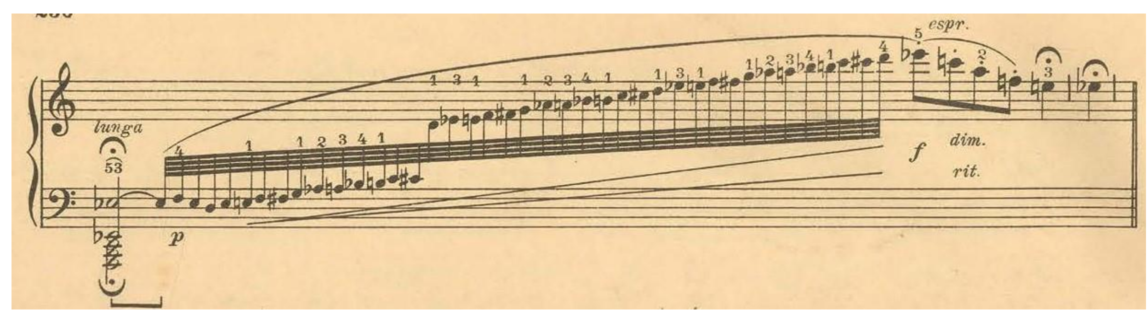
Both indications describe a particular way of slowing down the tempo, mixed with a tender and gentle reduction in volume. In this typical linking passage in Sonata K. 533, Bartók suggests a gradual decrease in volume, accompanied by a calmer and tender treatment of the tempo. Indeed, Srebrenka agrees with this opinion, asserting that 'the *raddolcendo* he indicated for the chromatically descending triplets in measure 131 supports the *decrescendo* hairpin written in the same measure, but it may also have a connotation of becoming calmer.'[284]

[284] Srebrenka, 56.

Example 2-35: Bars 80-83 of the first movement of Sonata K. 533 in F major (Editio Musica Budapest, Béla Bartók, 1950)

'Bartók used *smorzando* and *calando* to prescribe both *diminuendo* and *ritardando*'.[285] Moreover, a straightforward relationship between character indications such as *risoluto*, *decido* or *energico* and a dynamic indication is noticeable again.
As I mentioned in subchapter 2.3.3, there are also indications that Bartók used when he wanted to return to the initial speed of the music (*a tempo, L'istesso tempo*) or simply signs suggesting tempo variations not in a specific direction (*rubato*). The word *lunga,* used several times (for instance, over the long E flat minim in the little cadence of Mozart's Fantasy in C minor, see Example 2-36) is especially interesting, as it is trying to reinforce, in my opinion, the meaning of the *fermata* sign (indeed, Bartók always used this word together with this symbol in his editions of Mozart's piano sonatas).

Example 2-36: Bar 85 of the Fantasy K. 475 in C minor (Rozsnyai Károly, Béla Bartók, 1910)



As Somfai put it, 'the *fermata* symbol is often supplemented by *breve* or *lunga*, with or without parentheses.'[286] Only words like *dolce* (which, according to Srebrenka,

[285] Srebrenka, 62.
[286] Somfai László: *Béla Bartók: Composition, Concepts, and Autograph Sources*. 263.

was 'the most often added expressive marking in Bartók's Mozart editions'[287]) *cantabile, espressivo scherzando* and *grazioso* show purely an indication of character.

2.4 Conclusions

Béla Bartók firmly believed that, according to the natural order of things, practice comes before theory. Nature, understood as a primitive creational force, was a fundamental third part of that three-legged-table that included Art and Science, and completed the trinity that inspired quasi-religious feelings in him. Indeed, it could be said that Bartók was always looking, through music, for a permanent connection with Nature. Perhaps, as a spontaneous and instinctive impulse that grew naturally inside him, Bartók started to permeate his Art with a new Science to which he dedicated most of his life and energy: the study of peasant music. As a spontaneous phenomenon of Nature (and the ideal starting point for a musical renaissance), peasant music represented for him the embodiment of all the features on which the highest and newest art should be constructed: conciseness, utmost excision of all that is not essential, the power of expression, void of all sentimentality – his idea of perfection. All his musical work as a composer, concert pianist, chamber musician, editor and teacher, was governed by those qualities that Nature, through the most comprehensive tradition, transmitted to him in the form of folk music.

Nevertheless, Bartók was also irremediably a man of his time, receiving and absorbing, from his teacher István Thomán, the Vienna–Budapest tradition: that is, a comprehensive legacy coming directly from Liszt. The conjunction of those two inheritances, folk music and the Vienna–Budapest tradition, together with his strong personality and unique capabilities, helped to developed the genius that, like Schumann's League of David against the Philistines, confronted the new 'objective' music connected with Western's city culture: a music that he himself described as impersonal, dry and empty, devoid of flexibility, devoid of pulsating rhythm and devoid of emotions.

The fashionable steadiness of performance proposed by several composers and performers during the last three decades of his life – and unfortunately still alive nowadays – was something completely opposed to his musical principles and something urgently to confront by passing on to the next generation a reborn music product of a

[287] Srebrenka, 52

'comprehensive' understanding of the past. His compositions, his writings, his pupils, his recordings and his performing editions are the seeds of his efforts and were the reason for his life.

3. Interpreting Bartók's Performing Editions: An Analysis of Bartók's Instructions for the 'Woodwind Quartet' Section of the Andantino in Mozart's Fantasy in C minor K. 475

> A work can be understood without one knowing its author but there is no understanding a man without his works, for this is where he has planted the best part of himself.[288]

Bartók was a truly unique artist, but he was still a man of his time. He built a personal language as a composer and pianist using as a foundation the peasant music that he collected throughout his life. However, his style and musical conception were also deeply influenced by the Austro-Hungarian tradition of performing practice, to which he was heir and of which he is still a reference nowadays. In all his recordings, writings, lessons and performing editions, Bartók preserved and passed on a whole tradition, in the form of a legacy, to the next generation.

Part of that legacy, i.e., his performing editions of Bach, Scarlatti, Couperin, Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven,[289] was originally conceived purely for pedagogical purposes. However, as we have seen in this dissertation, the significance and value of these performing editions for scholars and performers for the study of Bartók's notation and Bartók's performing style is indeed great. In fact, Barth's quote regarding the reciprocal relationship between both fields – 'if we can understand what notation meant to performers of each era, might we not "hear" them perform?'[290] – illustrates the main aim of this third and last chapter of this dissertation. Having analysed in the second chapter the roots of Bartók's musical conception and performing style and compiled the notational signs and indications that Bartók used in his editions of Mozart sonatas, the intention in this chapter is to analyse a section of Bartók's performing edition of Mozart's Fantasy in C minor K. 475 in order to corroborate whether we are able to

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[288] Zoltán Kodály: 'Béla Bartók the Man'. In: *The Selected Writings of Zoltán Kodály*, trans. Lili Halápi and Fred Macnicol (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1974). 97.

[289] For more information regarding all Bartók's performing editions, see Somfai László 'As Bela Bartok Played Classics'. Catalogue of the *Temporary Exhibition in the Museum of Music History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences* (Budapest, 1986).

[290] George Barth: 'Mozart Performance in the 19th Century'. *Early Music,* Vol. 19, No. 4 (1991). 538-555. 538.

'hear' Bartók's interpretation of the piece through a deeper understanding of his notation and performing indications.

In order to achieve this aim, the first step is to compare Bartók's performing edition with its source – namely, the C. F. Peters edition (1879), edited by Louis Köhler and Richard Schmidt – in order to differentiate Bartók's own notation from that of the source. I will then compare Bartók's edition with examples taken from Mozart's autograph, Artaria's first edition (1875), and from editions by Sigmund Lebert (Cotta Edition,1892), Hugo Riemann (N. Simrock, 1884) and Carl Reinecke.[291] I will take the opportunity to compare Bartók's edition with Reinecke's recording (1905) made on a Hupfeld piano roll – as well as with the recording by Ernö von Dohnányi (1954).[292] Having both been piano pupils of István Thomán[293] and, subsequently, fellow piano teachers at the Royal Academy of Music in Budapest,[294] these performers are of course interesting to hear; the reason why I included Dohnányi's version is because, in spite of being Dohnáyi's and Bartók's styles clearly different in some respects, I consider Dohnányi's version as, possibly, the closest to the one that Bartók would judge as 'valuable', since they were exposed to such a similar musical background and to the influence of the Austro-Hungarian tradition of performing practice.

In order to delve in detail into Bartók's hypothetical musical intentions, hidden within his performing edition, I decided to restrict the analysis to the first half of the Andantino of the Fantasy – as it is the central part of the piece and occupies, in structural and musical terms, a relevant place. The Andantino is divided into two contrasting sections: firstly, the 'woodwind quartet', which runs from bar 86 to bar 101; and secondly, immediately after it, the 'reedy trio', from bars 102 to 113.[295] A relatively

[291] Collected in a compilation entitled *Twenty Piano Compositions by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, edited by Carl Reinecke* and published in Boston by the Oliver Ditson Company in 1906.

[292] This recording was made on 28 February 1954, during a concert that Dohnányi gave in Athens, Ohio. Dohnányi Collection of the Archives for 20th-21st Century Music of the Institute for Musicology RCH of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

[293] Dohnányi started his studies with István Thomán in 1894, and inspired Béla Bartók to do so too. Bartók studied with Thomán at the Royal Academy of Music in Budapest between 1899 and 1903. For more information, see Bartók's essay 'About István Thomán' (1927), in Benjamin Suchoff (ed.): *Béla Bartók Essays* (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 1992). 489-491.

[294] Bartók taught the piano at the Royal Academy of Music in Budapest between 1906 and 1940, while Dohnányi started teaching at the same institution in the 1916-17 academic year, having occupied the position of Head of the Piano Department and, intermittently, the position of Director.

[295] Cliff Eisen and Christopher Wintle: 'Mozart's C Minor Fantasy, K. 475: An Editorial "Problem" and Its Analytical and Critical Consequences'. *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, Vol. 124, No. 1 (1999). 26-52. 36-41. In the following analysis, I indicate bar numbers on the basis of the examples, specifying in brackets the bar numbers within the whole Fantasy.

long transitional passage closes the whole section and connects it with the following *Più Allegro*. Due to its importance in terms of musical and editorial interest, Bartók did much more conscientious editorial work in the first part of the Andantino than in the second part. Consequently, I will restrict the analysis and interpretation of Bartók's editorial work to the 'woodwind quartet' section of the Andantino.

3.1 Analysis

The first eight bars form an ordinary classical phrase divided into two parts: an antecedent of four bars followed by a four-bar consequent. An appropriate starting point for the analysis would be the antecedent of the first phrase (Example 3-1).

Example 3-1: The opening bars of the Andantino (C. F. Peter, Louis Köhler, 1879)

At first glance, something unusual catches our attention: apparently, the music of the second and third bars (bars 87 and 88 of the Fantasy) does not match the 3/4 bar written at the beginning of the section. An extract of the bass in the first four bars is the foundation from which to start the analysis (Figure 3-1).

Figure 3-1: Bass line of bars 1-4 (86-89) of the Andantino with Köhler's performing indications

Figure 3-1 shows one of the fundamental features of this 'woodwind quartet': the music is unexpectedly compressed, creating a feeling of lack of space and suggesting the character of a 'wrong-footed comedy'.[296] Moreover, the bass is doubled

[296] Eisen and Wintle, 40.

at the end of bar two, dropping one octave lower, and reinforcing the *forte* (*mezzoforte* in Bartók's edition) as the dynamic peak of the phrase. Indeed, the structural consequences of this change of register will become clear later on, turning into an element to be developed.[297]

Mozart's idea of curtailing the music in these first bars goes beyond the mere rest-shortening. If we synthesise the whole bass line without taking into consideration the change of register, it goes straight from B flat to F, the note F being the final goal of the bass line:

Bb – C – D – E b – F

Returning to Figure 3-1, it is also noticeable that the bass of the first three bars (bars 86-88 of the Fantasy) is suddenly compressed at the end of bar three in a last four-note closing gesture. The idea of gradually curtailing the music not only comes with melodic consequences: there are notable implications for the metrical structure too. The following rhythmic sketch of the first three bars demonstrates this:

Figure 3-2: Rhythmic sketch of the first three bars of the Andantino

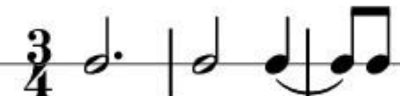


Figure 3-2 synthesises the musical gestures present from the beginning until the first beat of bar three (bars 86-88 of the Fantasy). The purpose of this sketch is to outline not the real rhythm in the score, but the space that each musical gesture occupies. Thus, the first motive takes up the whole first bar. In the following bar, the same motive is displayed in progression, being developed, each time, a second higher. The step-like succession culminates in the last appearance of the motive at the end of bar two. The tension of the whole passage is released in the first beat of the third bar, in which the first two quavers open a question mark in an unexpectedly abrupt end. However, putting together the idea of 'compressed' music with the rhythmic sketch of the bass line (Figure 3-2), it seems evident that Mozart shortened the natural space that

[297] *Ibid*.

the 3/4 bar gives by progressively curtailing the space between the consecutive motives. In the following examples I compare two versions of the first four bars: the first extract (Figure 3-3a) shows a simplified version of the melody in which I have 'corrected' the original displacement of the motives, trying to show a more conventional version of it; the second version (Figure 3-3b) shows a simplified version of the melody in its original form, and includes Köhler's performing indications.

Figure 3-3a: Simplified version of the melody without the original displacement of the motives

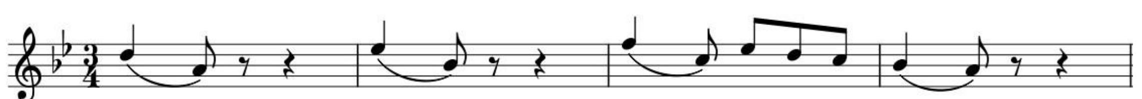


Figure 3-3b: Simplified version of the melody in its original form

Figures 3-3a and 3-3b bring the musical essence of the passage to light, revealing the inner metrical structure of it. It shows that the length of both extracts is exactly the same, but the initial points of each motive do not coincide. By which metrical means did Mozart construct the beginning of the Andantino? Figure 3-4, using Figure 3-1 as its basis, reveals the metrical nature of the antecedent, according to Köhler's edition:

Figure 3-4: Analysis of the metrical organisation of the Andantino's first phrase antecedent according to Köhler's edition (bass line)

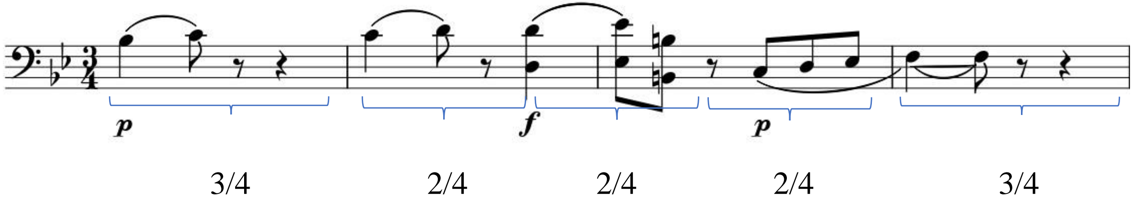


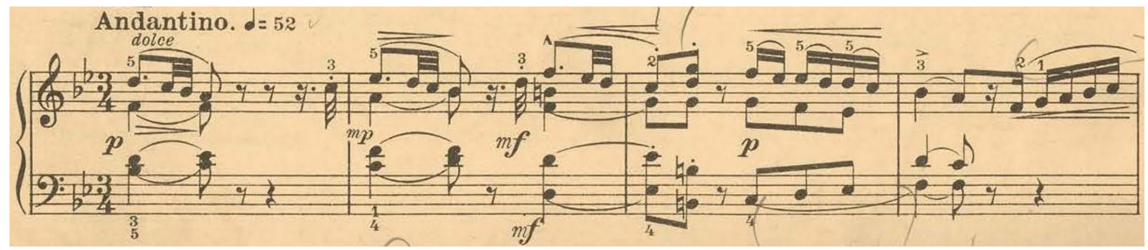
Figure 3-4 shows, at bars 2 and 3 (bars 87 and 88 of the Fantasy), how Mozart transformed the original 3/4 bar into three consecutive 2/4 virtual bars, creating a

destabilising hemiola which is responsible for the compression of the music, the feeling of a lack of space and the comical character of 'wrong-footing'.

So, having analysed the inner construction of these opening bars, the question arises: how did Bartók interpret them? Will we be able to 'hear' him perform these first bars with only the help of his performing indications in his edition?

Example 3-2: The opening bars of the Andantino (C. F. Peter, Louis Köhler, 1879)

Example 3-3: The opening bars of the Andantino (Rozsnyai Károly, Béla Bartók, 1910)



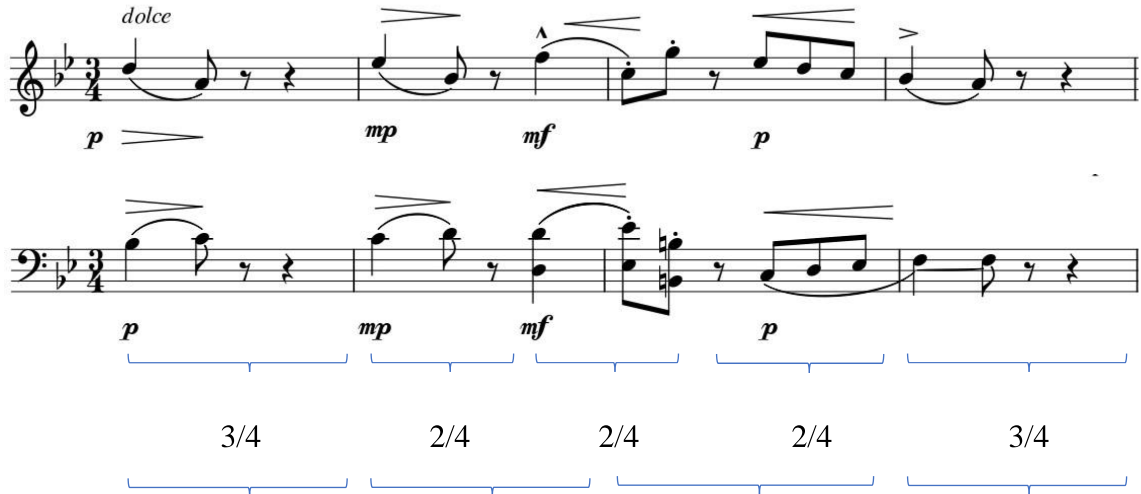
Example 3-4: The opening bars of the Andantino (Edition Cotta, Sigmund Lebert, 1892)

When setting Bartók's performing edition (Example 3-3) alongside its source (Example 3-2), we notice that Bartók added indications related to character (*dolce* at the beginning of the section), dynamics (opening/closing hairpins, an *mp* indication and a modified *f* indication, converted into a new *mf*, both at bar 2 [bar 87]), accentuation (one *marcatissimo* sign in bar 2 [bar 87] and one *marcato* sign in bar 4 [bar 89]) and articulation (two *staccato* dots over the first notes of the third bar). What did Bartók want to suggest with them? The combination of the opening/closing hairpins that

furnish every motive, the terrace-like *crescendo* and the two revealing articulation signs over the note F (*marcatissimo* sign on the third beat of the second bar) and the note B flat (*marcato* sign on the first beat of the fourth bar) give us a clear picture of Bartók's performing intentions. Regarding the dynamic treatment of these opening bars, unlike Köhler (Example 3-2) and Lebert (Example 3-4), Bartók gave a certain dynamic level to each entrance of the motive (*p* for the beginning, *mp* for the second entrance of the motive and *mf* for the third entrance). That makes the hemiola appear to the performer in a graphic and vivid manner. Moreover, the combination of the *mf* in the second bar, and the *marcatissimo* sign over the note F on the third beat of that bar, gives it sufficient strength as if it were the first beat of a virtual 2/4 bar unexpectedly inserted into the ternary meter.

However, it is between the third beat of the second bar and the first beat of the following bar where the hemiola strikes the natural 3/4 bar, so the binary and ternary bars crash, creating unusual instability and friction. Which one predominated in Bartók's performing edition? As I mentioned previously, Bartók furnished the first two motives with a closing hairpin. But he placed an opening hairpin above the motive that connects the second and third bars of the antecedent rather than the two previous ones. With this opening hairpin, in my opinion Bartók wanted to highlight the coexistence of both metrical realities without showing a clear preponderance of the ternary bar over the hemiola, or vice versa. Indeed, Bartók suggests an interesting metrical ambiguity which is present throughout the 'woodwind quartet'. Figure 3-5 exemplifies that ambiguity:

Figure 3-5: Analysis of the metrical organisation of the first four bars according to Bartók's edition (simplified melodic line + bass line)



3/4 3/4 3/4 3/4

It is in such moments that I wish I could hear Bartók himself interpreting these bars. However, fortunately I have had access to the recording of this work made by Ernst von Dohnányi in 1954. Bearing in mind the similar musical education that Bartók and Dohnányi had, especially that they belonged to that 'turn-of-the-century Romantic practice, the informal, declamatory *rubato* of the kind of music centred on Liszt that even stepped out of bars'[298] that László Somfai has brilliantly described, Dohnányi's performance should be – and apparently is – close to a hypothetical rendering made by Bartók himself. Indeed, Dohnányi's interpretation of these opening bars coincides with Bartók's performing edition on important matters such as tempo (even knowing that Bartók took the metronome indications from Lebert), the *dolce* character and dynamic treatment of the passage (both the written dynamic indications as well as the hairpins that shape the phrase). Both Bartók and Dohnányi, even agree upon the metrical ambiguity of the passage: in my opinion, neither Bartók nor Dohnányi indicate a preponderance of one bar (either the virtual 2/4 or the original 3/4) over the other. However, what is especially interesting in Dohnányi's recording is his rhythmic flexibility (also typical of Bartók's performing practice, a feature highlighted by many of his students and fellow musicians):[299] for instance, the way in which he slightly anticipates the unexpected motivic entrances, barely curtailing the rests that separate them; his manner of expanding the interval of a fifth at the beginning of the third bar by slightly slowing down the tempo in the melodic leap; and how he consequently recovers the stolen time by rushing (imperceptibly) through the step-like succession of appoggiaturas towards the fourth bar. All of these performance features illustrate the rational flexibility and conscious freedom typical of the so-called Vienna-Budapest tradition of performing practice. However ultimately, whether Bartók would have performed these opening bars in a similar manner to Dohnányi will of course always remain unknown.

Connected with the limits of musical notation and its inability to transmit all those minute nuances present in a recording, Reinecke's edition (Example 3-5) and his

[298] *Centenary Edition of Bartók's Records (Complete).* Volume I: *Bartók at the Piano 1920–1945.* Budapest: Hungaroton, LPX 12326–33, 1981.

[299] See Chapter II, subchapter 2.1 'Bartók's "Inspired Simplicity" and "Subjective Objectivity": A "Comprehensive" Performing Practice' of this dissertation, in which I analyse in depth the roots and main features of Bartók's performing practice.

recording of Mozart's Fantasy in C minor is a great example for every scholar or performer who would like to experience those limits, especially in regard to the notation of all the tiny agogic nuances.[300]

Example 3-5: Bars 1-8 of the Andantino (bars 86-93 of the Fantasy) (The Oliver Ditson Co., Carl Reinecke, 1906)

Without having the opportunity to compare Reinecke's edition with its source, it seems clear that it is a less emended text than Bartók's edition, but Reinecke's edition shows terraced dynamics in the opening bars just as Bartók's does. However, the Hupfeld piano roll from 1905 that Reinecke made is especially telling. Of course, it always has to be borne in mind that piano roll recordings were limited in registering dynamics accurately. Yet this recording turns out to be interesting for our case study for the following reasons: firstly, because it was made only five years before the publication of Bartók's performing edition of this work; secondly, because Reinecke was a student of Franz Liszt in Leipzig, something that turns him into a direct heir of Liszt's performing school so, consequently, a musician and pianist close to one of the traditions to which Bartók was also heir; and lastly, because Reinecke was a composer who was born just 33 years after Mozart's death and who was performing into old age with no diminution of his abilities. This recording was made five years before Reinecke's death, and it includes invaluable information in all its agogic nuances. Indeed, after comparing Reinecke's recording with his own edition of the piece, that

[300] The only pieces that he edited and recorded were the four Scarlatti sonatas L.286, L.135, L.293 and L.50 and the six variations op. 34 by Beethoven (only an excerpt of the theme and the first variation).

could be perhaps one of the most noticeable differences: just like the difference between Bartók's performances of his own music and his scores, Reinecke's performance differs significantly from what he wrote in his edition. For instance, the rhythmic flexibility with which he performs the whole passage, slightly hastening the demisemiquavers of the motive; the exaggeration of the feeling of lack of space by curtailing the rest that separates the two consecutive appearances of the motive in the second bar; or the way in which he arpeggiates the first beat of the first two appearances of the motives – in particular, the two entrances which are expected according to the 3/4 bar – in order to give them a bigger density and, consequently, not doing so in the first beat of the third entrance, due to it being unexpected. These are several of the most remarkable features of Reinecke's performance. They reflect a much more blatant interpretation than the ambiguous one by Dohnányi, especially since Reinecke emphasises the 2/4 bar over the 3/4 one. Yet all those performing nuances are hardly visible in Reinecke's edition. Indeed, the comparison between Reinecke's performance and his own edition should remind us of Somfai's description of musical notation as 'shorthand, fairly good shorthand as we know. [But] still, it is not a good enough shorthand…'[301] Interpretation is still an essential step when it comes to reading and analysing Bartók's edition.

Turning to Riemann's edition of the work, due to the explicitness of his indications, a little less interpretation is needed (Example 3-6).

Example 3-6: Bars 1-4 of the Andantino (bars 86-89 of the Fantasy) (N. Simrock, Hugo Riemann, 1884)

Riemann's edition reflects his intention of fixing the 'wrong-foot[ed] comedy' of these first bars of the Andantino. Indeed, in the first bar we can observe a good example of the *à la Riemann* anacrusis: in the first bar of Example 3-6, the second beat of the motive acts as a virtual first beat of a virtually displaced 3/4 bar, understanding

[301] Somfai László: 'Critical Edition with or without Notes for the Performer'. *Studia Musicologica*, Vol. 53, No. 1/3 (March 2012). 113-140. 113.

the first beat of the motive as an anacrusis. Applied to bar-couple structures, 'for Riemann pairs of measures are anacrusic rather than beginning-accented: the first measure of a pair functions as an upbeat to the second one in an end-oriented way.'[302] Moreover, regarding the hemiola, Riemann only conceived one virtual 2/4 bar inside the antecedent of the first phrase (the one which corresponds with the second virtual bar in his edition).

Leaving these editorial differences in bars 1-4 (bars 86-89 of the Fantasy) and coming back to the analysis of the Andantino, in the next four bars of the consequent (Example 3-7) one finds a similar approach to the one at the opening (Example 3-2). After a little melodic filler of five semiquavers connecting both parts of the phrase at bar 4 (bar 89 of the Fantasy), the motive comes again in a varied way:

Example 3-7: Bars 5-8 of the Andantino (bars 90-93 of the Fantasy) (C. F. Peter, Louis Köhler, 1879)

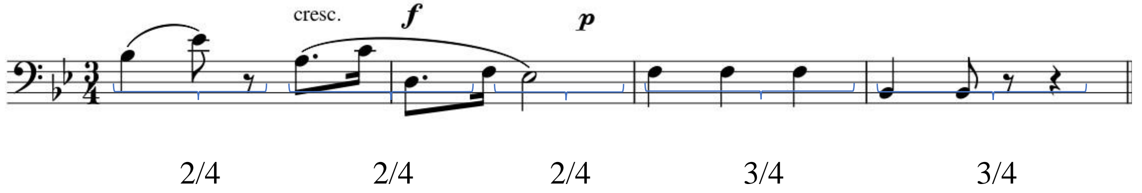
The contrary motion between the melody and the bass displayed in the three entrances of the motive contrasts with the simple insinuation of it at the beginning of the Andantino. In fact, the perpetual instability of the whole 'woodwind quartet' gathers strength in the consequent in comparison with the first four bars of the antecedent. As the music continues, the performer realises that the aforementioned 'mirror' movement of the voices, in Mozart's hands, is a genuine structural feature of the section. In fact, the 'woodwind quartet' and the 'reedy trio' contrast fundamentally in character and structure: while the 'woodwind' quartet, essentially based upon the contrary motion of the voices, represents a more comically clumsy character, the 'reedy trio' shows a completely different character, more amorous and pastoral-like, essentially based upon the parallel motion of the voices.[303]

[302] Stachó László: 'Érzékiség és szigor: az előadóművész Bartók'. *Magyar Zene* 54 (1) (2016). 31-58. 30.
[303] Eisen and Wintle, 36-41.

As Example 3-7 shows, the hemiola present in the first four bars of the antecedent is now rather blurred by the long *legato* articulation which runs from the third beat of bar 5 until the end of bar 7 (bars 90-92 of the Fantasy). However, it does not mean that this four-bar consequent is completely free of metrical displacements (with the syncopation at bar 7 [bar 92] as its most interesting and expressive one).

In contrast, the left hand of the consequent, analysed in Figure 3-6, shows its metrical organisation according to its bass (including Köhler's indications).

Figure 3-6: Analysis of the metrical organisation of bars 5-8 of the Andantino (bars 90-93 of the Fantasy) according to Köhler's edition (simplified bass line)



Comparing the beyond-the-bar *legato* of the melody with the articulation of the bass, the interpretation suggested by Köhler is ambiguous. Perhaps the *forte* indication at the beginning of bar 6 (bar 91 of the Fantasy, Example 3-7 and Figure 3-6) reveals Köhler's intentions of consolidating the 3/4 bar's strong beat in spite of the long *legato* indications inherited from the 19th-century editorial tradition.

Example 3-8: Bars 5-8 of the Andantino (bars 90-93 of the Fantasy) (Rozsnyai Károly, Béla Bartók, 1910)

Setting Bartók's edition (Example 3-8) alongside its source (Example 3-7), there is evidence that 'it is the very detail that reveals this to be one of the most artistic and

sensitive of the 19th-century-style instructive editions'.[304] Most of Bartók's emendations were made to the articulation, especially slurs – Bartók's other additions or emendations include dynamic additions or dynamic modifications, articulation signs such as *marcato* and *marcatissimo* and closing hairpins.

When talking about the treatment of Mozart's slurs during the 19th century it is worth citing Franz Giegling's words regarding Breitköpf und Härtel's *Alte Mozart Ausgabe* edition (1878), the one that Eisen considered as 'the apex of 19th-century musical scholarship'.[305] 'Mozart's hastily written slurs, often inexact and inconsistent, were interpreted in the sense of the 19th century: measure-long legato slurs and, particularly in keyboard works, uniform legato markings over long stretches appear in place of motivic and upbeat divisions.'[306] After a brief glance at Köhler's slurs in Example 3-7, it seems evident that it was deeply influenced by the same 19th-century scholarly wave. However, Bartók's interpretation of those slurs is radically different. Indeed, it is closer to the original slurring of the passage, as we can see in Examples 3-9a and 3-9b:

Example 3-9a: First eight-bar phrase of the Andantino (Autograph, 1785)

Example 3-9b: First eight-bar phrase of the Andantino (Artaria's first edition, 1st print, 1785)

[304] George Barth: 'Mozart Performance in the 19th Century'. *Early Music*, Vol. 19, no. 4 (1991). 538-555. 550.

[305] Cliff Eisen: 'The Old and New Mozart Editions'. *Early Music,* Vol. 19, no. 4 (1991). 513.532. 513.

[306] Translation, provided by Eisen at page 514, of Giegling's 'Probleme der Neuen Mozart-Ausgabe' *Schweizerische Musikzeitung* (Zürich. 96. 1956). 41-43. 42-43.

A comparison between Bartók's edition of this section of the Andantino (Example 3-8) with Mozart's autograph (Example 3-9a) and the first edition of the piece made under Mozart's supervision (Example 3-9b) reveals Bartók's instinct for 18th-century editorial and performing practices. Barth corroborates this, saying that 'while Bartók's edition is more pedagogical than scholarly, it nevertheless shows a growing concern for sources and an awareness of 18th-century practice'.[307] Even with no access to the autograph or to Artaria's first edition, Bartók succeeded in suggesting a very similar slurring for the right hand to Mozart's original, with the only exception being bar 6 (Example 3-8). Indeed, the presence of the *marcatissimo* sign in the same bar reveals an intention to articulate the music by purely dynamic means and not simply by the technical means that early fortepianos permitted. However, the articulation of the left hand in Bartók's edition (taken directly from his source) suggests a more 19th-century approach, breaking the 'rule' of articulating each motive individually, and breaking the principle of equally articulating parallel or opposite gestures in both hands at the same time (as both Examples 3-9a and 3-9b clearly suggest).

The presence of a *marcatissimo* sign over the note F# in bar 6 (bar 91 of the Fantasy) in Bartók's edition also confirms Bartók's awareness of the coherence of this first phrase of the Andantino. Parallel to the antecedent, in which Bartók also placed a *marcatissimo* sign over the note F in order to indicate the first beat of a virtual 2/4 bar, Bartók placed the same indication over the note F# in bar 6 (bar 91), showing the importance of this syncopated F# inside the 3/4 bar. However, as in the antecedent four-bar phrase, the way in which Bartók used the closing hairpins for furnishing every motive again gives us important information regarding his interpretation of the passage. The closing hairpin on the first beat of bar 6 (bar 2 in Example 3-8) together with the following *marcatissimo* sign on the second beat of the bar shows again the same metrical ambiguity mentioned above in the analysis of the four-bar antecedent. Indeed, with all these indications, Bartók reveals that he made a serious effort not to establish a preponderance of one meter over another.

Listening to Dohnányi's recording provides important certainties that were mere hypotheses while looking to Bartók's edition. First of all, Dohnányi clearly directs the whole consequent of the phrase towards the F# of bar 6 (bar 91 of the Fantasy, marked with a *marcatissimo* sign in Bartók's edition, Example 3-8). Indeed, before reaching the

[307] Barth, 550.

point which he obviously considered the peak of the phrase in terms of intensity, Dohnányi anticipates the arrival by accelerating the two motivic entrances at the end of bar 5 (bar 90) and the beginning of bar 6. As we saw in the second chapter of this dissertation, Bartók used a wide variety of agogic terms to furnish different passages of Mozart's sonatas.[308] Why did he not use an indication such as *agitato*, *poco agitato* or *poco a poco più agitato* (this last, indeed, he used in bars 66 and 67 of the Fantasy) in this passage of the Andantino? In my opinion, the comparison between Bartók's edition and Dohnányi's performance shows that Bartók's intentions were slightly different from Dohnányi's. In fact, the closing hairpin that Bartók placed at the beginning of bar 6 (bar 91 of the Fantasy, Example 3-8) reflects, perhaps, an intention to direct the consequent of the phrase towards the first beat of bar 6 (bar 91) – contrary to Dohnányi's performance. Perhaps Bartók would have hastened both motivic entrances at bars 5 and 6 (bars 90 and 91 of the fantasy, Example 3-8) in a hypothetical performance. However, notating all the minute nuances present in a performance by Bartók would be a nonsense as well as endless work, as László Somfai demonstrated in his introductory text to *The Centenary Edition*.[309]

Riemann's edition of that passage (Example 3-10) curiously suggests an ambiguous performance: on the one hand, Riemann directs the whole passage towards the F# in bar 6 (bar 91) by using three opening hairpins towards the note of arrival; on the other hand, he also establishes unquestionably the first beat of bar 6 (bar 91) as the real first beat of the bar – contrary to his own understanding of bar 5 (bar 90 of the Fantasy, Example 3-10). Here he did not suggest a different metrical organisation of bar 6.

Example 3-10: Bars 5-8 of the Andantino (bars 90-93 of the Fantasy) (N. Simrock, Hugo Riemann, 1884)

[308] See Table 4 'Agogic Indications' at subchapter 2.3.4 'Agogic Indications' in Chapter II 'Bartók's Performing Editions of Mozart's Piano Sonatas: A Hidden Tradition and Performing Style'.

[309] *Centenary Edition of Bartók's Records (Complete).* Volume I: *Bartók at the Piano 1920–1945.* Budapest: Hungaroton, LPX 12326–33, 1981. 32.

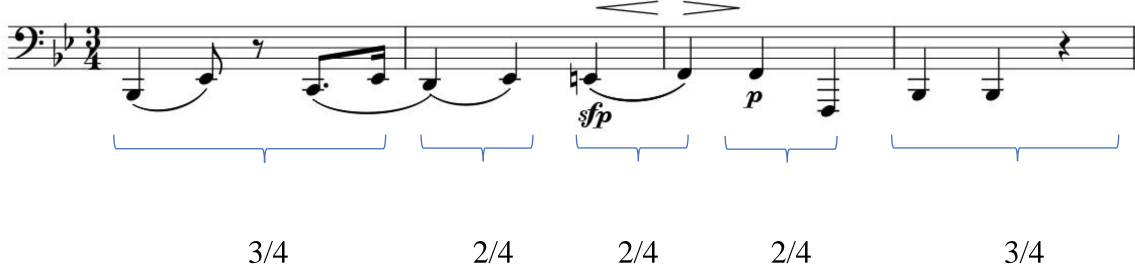
The following eight-bar phrase of the Andantino (bars 8 to 16 of the Andantino, bars 93 to 101 of the Fantasy), divided just like the previous phrase into a four-bar antecedent and a four-bar consequent, consists of a varied repetition of bars 1 to 8 (bars 86 to 93 of the Fantasy). The first noticeable change is the register, which appears one octave lower than before. In the antecedent of the Andantino's first phrase (Example 3-2), the octaves in the left hand at bars 2 and 3 (bars 87 and 88) lead to a change of register at bar 3 (bar 88), which has structural consequences for the whole Andantino. The same happens in bars 9 to 12 (bars 94 to 97 of the Fantasy, Example 3-11). Indeed, in the 'reedy trio', Mozart converted this octave-lower drop into a useful musical element ripe for development. Moreover, the last three bars of the consequent (Example 3-11, bars 14 to 16 of the Andantino, bars 99 to 101 of the Fantasy) are now a varied version of the cadence between bars 6 and 8 (bars 91 and 93 of the Fantasy, Example 3-7). Due to the exact repetition of the antecedents of both phrases (Example 3-2, and bars 9 to 12 in Example 3-11, bars 94 to 97 of the Fantasy), we will focus directly upon the varied version of the consequent (inside a green box in Example 3-11).

The character of this variation, which is in great contrast to the *agitato* nature of its counterpart in the first phrase, is close to the pastoral and amorous character of the coming 'reedy trio', and acts as a link to it. Indeed, it is in this four-bar consequent that the transformation occurs from a clumsy comical character into a courteous, pastoral and amorous one – the contrast not exempt from the humour that characterises the whole Andantino.

The bass is, again, the most convenient source for discovering the metrical organisation of the whole passage. The following Example 3-11 and Figure 3-7 show an extract from bars 5 to 17 of Köhler's edition (bars 90 to 102 of the Fantasy). Example 3-11 highlights in a green box the consequent of the second phrase and Figure 3-7 provides an analysis of the metrical organisation of that consequent.

Example 3-11: Bars 5-17 of the Andantino (bars 90-102 of the Fantasy) (C. F. Peter, Louis Köhler, 1879)

Figure 3-7: Analysis of the metrical organisation of the Andantino's second phrase antecedent according to Köhler's edition (simplified bass line)

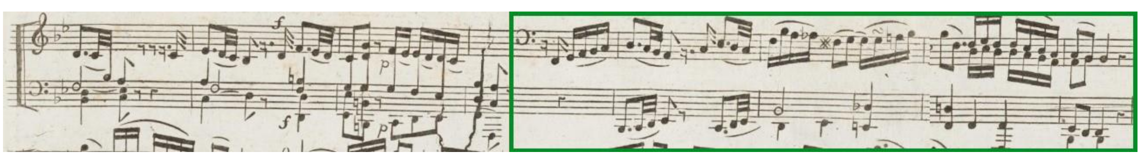


Example 3-11 shows the consequent of the first phrase (bars 5 to 8 of the Andantino, bars 90 to 93 of the Andantino) and its varied repetition (highlighted inside the green box). Mozart's variations in the bass of these last four bars of the 'woodwind quartet' include the simplification of the main motive in bar 6 (bar 91 of the Fantasy) into a simple crotchet in bar 14 (bar 99) and the separation of the minim in bar 6 (bar 91) into two crotchets which connect with the F in bar 15 (bar 100) through a step-like chromatic movement. It is curious how Köhler firstly connects the two consecutive

motives with the following minim under the same slur in bar 6 (bar 91) but does not do so between bars 13 and 14 (bars 98 and 99 of the Fantasy), where he slurs the first two beats of bar 14 (bar 99) independently. Moreover, Köhler slurs the E♮ in bar 14 (bar 99) together with the F in bar 15 (bar 100) but he does not do the same with the corresponding Eb minim in bar 6 (bar 91) and the following F in bar 7 (bar 92).

Even more striking, when one consults Mozart's autograph and Artaria's first edition (both notated in the same way in these bars), one realises that Mozart's original articulation of the passage far from coincides with Köhler's – I include only an extract of Artaria's first edition (Example 3-12) due its exact correspondence with Mozart's autograph.

Example 3-12: Second eight-bar phrase of the Andantino (Artaria's first edition, 1st print, 1785)



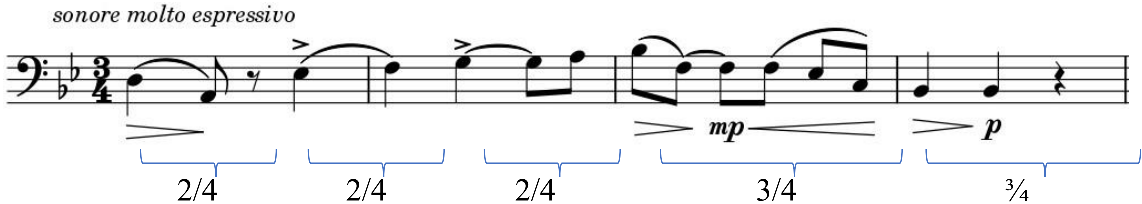
Example 3-12 reflects a much more ambiguous metrical organisation of the last four bars of the passage – mainly due to the lack of performing indications (typical of the period). This contrasts with the more emended version suggested by Köhler's edition (Example 3-11 and Figure 3-7). How did Bartók, with Köhler's edition as his source, conceive these last four bars of the 'quartet'? Example 3-13 shows Bartok's edition of this passage.

Example 3-13: Bars 10-17 of the Andantino (bars 95-102 of the Fantasy) (Rozsnyai Károly, Béla Bartók, 1910)

Bartók's additions to Köhler's edition are mostly dynamic indications (open/closing hairpins, a long *crescendo* indication, an added *p* indication and a modification of an original *p* indication converted into a *mp* one), articulation signs (several *marcato* signs) and a written performance indication, which refers both to the quantity and the quality of the sound as well as to the necessary expressiveness with which the passage should be performed.

After comparing both editions (Examples 3-11 and 3-13) it is noticeable that Bartók's additions are concentrate on the right hand. Amongst all those changes, I find both *marcato* signs in bars 13 and 14 (bars 98 and 99 of the Fantasy) truly revealing. Continuing with the permanent feeling of metrical ambiguity, Bartók highlighted with two *marcato* signs the second entrance of the main motive (also anacrusis to bar 14 of the Andantino, bar 99 of the Fantasy) and the F# appoggiatura in the following bar. Both indications go directly against the metrical organisation suggested by the bass (Figure 3-7), which was edited in both Köhler's and Bartók's edition – Bartók respected Köhler's indications for the left hand at this passage. However, the inclusion of both *marcato* signs suggests a different metric organisation for the right hand, as shown in Figure 3-8:

Figure 3-8: Simplified version of the melody between bars 13 and 16 (bars 98-101 of the Fantasy) according to Bartók's indications.



A comparison between Figure 3-7 and Figure 3-8 shows the clash between both hands: from bar 13 until the end of bar 15 (bars 98 to 100 of the Fantasy), the hands behave in opposite ways in metrical terms. This enhances the metrical ambiguity of the passage at the same time as reinforcing the comical character of the whole section.

The transition between the agitated, clumsy character of the Andantino and the more amorous and pastoral-like mood of the coming 'reedy' trio is well executed in Dohnányi's performance. Indeed, Dohnányi's interpretation helps us to understand the significance and performing implications of Bartók's indication *sonore, molto espressivo*: suddenly, the last four-bar phrase of the 'woodwind quartet' has a profound and noble sound as well as an unusual agogic stability, far from the rhythmic flexibility present up to that point. However, the omnipresent metrical ambiguity of Dohnányi's interpretation – also suggested by Bartók's edition – permeates his performance until the very end of the 'woodwind quartet'.

3.2 Conclusions

After the previous analysis, the undeniable truth that the third chapter's opening sentence bares ('a work can be understood without one knowing its author but there is no understanding a man without his works'[310]) comes to light in a very vivid manner: behind the meticulousness and sensitiveness with which Bartók furnished his performing edition of Mozart's Fantasy in C minor K. 475 lies, as well, the sensuality of its ambiguity. After the comparison with four other editions of the period (i.e., Köhler's, Lebert's, Reinecke's and Riemann's editions), the eloquence of Bartók's additions and emendations surprises the reader: it seems as if Bartók tried to convert Mozart's motives and phrases in those of his beloved peasant music ('perfect', 'simple' and 'devoid of

[310] Zoltán Kodály: 'Béla Bartók the Man'. In: *The Selected Writings of Zoltán Kodály*, trans. Lili Halápi and Fred Macnicol (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1974). 97.

any sentimentality'). However ambiguous in its perfection – or perfect in its ambiguity – Bartók suggests a natural, simple and non-sentimental performance only by using notational means. Indeed, it is also – and only – through his notation that we can notice the conjunction of his two main influences: that is, the so-called Vienna-Budapest performing tradition together with his devoted study of the folk music of Hungary and other countries. Only our interpretation of the score can make what Bartók would consider 'valuable' a reality.

4. Conclusions

Barth describes Bartók's performing editions as follows: 'it is the very detail that reveals this [Bartók's performing edition of Mozart's Piano Sonata K. 333 in B flat major] to be one of the most artistic and sensitive of the 19th-century-style instructive editions'.[311] The common practice amongst composers from the beginning of the 19th century onwards, of overdetailing and overcontrolling the musical text (intrinsically linked to the emergence of amateur performers, the 'decline of improvisation and the ultimate separation of musicians into performers and composers'[312]), led early-20th-century performers to a literal interpretation of the score for the sake of a misunderstood faithfulness to the text and so, consequently, to the work.

In this editorial context, Bartók explored the limits of musical notation, limits that he always struggled to surmount in order to capture his musical ideas in the score (either as compositions or as performing editions). Those efforts led him to create the 'artistic and sensitive' performing editions which, indeed, functioned for him as his own 'notational laboratories'. In fact, all those scrupulous notational details are what Barth refers to – and what reveal the most to us about Bartók the man and Bartók the artist: utter meticulousness, dedication and faithfulness to what he conceived as a valuable musical creation or a valuable musical performance.

In order to better understand Bartók's notation, the first step should be to clearly identify the source that he used as basis for his edition. However, the sources of five out of a total of twenty works edited by him still remained unknown. The identification of the C. F. Peters edition edited by Louis Köhler and Richard Schmidt in 1879 as the most probable source for Bartók's performing edition of Mozart's Fantasy and Sonata in C minor K 475/457 opens the door to a much more accurate understanding of Bartók's performance idea, suggested by his edition.

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[311] Barth, 550.

[312] Robert D. Levin: *Mozart and the Keyboard Culture of his Time* (Frankfurt am Main: Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg, 2004). 1-26. 25. This essay is lightly adapted from the keynote address delivered at an eponymous conference at Cornell University on 28 March 2003.

Bartók wanted to present himself 'as a composer rather than a pianist'.[313] Throughout this dissertation, my intention has been to highlight the reciprocal relationship between those two aspects of the same musical persona. Indeed, it is precisely Bartók's composer's mind that makes his approach towards interpretation so unique. His manner of understanding musical creation and performance – as a spontaneous phenomenon of Nature – opens a window for us to past epochs in which both fields were inseparable, connected by the natural use of music as a contemporary language through the practice of improvisation. Perhaps that is the reason behind the existing contradiction between his scrupulous notation and his improvisatory-like performances. However, Bartók's recordings and performing editions (more specifically, his performing editions of Mozart sonatas, which have been our case study) bear another message: a sort of conjunction between an old world (the turn-of-the-century Romantic practice found in the Austro-Hungarian Empire) and his contemporary world (the influence of that spontaneous, natural, simple peasant music that he collected and studied throughout his life and which slowly modelled his personal interpretation of the *parlando rubato*).

In the words of Harnoncourt, '[Music] was the living language for something which could not be said in words; it could be understood only by contemporary human beings.'[314] I hope that this dissertation modestly contributes to the improvement of our knowledge of the figure of Béla Bartók as a man and an artist. To me at least, it did, greatly.

[313] See the extract from Bartók's letter to Calvocoressi in the article by Vikárius László 'Bartók's Neo-Classical Re-evaluation of Mozart'. In: Dobszay László et al. (ed.): *The Past in the Present*. Papers Read at the IMS Intercongressional Symposium and the 10th Meeting of the Cantus Planus. Budapest & Visegrád, 2000 (Budapest: Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music, 2003). 473–498. 487.

[314] Nikolaus Harnoncourt: *Baroque Music Today: Music As Speech. Ways to a New Understanding of Music*, trans. Mary O'Neill (Portland: Amadeus Press, 1988). 11. Originally published as *Musik als Klangrede* (Salzburg and Wien: Residenz Verlag, 1982).

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