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Whose Authenticity? Ornaments by Hummel and Cramer for Mozart's Piano Concertos

David Grayson

In 1825 John (Johann) Baptist Cramer began publishing a series of six Mozart piano concertos, arranged by him for the piano "with additional keys" and with accompaniments for violin, flute, and cello. The works included were, in order of publication, K. 459 (with a substitute slow movement taken from K. 449), 450, 467, 482, 466, and 491.¹ Two years later, in 1827, Johann Nepomuk Hummel began to issue a similar series, arranged for the same forces. Of the twelve concertos projected, only seven were actually published: K. 466, 503, 365 (316a) (the Concerto for Two Pianos, arranged for solo piano), 491, 537, 482, and 456.² Hummel's project apparently originated as early as 1823; on April 15 of that year, J. R. Schultz wrote to him, outlining a plan to commission a series of Mozart piano concerto editions, two each from Friedrich Kalkbrenner and Ignaz Moscheles, and the rest from Hummel. In his letter, Schultz described Hummel's unique qualifications for the project: Hummel was Mozart's pupil, "initiated in the secrets of his art," and had often heard Mozart himself play the concertos.³ While Hummel's contributions were thus valued owing to his direct contact with an "authentic" performance tradition, Schultz nevertheless considered a certain degree of modernization desirable. He directed Hummel to retain Mozart's melodies and harmonies, but urged him to "change the antiquated passages according to [his] tasteful judgment." Moscheles, who appended his own letter to Schultz's, went even further and suggested that the solos should be "enriched," "reinforced," and "increased in brilliance," in keeping with the modern style of keyboard writing.⁴

While both Cramer and Hummel espoused certain "Classical" ideals in their playing and in their compositions, their arrangements of the Mozart concertos were clearly designed, in some respects, to "up-date" the works as well as transfer them to the domain of domestic music making, where they could be performed as piano solos or as piano quartets.⁵ The solo parts were extended to exploit the full range of "additional keys" available on the early nineteenth-century piano, up to f''', a full octave above Mozart's upper limit.⁶ Also reflecting a modernizing impulse in three of Cramer's arrangements and two of Hummel's was the elimina-

tion of the cadenza, though they did provide original cadenzas for the remaining concertos.⁷

Most interesting to us today, however, are the embellishments and elaborations that the arrangers applied to the solo parts in all movements, slow and fast alike, and for the left hand as well as the right. These additions increased the difficulty of the piano parts enormously and should probably be considered as designed for amateur pianists only in the limited sense of providing them with the kind of embellishments that professionals might devise (or improvise) for themselves. One wonders, of course, if these elaborations were merely fanciful acts of composition, undertaken purely for the editions, or if they reflected actual performance practice. While we have no record of Hummel ever performing a Mozart concerto subsequent to a London concert on May 4, 1792,⁸ Cramer, who was credited with introducing the Mozart piano concertos to the British public,⁹ was playing them in concert during the very period in which he was publishing his arrangements, and furthermore, is known to have embellished Mozart's works when he played them. In one case, at least, the edition and performance date from within a month of one another: Cramer's arrangement of K. 450 bears a January 1826 dedication, and on February 27, he performed the very work in London at a Philharmonic Concert. In another instance, the edition may have emanated directly from a performance: on May 24, 1825 Cramer played an unidentified Mozart concerto at his annual Morning Concert, and his edition of the K. 459/449 hybrid¹⁰ carries a June dedication, suggesting that this may have been the very work he had performed. Supporting this conjecture is the title page of what may have been the first issue of the solo part, which identifies it as *A Favorite Concerto, for the Piano Forte Composed by Mozart, Newly arranged for Additional Keys, as Performed in Public by J. B. Cramer* (London: J. B. Cramer, Addison & Beale, [1825]).¹¹

Two examples will illustrate Cramer's and Hummel's embellishments for slow movements. Measured against current practices, they range in detail from the plausible to the extravagant. To contrast the personalities of the two arrangers and show how each varied repetitions of a melody, we can compare their versions of the successive statements of the main theme from the rondo-form second movement of K. 491. In Mozart's score, slight rhythmic and harmonic changes differentiate the restatements of the theme, while in the Cramer and Hummel arrangements, the variations are far more extensive. It should be noted that both editions introduce some elements of embellishment, variation, or enrichment even in the initial presentation of the theme (mm. 1–4), though they do so with relative restraint in order to leave "room" for further decoration when the theme returns. (See ex. 1 and 2).¹²

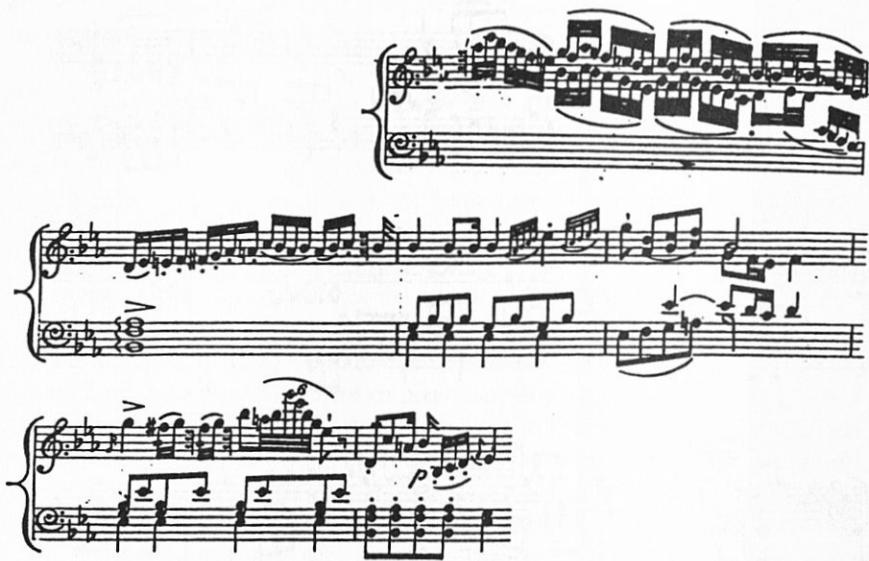
The differences between Cramer's and Hummel's embellishments are more qualitative than quantitative. Hummel's version shows his fondness, in slow movements, not only for trills, turns, and grace notes, but also for decorative *gruppetti* and *fioriture*, which might retrospectively be described as Chopinesque. (Historically, of course, the influence is in the opposite direction).¹³ Sometimes printed in small notes, these are conspicuously ornamental and distinct from the main, structural notes of Mozart's melodies, which they embellish or connect. In contrast, Cramer's additions tend to be more fully integrated into the melodic line. Even among the arrangements of each man, however, varying degrees of ornamentation are found. For example, in the slow movements of Cramer's K. 459 ("borrowed" from K. 449)

EXAMPLE I. Mozart-Cramer, Piano Concerto in C Minor, K. 491, Larghetto: a) mm. 1–19; b) mm. 37–42; c) mm. 63–77.

and K. 467 there is relatively little embellishment added, and Hummel tended to become more and more extravagant as his series unfolded.¹⁴

It is instructive to view Hummel's embellishments in light of his comments on the subject in his contemporary *Piano Method*.¹⁵ There he emphatically cautioned against an excessive application of ornamentation, deplored "an overloaded decoration of the passages of melody, till the air and character is often no longer perceptible." He did not mean to prohibit added embellishments, but advised that these should be introduced "with moderation, and in the proper place."¹⁶ He recommended that, "[i]nstead of indulging in . . . superfluous flights of notes," pianists should "study to obtain a singing, expressive, and melting style of execution, and in the Adagio (in general) to remain satisfied with the minor graces

b



c



(ex. 1, continued)

The musical score consists of two parts, labeled 'a' and 'b'. Part 'a' includes measures 1 through 19. The first section, 'Solo.', features a piano part with various dynamics (e.g., *p*, *f*) and articulations like staccato dots. The second section, 'Tutti.', involves a full orchestra with dynamic markings like *p* and *f*. Part 'b' includes measures 36 through 42. It begins with a piano solo section marked *p* and *ritard.*, followed by a tutti section with dynamic markings like *p*, *f*, and *cresc.*. The score is written for piano and orchestra, with multiple staves for each instrument.

EXAMPLE 2. Mozart-Hummel, Piano Concerto in C Minor, K. 491, Larghetto (Cantabile ed espressivo): a) mm. 1–19; b) mm. 36–42; c) mm. 63–77.

introduced with propriety, and adapted to the composition."¹⁷ Such platitudes are frequently encountered in treatises, and it is often hard to know how they translate into sound. Fortunately, Hummel provided a model: the final sixteen measures from the slow movement of his own Piano Sonata, op. 106, of 1824, which are far more elaborately embellished and in a rather different style from anything in his Mozart arrangements. So, even if he was not exactly reflecting period conscious-

c

(ex. 2, continued)

ness in his Mozart ornamentation, he was apparently modifying his normal habits to suit the style of his teacher and, by his own standards, exercising considerable restraint in adding ornaments.

Curiously, the English reviews of the Hummel and Cramer editions make no mention of the added embellishments, beyond the occasional quotation (partial or complete) of Hummel's title, which specified that the arrangements included "Cadences and Ornaments, expressly written for them by the celebrated J. N. Hummel." Instead one reads remarks like those in the *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* of Hummel's edition of K. 466, that it "demonstrates all the vigour and freshness of a style that is not frittered away in unmeaning embellishments, but whose greatest charm lies in expression and beauties of harmony. . ."¹⁸ Of the same edition, Gottlieb Lewis Engelbach wrote in Ackermann's *Repository of Arts*:

"Genuine melody of the sweetest kind, simple, clear, and perfect in its rhythm, abounds every where. The 'Romanza,' for instance—what softness, what intensity of musical feeling! And all this is achieved at the least possible expense of notes. As Mozart himself said once, there is not one too many."¹⁹ Thus, what struck these reviewers was not the profusion of added decoration, but the relative simplicity of the melodic writing in comparison with the prevailing style of modern music. The critic for the *Quarterly Musical Magazine* offered a felicitous simile to describe how he felt the Hummel arrangement both respected and preserved the beauty of the Mozart "original" while enhancing its presentation for contemporary audiences; he wrote: "[T]he concerto in its present form is like an antique gem in a new and classical setting."

Some diversity of opinion on the subject of added embellishments did surface, however, in a review of Kalkbrenner's edition of K. 503, printed in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* of August 19, 1829. The writer, Gottfried Wilhelm Fink, described (and discredited) the opinion of the "true Mozart admirers," who held that the spirit (*Geist*) of the concertos was destroyed by adding even a single note. Fink welcomed the new, ornamented edition on both historical grounds—the evidence that Mozart himself embellished his concertos—and on aesthetic and practical grounds—the observation that Mozart's bare notes were not expressive to contemporary audiences.²⁰

On the other hand, Felix Mendelssohn's London performance of Mozart's Concerto in D Minor, K. 466, on May 13, 1833 was highly praised in the *Harmonicon*, in part because he adhered strictly to the printed text and limited his "improvisation" to the cadenzas: "The performance of Mozart's Concerto by M. Mendelssohn was perfect. The scrupulous exactness with which he gave the author's text, without a single addition or *new reading* of his own, the precision in his time, together with the extraordinary accuracy of his execution, excited the admiration of all present; and this was increased, almost to rapture, by his two extemporaneous cadences, in which he *adverted* with great address to the subjects of the concerto, and wrought up his audience almost to the same pitch of enthusiasm which he himself had arrived at. The whole of this concerto he played from memory."²¹ The critic's concentration on the literality of Mendelssohn's performance and on the fact that he played from memory suggests that these features, while heralding future practices, probably represented significant departures from contemporary standards.

Thus, even if ornamented Mozart was the norm, there were exceptions, and rather illustrious ones at that. Furthermore, admiration was not universal for the embellishments that Cramer incorporated into his Mozart performances (which, we have argued, may have been similar to those he published in his editions). As his 1823 letter to Hummel (cited above) proves, Ignaz Moscheles was by no means averse to ornamenting the works of Mozart. Nevertheless, he took exception to Cramer's practice. In an 1821 diary entry he praised Cramer's Mozart playing but criticized his ornamentation: "His interpretation of Mozart, and his own Mozart-like compositions, are like breathings 'from the sweet south.' . . . Cramer sings on the piano in such a manner that he almost transforms a Mozart andante into a vocal piece, but I must resent the liberty he takes in introducing his own and frequently trivial embellishments."²²

There was also some controversy over the use of "additional keys." The *Harmonicon* reviewer felt that Cramer "acted with judgment" in his occasional use

of the additional notes: "He has introduced them with great caution, and very sparingly, and has, we are quite persuaded, employed them only where the author would have used them, had they been invented during his life."²³ This opinion, though, was not unchallenged, for the same journal's review of Cramer's next installment, while reaffirming the prior judgment, acknowledged having "been censured for approving of the mode adopted by [Cramer in using the additional keys]."²⁴ Similar sentiments were expressed in the *Repository of Arts*, where the controversy was again described and where Cramer was again defended for his use of "additional keys":

On the innovation of introducing the additional keys into the works of so great a composer, we have heard different opinions; and our own is only in favour of it under the limitation observed by Mr. C[ramer]. A more frequent employment of it we should have deprecated. Some of the passages unquestionably acquire greater freedom and spring, if we may use the term, by the more extended range of scale allotted them; and we can scarcely doubt that Mozart would have made even greater use of the additional keys than Mr. C. has done, had the piano-fortes of his time been made with them. Mr. C.'s innovation, after all, is not to be compared with the liberty which Mozart himself took with Händel's *Messiah*, by writing all the accompaniments anew; an undertaking which not only revived that sublime composition on the Continent, but, probably, will tend to prolong its duration for half a century to come.²⁵

The implication, of course, is that Cramer could do the same for Mozart's concertos.

Some aspects of Hummel's adaptations, including his use of additional keys, may be illustrated by the "Coronation" Concerto, K. 537, which he arranged in March 1835. This particular arrangement is of special interest because Mozart's autograph omits the left-hand part where it is essentially accompanimental; the version generally heard today, serviceable but not particularly imaginative, derives from the posthumously published first edition of 1794, so Hummel's alternatives are especially welcome. It should be borne in mind, though, that some of the increased left-hand activity is a function of the arrangement: given the reduced forces, the piano is often required to contribute to its own accompaniment. Still, even in unaccompanied passages, chords and bass notes (in Alberti and similar figural patterns) are sometimes lengthened in order to sustain the harmonies. Hummel's embellishments for the right hand not only decorate the melodies, but, especially in the outer movements, transform the figuration of the passagework, often using the additional keys to dazzling effect; this serves to heighten the contrast between the lyrical and figural elements of the design. Modifications to tempo markings promote speed and brilliance: the opening Allegro is characterized as "brillante," and both the Larghetto and the concluding Allegretto as "con moto."²⁶ The arrangement also imposes a number of cuts, some of them substantial. In the first movement the opening tutti is trimmed by seven measures (mm. 67–73), a theme in the development is condensed (by cutting mm. 243 and 245), and the cadenza point is eliminated by removing the tutti leading up to it (mm. 409–15). To compensate for the absence of the cadenza, the passagework at

the end of the solo recapitulation is made extremely virtuosic, with brilliant scales in double-thirds, and, for dramatic emphasis, the concluding dominant harmony is prolonged for an extra measure. To similar ends, the cadential trill at the close of the solo exposition is extended in both length (by one measure) and register (by one octave). Another addition eliminates a gap in the solo part by filling in two bars of rest with arpeggios (mm. 172–73). All of these changes serve to “modernize” the movement, bringing it closer in form and style to Hummel’s own piano concertos.

Some cuts in the second and third movements eliminate aspects of solo-tutti contrast in the presentation and repetition of themes, a contrast that would have been lost anyway given the scoring of the arrangement. Both movements are also altered formally. In the ternary-form second movement, the return of the opening theme is considerably curtailed (by cutting mm. 76–94), and in the last movement, besides the condensation of some themes, the rondo form is altered by eliminating the second return of the main theme as well as the end of the preceding episode and the linking *Eingang* opportunity (mm. 287–329).²⁷

The opening solo of the first movement provides a representative illustration of Hummel’s manner of decorating themes and passagework in outer movements (see ex. 3).

Their anachronisms are obvious, but, to my mind, the Hummel and Cramer arrangements nonetheless make for entirely convincing pieces of music (at least insofar as the solo parts are concerned). One of the reasons for Hummel’s success is suggested by a comment about his original compositions, which appeared in a “memoir” printed in the June 1824 issue of the *Harmonicon*. It states that Hummel “is certainly not over scrupulous in availing himself of the materials of other masters, but like a man of taste, he interweaves them so skilfully with his own, that there is nothing heterogeneous in the composition of the whole. From no other composer has he borrowed so freely as from his own master—Mozart; and it requires no great ingenuity to discover the similarity in their Piano-forte works.”²⁸ This stylistic similarity enabled Hummel to devise arrangements that easily absorbed Mozart’s materials yet are both personal and homogeneous. Let those who, like Frederick Neumann, feel that Hummel “sinned against Mozart’s spirit”²⁹ rather think of the arrangements as superb Hummel concertos that benefit from having their melodies, harmonies, and essential forms provided by Mozart.

If nothing else, the Cramer and Hummel arrangements represent crucial documents in the reception history of the Mozart piano concertos. As Carl Dahlhaus observed in *Foundations of Music History* (*Grundlagen der Musikgeschichte*): “If music is viewed less as a corpus of works than as an event, a ‘communicative process,’ then the main emphasis of musical philology and the compiling of musical editions no longer falls exclusively on ‘authentic’ texts, i.e., those reflecting the intentions of the composer. On the contrary, inauthentic versions, being documents of particular modes of reception, enjoy equal rights as historical evidence, particularly if they were widely used in their own time.”³⁰ Thus, Cramer’s arrangements provide an invaluable glimpse of the performing style of the most celebrated interpreter of Mozart’s piano works in early nineteenth-century England. His arrangements seem to have had some dissemination on the Continent—they were reprinted in Paris by Richault in 1855³¹—but they are hardly known today.

EXAMPLE 3. Mozart-Hummel, Piano Concerto in D Major, K. 537: Allegro brillante, mm. 81–99.

Hummel's arrangements, on the other hand, had considerable longevity. They were known throughout the nineteenth century, as the solo parts were published by Litolff in 1874 (and reprinted by them c. 1890),³² with Hummel identified as the arranger, but with no indication on the title page that ornaments have been added.

This is not to suggest that they were universally admired. In 1853 Friedrich Wieck wrote of Mozart's piano compositions as having been "Bowdlerized . . . at the hands of Kalkbrenner and Hummel." He criticized generally the way in which the "classic . . . keyboard compositions of Handel, Mozart and Haydn" were performed in the early nineteenth century: "One played them in the modern manner, i.e., more brilliantly, more virtuosically, faster, more ardently and more emphatically—in a word, more 'concert-like,' thus denying these works the piety due them."³³ This pious attitude toward the printed texts of the "classics" echoes one of Schumann's 1849 "House-Rules and Maxims for Young Musicians": "Look upon alterations or omissions, or the introduction of modern embellishments in the works of good composers as something detestable. They are possibly the greatest insults that can be offered art."³⁴ In Wieck's view, it was Mendelssohn, above all, who "toppled [the] piano mania [of the virtuosos] from its summit" and "dared . . . to play the simple, immortal masterworks of Bach, Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven (from his first period) and others with a hitherto unheard of simplicity, naïveté, chasteness, charm and reverence—and to do so in public concerts."³⁵

In 1868 Hans von Bülow (no purist himself)³⁶ made a passing, and disparaging, reference to the “antiquating Hummelization” of the Mozart concertos.³⁷ Von Bülow’s choice of adjective underscores the apparent chronological paradox that, as Hummel’s compositional and performance style were superseded, his “modernization” of the Mozart concertos came to be perceived as old-fashioned, more so than Mozart’s even older compositions which, stripped of Hummel’s ornaments, were subject to fresh (and even more modern) interpretations, in accordance with newer fashions and interpretive ideals. Later, in 1891, Carl Reinecke, himself a Mozart decorator of dubious taste, raised objections, not to the practice of embellishment (which he wished to revive), but to Hummel’s particular manner of doing so. He criticized the Hummel editions for their “banality” and the “empty virtuosic grandiloquence” that “deforms more than ornaments.”³⁸

Hummel’s arrangements nevertheless survived into the twentieth century, at least in part, when some of their cadenzas and *Eingänge* were reprinted in Schirmer’s two-piano editions of the concertos.³⁹ When considering and evaluating these cadenzas and *Eingänge*, it is important to bear in mind that they were originally composed for these highly embellished arrangements using the “additional keys,” and one therefore should not blame Hummel if they do not suit a literal performance of Mozart’s printed notes. Still, his cadenza for the first movement of K. 491 remains one of the finest ever written for that work.⁴⁰

Quite apart from their significance as documents of reception history, the Hummel and Cramer arrangements serve another function: They help us to put our own ideas about ornamentation into perspective. Both Hummel and Cramer evidently held concepts of what constituted a Mozart style—what sounded Mozartian to them—and these concepts were recognized as such by their contemporaries. These two celebrated composer-pianists also had their own ideas, reflecting their time, of what was beautiful and expressive in music and performance. Their arrangements of Mozart’s piano concertos satisfied both sets of requirements.

Though the sounds we hear today in Mozart concerto performances are rather different, the mechanism used to arrive at them is really quite similar. We too have our own sense of what is Mozartian, and, consciously or not, we appeal to it to screen the historical evidence, adopting only what corresponds to our notion of the Mozartian and discrediting whatever does not. I am thinking specifically of Philipp Karl Hoffmann’s elaborations of six concerto slow movements and also of the embellishments attributed to Barbara Ployer for the Adagio of K. 488, which are widely criticized and which pianists avoid like the plague.⁴¹ However, even if we feel that these are the products of second-rate musical minds, the degree of ornamentation that they exhibit may well reflect a historically “authentic” practice. This is something we do not want to admit. It is far simpler to dismiss them outright⁴² than to propose (and execute) embellishments that are of comparable generosity and of Mozartian quality.

Compared with Hummel’s time, our greater (chronological) distance from the Mozart style and our greater familiarity with the repertoire make it considerably more difficult for us to arrive at a convincing manner of ornamenting Mozart. During the period in which the arrangements were made, Mozart was still within living memory.⁴³ Hummel, of course, while at a very impressionable age, had studied with Mozart and had actually heard him play. But at the same time, the Mozart concertos were virtually unknown in London, so audiences could listen to them without preconceptions—rather like Mozart’s original audiences. In con-

trast, today's audiences (and performers) are all too familiar with the unornamented notes (from years of listening to "literal" renditions) and can hardly avoid a mental comparison of an embellished performance with their memories of the scores. Such a comparison detracts from the immediacy and spontaneity of the listening experience and inevitably makes performers self-conscious. As a result, ornamentation today is rarely as bold, vigorous, personal, and homogeneous as that found in the Hummel and Cramer arrangements. Rather, it too often tends to be piecemeal and niggardly, with cautious and therefore conspicuous trills and turns, passing and neighbor notes, stuck onto the concertos like barnacles to a ship.

The reported Mozart performances by Cramer and Mendelssohn and the published arrangements by Cramer, Hummel, and others (such as those by J. B. Cimador, which are totally unornamented) indicate that, during the 1820s and 1830s, Mozart's concertos were probably heard with varying degrees of embellishment, from the extremely lavish to the completely unadorned, and where ornamentation was implemented, it was done in a variety of personal styles. A similar range is encountered today on recordings and in the concert hall, though extremes of decorative fancy tend to be more modest and the styles less personal. Now, as in Hummel's time, critical and audience responses are varied: some fail to notice when ornaments are added, and among those who do notice, some like them and some do not.

There are still those today who feel that Mozart is best represented by the "bare" notes. One of their most eloquent spokesmen, Rudolf Serkin, points to the decorated passage that Mozart sent his sister for the Andante of K. 451⁴⁴ as evidence that "any change from the manuscript was an exception." If it was customary to deviate from the autograph, he argues, she "could easily have written her own variant." He thus concludes: "I always play exactly what Mozart's 'skeleton' says, rather than any more recent 'flesh and blood' substitution or improvisation."⁴⁵ And this is precisely what he does in both his 1955 and 1983⁴⁶ recordings of the Adagio of K. 488, the very movement so lavishly embellished by Hoffmann and Poyer.

But even pianists who favor ornamentation as a general principle sometimes seem ambivalent when it comes down to specific cases. For example, the pianist András Schiff, who is otherwise an enthusiastic embellisher, cited this same movement as one that should not be ornamented. He explained to an interviewer: "[It] is a piece of unbelievable purity and simplicity and should be left completely untouched. Those huge expressive intervals are so much more expressive to me when they are simply, honestly sung."⁴⁷ In a review of fortepianist Malcolm Bilson's recording of the same concerto, Stanley Sadie made a similar point: "Listeners may be surprised to find that he does practically no elaboration of the very bare passage towards the end of the [second] movement; I find the result entirely convincing, and musically excellent sense, indeed very moving—more so than many of the selfconscious embellishments we sometimes hear."⁴⁸ These remarks serve as a useful reminder that ornamentation belongs fundamentally to the performer, not the editor or musicologist, and that the crucial question is not whether notes have been added, but of how they are played. On the other hand, we have here an instance where distinguished representatives of both sides of the issue seem to agree that embellishment is, in this instance, not only superfluous, but actually undesirable. All flout, manipulate, skew, or ignore the historical evidence in favor of their own (i.e., a modern) sense of Mozartian beauty.

The medium of recording has itself contributed to the self-consciousness, cautiousness, and restraint in ornamentation found in the playing of many modern performers. This point is dramatized by a seemingly unrelated example, chosen almost at random by flipping through the pages of the same issue of *Gramophone* magazine that contained the Schiff interview and the Sadie review: a critique by Donald J. Fanning of a 1988 reissue of Leonard Bernstein's 1959 recording of Shostakovich's Fifth Symphony. After praising the performance for its "intensity" and "virtuosity," Fanning comments: "Nevertheless, this is the kind of performance which is designed more for immediacy of impact than for continually renewed acquaintance, and for my taste some of the very personal rubatos *have become* [my emphasis] distinctly irritating."⁴⁹ What goes for rubato goes double (at least) for ornamentation. Remarks like Fanning's can only have been made in our "age of mechanical reproduction," and they impose an aesthetic on the listening experience that is absolutely foreign to Mozart. In Mozart's time, all performances were designed "for immediacy of impact," especially since almost every work then performed was "new music." Perfect repeatability was limited to musical clocks. To the extent that modern performers consciously or subconsciously play "differently" for recordings, with the express intention of producing repeatable performances, and to the extent that this attitude in turn affects their "live" performances, there will inevitably be some inhibition of those impulses and faculties that produce spontaneous and spontaneous-sounding ornamentation.

In a recent interview Malcolm Bilson alluded to recordings in an entirely different context. He stated, "[W]e already know pretty much all there is to be found out about ornamentation in the eighteenth century," and then added, facetiously, I presume: "Unless somebody finds a compact disk of Mozart playing the fortepiano, I don't think we're going to find anything else."⁵⁰ There is, however, a serious subtext to this remark, since for many today, it is the search for Mozart's own ornamentation that seems to be the guiding principle. David Cairns stated it explicitly in a 1965 essay: "[T]he justification and criterion of ornamentation is what 'Mozart in playing the work himself' would have done."⁵¹ This, we must realize, places a limitation on ornaments that Mozart himself would not have insisted upon. He did, after all, write some concertos for others to play and did not offer his ornaments to his own sister until she asked for them. Even the mythical compact disc of Mozart playing—the "ultimate" in musical and sonic "fidelity"—would fix only a single set of options and therefore close out countless equally good alternatives. In essence, this attitude of wanting to reproduce (or re-create) Mozart's own performances reduces ornamentation to an act of forgery, since our only concrete evidence of Mozart's embellishments lies in the ornamented passages he actually wrote out in various pieces.⁵² (And let us acknowledge that this approach depends on the unproven assumption that Mozart's style of improvisation was not substantially different from what he committed to paper.)

We are fooled by forgeries, we accept them as authentic, when they embody those properties that we regard as essential to and characteristic of the class of objects copied. Thus, modern Mozart forgers fabricate ornaments that are consistent with their notion of the Mozartian, much as Hummel and Cramer produced embellishments that seemed entirely Mozartian (or not un-Mozartian) to their audiences. Yet this is precisely why the forgery will always be found out and will eventually and inevitably be perceived, not as authentic, but as false—because our sense of the Mozartian is constantly changing. To give a brief and objective ex-

ample of a change in taste that has occurred in recent years: in their book, *Interpreting Mozart on the Keyboard*, the Badura-Skodas discussed the need to fill out some bars of incomplete notation in K. 482, and one of their suggestions included high G''' (an "additional key"). They acknowledged this "un-Mozartian" note with the remark: "These embellishments go slightly beyond the compass of Mozart's piano in bar 4, but we see no objection."⁵³ At the time that they wrote those words (in 1957), few would have considered it un-Mozartian to include this note, but today, when fortepiano performances are far more common, no conscientious forger would do so.

One of the reasons we seem to hunger so for Mozart's own ornaments is that we know that they will always elude us. We can strive for an "authentic" Mozart as long as we do not know precisely what it is but can convince ourselves that we are close to it. If we actually had an authentic Mozart on compact disc, as, through recordings, we have authentic Stravinsky or authentic Rachmaninoff, then we would surely lose the desire to imitate it, because our performances could then never be authentic, but would be, at best, accurate copies. Vladimir Horowitz's Rachmaninoff Third was admired by the composer because it was authentic Horowitz and not imitation Rachmaninoff. Analogously, Beethoven's cadenzas to K. 466 are so satisfying precisely because they are *echt* Beethoven and not *ersatz* Mozart.

Robert Schumann issued a warning that ornament (and cadenza) forgers would be wise to heed: "It is the misfortune of the imitator that he dares only appropriate the obvious in the original. As though intimidated by a natural awe, he dares not imitate the truly beautiful."⁵⁴ In contrast to the forgers, Hummel sought through his arrangements to capture the authentic beauty that he found in Mozart's concertos, so he remained true to himself while "copying" them out. The results were consequently both original and authentic.

The history of performance, after all, is made, not by those who play "by the book" (whatever book that may be), but by those original and inimitable artists who leave a personal mark on whatever they perform and make it unforgettable for their audiences. Ornamentation is, of course, one way to achieve this, but it is by no means the only way, nor even the most important. Musical insights, imagination, a special "sound," and communicative powers (not forgetting the technique that makes communication possible) are of far greater significance.

Let Hummel serve as an inspiration to those bold enough to follow his example. On the other hand, for those who are satisfied with the meaning and expression they find in Mozart's written notes (and as the Badura-Skodas rightly, if somewhat tautologically, point out, "Mozart's melodies, unadorned, are still utterly Mozartean"),⁵⁵ let them derive comfort from the words of Jean Cocteau: "An original artist *cannot* copy. So he only has to copy in order to be original."⁵⁶

NOTES

1. *Mozart's Celebrated Concertos, Newly Arranged for the Piano Forte, with Additional Keys, and Accompaniments of Violin, Flute and Violoncello*, By J. B. Cramer (London: J. B. Cramer, Addison and Beale). The publication dates for the first three volumes can be inferred from their dated dedications and from reviews in the *Harmonicon*: K. 459 (pl. no. 239; dedication

dated June 1825; review in August 1825); K. 450 (pl. no. 337; dedication: January 1826; review: March 1826); K. 467 (pl. no. 518; dedication: May 1827; review: July 1827). The three remaining volumes bear no dates, but their plate numbers suggest publication in 1833 for K. 482 (pl. no. 1663), 1836 for K. 466 (pl. no. 1820), and 1837 for K. 491 (pl. no. 1976). See O. W. Neighbour and Alan Tyson, *English Music Publishers' Plate Numbers in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century* (London: Faber and Faber, 1965), 26.

2. Mozart's *Twelve Grand Concertos, arranged for the Piano Forte, and Accompaniments of Flute, Violin & Violoncello, including Cadences and Ornaments, expressly written for them by the celebrated J. N. Hummel, of Vienna* (London: S. Chappell); *Douze grands concertos de W. A. Mozart arrangés pour Piano seul ou avec accompagnement de Flûte, Violon et Violoncelle avec cadences et ornements par le célèbre J. N. Hummel* (Mainz, Paris, and Antwerp: Fils de B. Schott). Because the series stopped after seven concertos, a later Schott edition titled them *Sept grands concertos*.

The autographs of Hummel's concerto arrangements are in the British Library; six of them (K. 482, 491, 456, 466, 503, and 537) are bound in that order in Add. 32234, and the seventh (K. 365 [316a]) is divided between two volumes: Add. 32227, fols. 89–94, and Add. 32222, fols. 107–32. K. 466 was published by October 1827 (date of review in Ackermann's *Repository of Arts*), and K. 503, by January 10, 1829 (French copyright deposit of Schott edition, listed in *Bibliographie de la France; Harmonicon* review in February 1829). K. 365 (316a) was completed in August 1829 (date in autograph), announced for publication on February 1, 1830 (by Schott in *Cäcilia*), and certainly issued by May 1830 (*Harmonicon* review). The autograph of K. 491 is dated 1830, and it was published by October 1831 (*Harmonicon* review; substantial portions of the third movement were printed in part two of the same number of the *Harmonicon*, pp. 190–93). K. 537 was completed in March 1835 (autograph date) and published by December 1, 1835 (copyright deposit of the Chappell edition in Stationers' Hall). The autograph of K. 482 is dated January 1836. K. 456, the last to be published, was actually the fourth to be composed; its autograph is dated January 1830, but it may not have been issued until March 1842 (review of Schott edition in the Leipzig *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* of March 23). The Schott plate numbers for the seven concertos range from 2626 to 6033, suggesting publication between c. 1827 and c. 1840; see Otto Erich Deutsch, *Music Publishers' Numbers: A Selection of 40 Dated Lists, 1710–1900* (London: Association of Special Libraries and Information Bureaux, 1946), 21. Much of the information regarding the dates of Hummel's arrangements is drawn from Joel Sachs, "Authentic English and French Editions of J. N. Hummel," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 25 (1972): 226–27.

3. Karl Benyovsky, *J. N. Hummel: Der Mensch und Künstler* (Bratislava: Eos, 1934), 230–33.

4. Ibid., 312–13.

5. The review of Hummel's arrangement of K. 466 in the Leipzig *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 31 (February 4, 1829), col. 87, also suggests that the arrangements could be used for (public?) performances in small towns, where full orchestras were not available. Accounts in this journal of public performances of the Hummel arrangements were noted by Joel Sachs in "Authentic English and French Editions of J. N. Hummel," 209: K. 466, played by Wenzeslaw Hauck, a Hummel pupil, in Berlin on January 27, 1830, and K. 491, played by Bertha Dorn, a "dilettante," in Königsberg, winter of 1834–35.

6. Hummel's K. 466 and Cramer's K. 450 go only to c'''. The original general title page for the Chappell edition of Hummel's arrangements actually specifies that the concertos are arranged for the piano "from C to C," but only K. 466, the first of the series, is so limited.

7. Thomas B. Milligan, in *The Concerto and London's Musical Culture in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983), 100, notes that the piano concertos by Dussek, Cramer, Field, and Steibelt lack first-movement cadenzas. The same is true of Hummel's Piano Concertos, opp. 85 (c. 1816), 89 (1819), 110 (1814), and 113 (1827). No cadenzas are provided in Cramer's K. 459 (first and third movements), 450 (first movement), and 467 (first movement), or in Hummel's K. 365 (316a) and 537 (first movements), nor is there an indication that any should be inserted. (In Hummel's case, cuts are introduced at the ends of the movements so as to eliminate the cadenza points entirely.) Earlier, Cramer had written a cadenza (a different one) for the first movement of K. 466 in J. B. Cimador's arrangement of the concerto for piano with accompaniment "adapted for a German flute, two violins, two tenors, bass, and double bass, or a German flute, two violins, two tenors, and two basses" (London: Theobald Monzani, [1806?]). Apart from his series of arrangements, Hummel also wrote cadenzas and *Eingänge* for seven Mozart piano concertos (K. 413 (387a), 414 (385p), 415 (387b), 451, 459, 537, and 595), which he designated as his op. 4. These appear never to have been printed (until their 1990 publication as part of Hummel's *Complete Works for Piano*, ed. Joel Sachs [New York: Garland]); manuscript copies are in the British Library, Add. 32222, fols. 89–106; and (according to Wolfgang Rehm, ed., *W. A. Mozart: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke* [Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1960], V/15/8: xxiv) in the Schwarzenberg Archives, Krumau, Czechoslovakia (Stáni-Archiv Česky Krumlov), K 27, No. 776. With the exception of a single note (in the London manuscript, possibly a copying error) these cadenzas and *Eingänge* fall within the five-octave compass of Mozart's piano.

8. Among Hummel's manuscripts in the British Library is a solo part (without ornamentation or cadenzas and with an unfigured bass part for the tutti) and a set of string parts for a chamber arrangement of K. 456, with a substitute slow movement taken from K. 413 (387a) (Add. 32179, fols. 18–44; 32180, fols. 1–10). The existence of these parts suggests that Hummel played the concerto in this form, improvising whatever ornaments he may have added. The string parts are interesting in several respects. In addition to the regular first and second violin parts are "ripieno" first and second violins, which join in only for the tutti. Also, the cello part (marked "Viola or Violoncello obligato [sic]," though notated in the bass clef), is *tacet* during the second movement, leaving the bass to be played by the *basso*.

9. "Memoir of John Baptist Cramer," *Harmonicon* 1, pt. 1 (December 1823): 180.

10. Cramer's hybrids were not limited to mixing Mozart movements. At a Philharmonic Concert on March 10, 1828, he played a concerto which joined "the greater part of the first movement" and the second movement of his Concerto in C Minor, op. 48, with the third movement of Mozart's Concerto in C Minor, K. 491. *Harmonicon* 6, pt. 1 (April 1828): 89.

11. This is the title given in the *Harmonicon* review of August 1825. Furthermore, a note on the title page expresses Cramer's intention to arrange the orchestral part "in form of a Quartet," confirming that this issue predated the concerto's publication as a piano quartet. This also explains why there are orchestral cues in the tutti portions of this concerto but not in any of the subsequent concertos in Cramer's series. Furthermore, these cues (which identify flauto, hautboy, fagotti, corni, and violino) do not always correspond with Mozart's orchestration, either in the material played or the instrumental assignment, suggesting that Cramer may have indulged in some recomposition and reorchestration as well as ornamentation.

Kalkbrenner's edition of K. 503, published in Leipzig by H. A. Probst, with the solo part arranged for a six-octave piano and with an original cadenza (reviewed in the August 19, 1829, issue of the Leipzig *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*), similarly identifies the concerto as the one he performed in concert at the Paris Conservatoire. The concert in question took

place on April 27, 1828, suggesting once again a link between edition and performance. The reviewer, Gottfried Wilhelm Fink, believed that this volume was part of a projected series of the complete Mozart piano concertos to be edited by Kalkbrenner, Hummel, and Moscheles, as had originally been planned by J. R. Schultz. However, neither it nor Moscheles's edition of the Concerto for Two Pianos, K. 365 (316a), published by Breitkopf & Härtel in 1861 (?), is related to Hummel's series.

12. When this paper was read, these excerpts were played (on tape and very beautifully) by pianist Lydia Artymiw. The decision not to distribute the printed music was deliberate. Ornamentation is easily misunderstood when "read" off the page, and, more than "composed" music, its virtues are sometimes only apparent when brought to life in performance by a sympathetic, sensitive, and imaginative player. Embellishments (and cadenzas) composed by performers for their own use are characteristically geared to their personal performance styles and to their particular interpretations of the pieces in question. Therefore, such additions might not be as effective when borrowed by others. For example, Wanda Landowska's sometimes Chopinesque embellishments for the Mozart piano concertos (those for K. 482 and 537 were published in 1963 by Broude Brothers in New York) suited to perfection her own style of playing, as can be heard in her justly famous 1937 recording of the "Coronation" Concerto, K. 537, and in an aircheck of her October 27, 1946, performance, with Arthur Rodzinski conducting, of K. 482 (somewhat more elaborately ornamented than the published version); but these embellishments might not seem so magical and spontaneous in the hands of a pianist who lacked her sensitive rubato and beautiful tone. Similarly, it would be hard to imagine anyone other than Glenn Gould "bringing off" with such panache the cadenzas he wrote for Beethoven's C-major Piano Concerto, op. 15 (published in Great Neck, NY: Barger & Barclay, 1958). To do so, the pianist would probably have to approximate Gould's manner of playing the concerto, for it is precisely this style that the cadenzas seem to demand, and they will only make sense if they are integral to the performance of the concerto as a whole—as they are in his 1958 recording of the work. I suspect that the same is true of the cadenzas, typically ignored or maligned, which composer-pianists like Busoni, Alkan, Medtner, Anton Rubinstein, and Godowsky wrote for Mozart and Beethoven piano concertos; we would probably need to re-create their ways of playing those composers in order to understand what led them to produce the kinds of cadenzas that they did.

13. Hummel's arrangement of K. 491, which dates from 1830, is roughly contemporary with Chopin's two piano concertos, composed in Warsaw in 1829–30 and published, in reverse order of composition, in 1833 and 1836. Hummel's influence on Chopin is discussed in David Branson, *John Field and Chopin* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1972), 146–67.

14. In Hummel's case, the order of publication does not exactly reflect the compositional sequence: K. 456 was written fourth but published last; see n. 2 above.

15. *A Complete Theoretical and Practical Course of Instruction, on the Art of Playing the Piano Forte* (London: Boosey, [1828]).

16. Ibid., 39.

17. Ibid., 51.

18. *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* 9 (1827): 382.

19. *Repository of Arts, Literature, Commerce, Manufactures, Fashions and Politics*, 3d ser. 10 (October 1, 1827): 237. I am grateful to Steven Norquist for bringing this and other contemporary reviews to my attention.

20. *Allegemeine musikalische Zeitung* 31 (August 19, 1829), cols. 541–45.

21. *Harmonicon* 11, pt. 1 (June 1833): 135.

22. Charlotte Moscheles, *Recent Music and Musicians As Described in the Diaries and Correspondence of Ignatz Moscheles*, trans. A. D. Coleridge (New York: Henry Holt, 1879), 34–35. For another, similar criticism of Cramer, see Cliff Eisen, *New Mozart Documents* (London: MacMillan, 1991), 145.
23. *Harmonicon* 3, pt. 1 (August 1825): 137.
24. Ibid., 4, pt. 1 (March 1826): 55.
25. *Repository of Arts, Literature, Commerce, Manufactures, Fashions and Politics*, 3d ser. 7 (April 1, 1826): 240.
26. In Mozart's autograph the tempo markings for the second and third movements are not in his hand, though this fact was probably unknown to Hummel, who presumably would have accepted the tempo indications as authentic. Two discrepancies between Hummel's autograph and the published version should be noted: in the autograph the second movement is in cut time while in the print it is in common time, and the tempo marking of the third movement is allegretto in the autograph but allegretto con moto in the print.
27. In two of the other concertos, K. 482 and 491, it appears that cuts were imposed during the publication process; that is, some passages omitted from the editions appear in the autographs but were crossed out or marked for deletion in brown crayon.
28. "Memoir of Johann Nepomuk Hummel," *Harmonicon* 2, pt. 1 (June 1824): 104.
29. Frederick Neumann, *Ornamentation and Improvisation in Mozart* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1986), 248.
30. Carl Dahlhaus, *Foundations of Music History*, trans. J. B. Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1983), 39.
31. *Six Concertos pour Piano, Flûte, Violon et Violoncelle par W. A. Mozart. Transcrits par J. B. Cramer* (Paris: S. Richault, [1855]). The date is that of the *dépôt légal*, inscribed in the copies deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
32. *Concertos arrangés pour piano à 2 mains par J. N. Hummel* (Braunschweig: Henry Litoff's Verlag, [1874]). The dates come from *The Catalogue of Printed Music in the British Library to 1980*, 62 vols. (London: K. G. Saur, 1985), 41:36.
33. Friedrich Wieck, *Piano and Song (Didactic and Polemical)*, trans. Henry Pleasants (Stuyvesant, N.Y.: Pendragon, 1988), 146.
34. Robert Schumann, *On Music and Musicians*, ed. Konrad Wolff, trans. Paul Rosenfeld (1946: reprint New York: W. W. Norton, 1969), 32.
35. Wieck, *Piano and Song*, 152, 149.
36. Wanda Landowska, in *Landowska on Music*, ed. and trans. Denise Restout (London: Secker & Warburg, 1965), 101–2, describes some of the "liberties" that Von Bülow took in his editions of Bach's "Chromatic Fantasy" and Scarlatti's sonatas. Landowska was equally critical of Hummel: "In his edition of Mozart's seven great concertos, Hummel slogged away at the creation of his master with an incredible offhandedness; the *Coronation Concerto* most of all bears scars. Often there are series of measures during which one forgets that the work is by Mozart; on the other hand nearly one hundred bars from the original have been suppressed in the finale" (102).
37. Hans von Bülow, ed., *Fifty Selected Piano Studies*, by J. B. Cramer (New York: Schirmer, 1899), 3. Von Bülow's preface is dated May 1868, and the Schirmer volume appears originally to have been published in 1875.
38. Carl Reinecke, *Zur Wiederbelebung der Mozart'schen Clavier-Concerfe* (Leipzig, 1891), 38, quoted in Neumann, *Ornamentation*, 248.
39. Some of these Schirmer volumes (those edited by Franz Kullak, Hans Bischoff, and Willy Rehberg) were first issued in the 1880s by Steingräber (Hanover, later Leipzig).

40. Eva and Paul Badura-Skoda also endorse the Hummel cadenza but recommend certain modifications in it, in part to eliminate some of the "additional keys." See their *Interpreting Mozart on the Keyboard*, trans. Leo Black (New York: St. Martin's, 1962), 277–78.

41. The former are published as *Cadenzas to Mozart's Piano Concertos and Elaborations of Their Slow Movements*, ed. A. Hyatt King (London: Peters, 1959); the works included are K. 467, 482, 488, 491, 503, and 595. The "Poyer" embellishments (the attribution was suggested to Frederick Neumann by Wolfgang Plath) are reproduced and described in Hermann Beck, *Kritische Bericht zur "Neuen Mozart-Ausgabe,"* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1964), V/15/7: 8–17 (with a facsimile on 106–9). See Neumann, *Ornamentation*, 247, 251–53, for a brief critique of them.

42. For example, Joseph Kerman wrote of the "Poyer" embellishments: "The atrocious chromatic runs in this source should give pause to even the most hardened historical reconstructor." "Mozart à la Mode," *New York Review of Books*, May 18, 1989, 52.

43. In a letter of January 30, 1836 Felix Mendelssohn bragged to his sister Fanny that his cadenza for the first movement of Mozart's D-minor Concerto, K. 466, had created a "tremendous sensation" in Leipzig: "Our second violin player, an old musician, said to me afterwards . . . that he had heard it played in the same hall by Mozart himself, but since that day he had heard no one introduce such good cadenzas as I did yesterday—which gave me very great pleasure." *Felix Mendelssohn: Letters*, ed. G. Selden-Goth (1945; reprint, New York: Vienna House, 1973), 255–57.

44. See Mozart's letter of June 9 and 12, 1784 to his father, printed in *The Letters of Mozart and his Family*, ed. and trans. Emily Anderson, 3d ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1989), 880.

45. Liner notes to his 1955 recording, *Mozart Piano Concertos, K. 451 and 488*, with Alexander Schneider conducting the Columbia Symphony Orchestra (Columbia Records, ML 5297).

46. With Claudio Abbado conducting the London Symphony Orchestra on a Deutsche Grammophon compact disc (410 068–2).

47. Edward Seckerson, "András Schiff," *Gramophone* 66 (March 1989): 1402.

48. *Gramophone* 66 (March 1989): 1431.

49. *Ibid.*, 1437.

50. Mark S. Laporta, "An Interview with Malcolm Bilson," *Piano Quarterly*, no. 146 (Summer 1989): 23.

51. David Cairns, *Responses: Musical Essays and Reviews* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1973), 213.

52. Examples of such passages are cited in Badura-Skoda, *Interpreting Mozart on the Keyboard*, 177–85; and Robert D. Levin, "Improvisation and Embellishment in Mozart Piano Concertos," *Musical Newsletter* 5, no. 2 (Spring 1975): 6–10.

53. Badura-Skoda, *Interpreting Mozart on the Keyboard*, 186. The original, German edition was published in 1957.

54. Schumann, *On Music and Musicians*, 40.

55. Badura-Skoda, *Interpreting Mozart on the Keyboard*, 196.

56. Jean Cocteau, *A Call to Order*, trans. Rollo H. Myers (London: Faber and Gwyer, 1926), 32.