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Mozart's 'Haydn' Quartets:

An Evaluation of the Autographs and First Edition, with Particular
Attention to mm. 125-42 of the Finale of K. 387

MEASURES 125-42 of the last movement of Mozart's String Quartet in G major K. 387 command special attention for two reasons. First, the composition of this passage, which occurs at the beginning of the development, caused Mozart problems: the four different autograph versions not only document his difficulties, but also provide a fascinating, and virtually unique, glimpse into the composer's workshop. Second, these specific measures give rise to a significant and thorny editorial problem. Curiously enough, the first edition, published in 1785 and with the famous dedication to Haydn, supplies a fifth version that differs slightly from the four autograph versions. Was this fifth version authorized by Mozart?

The four autograph versions have been discussed in several detailed studies, none of which, however, successfully manages to draw together and solve their complex, interrelated musical and philological problems. Ludwig Finscher, in the course of a richly detailed study of the compositional process in K. 387, provides only a general outline of the problems, without offering any substantial musical analysis,^{1/} while Roswitha Schlötterer addresses the basic notational problem, without considering the compositional 'progress' or chronology of the four versions.^{2/} Ulrich Konrad rightly connects both essential elements of the problem, although he, too, fails to provide a fundamental musical analysis.^{3/} Only Schlötterer considers Mozart's fifth version, that of the

1. 'Aspects of Mozart's Compositional Process in the Quartet Autographs: I. The Early Quartets, II. The Genesis of K. 387', in Christoph Wolff (ed.), *The String Quartets of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven: Studies of the Autograph Manuscripts* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), 121-53.

2. 'Beobachtungen zur Enharmonik bei Mozart', in Norbert Dubowy and Soren Meyer-Eller (eds.), *Festschrift Rudolf Bockholdt zum 60. Geburtstag* (Pfaffenhofen, 1990), 217-32, esp. 224-7.

3. *Mozarts Schaffensweise: Studien zu den Werkautographen, Skizzen und Entwürfen* (Göttingen, 1992), 149-50 and 389-93.

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[The study contains musical examples at pages 4, 5, and 8. Users reading this on the computer screen are reminded that the examples can be zoomed to a larger size for easier viewing, especially of the autograph pages in Mozart's hand.]

first edition, but she does not address the problem of its authority. Yet it is with respect to this second and more general complex of problems in particular that the editor of a critical edition--or, more generally, anyone concerned with the tradition of a work--must engage.^{4/} Consequently, it is only the two critical editions of the 'Haydn' quartets that suggest answers: Alfred Einstein's scholarly edition, and the critical edition by Ludwig Finscher, published as part of the *NMA*.^{5/} Both Finscher and Einstein agree that in the case of the 'Haydn' quartets, the first edition must be given the same weight as the autographs. But Einstein followed the fifth version, that of the first edition, while Finscher reproduced the fourth version from the autograph. Who was correct?

In what follows, then, the four autograph versions of mm. 125-42 are described, transcribed,^{6/} and analysed for their musical content. Thereafter, the dissemination of the sources, both primary and secondary, is discussed. These differ in a very important but little-noticed detail, thus revealing something of the authority and, consequently, necessary evaluation of Artaria's first edition. Finally, the measures in question are considered. A summary draws together these observations and results.

1. The Four Autograph Versions

While it is not possible to determine exactly when Mozart decided that mm. 125-42 needed revision, a time can nevertheless be at least approximately established. The autograph suggests that, at first, he found nothing wrong with the original version (see [Plate 1 at page 4](#)).^{7/} Apart from some small corrections,^{8/} Mozart wrote out the finale from beginning to end, without a break. To do this, he used a total of seven pages (fos. 9^r-12^r), and for the time being at least, nothing was written on the back of the last leaf (fo. 12^v). Some time later, but before writing out the fourth version, he foliated each recto with the numbers from 1 to 12. Then, on fo. 12^v, he sketched out two drafts of mm. 125-42 (the second and third versions; see [Plate 2, pages 4 and 5](#)). These were later crossed out, although the first version, on fo. 10^{r-v}, was not.

4. See *NMA VIII/20/1/2*, critical report, ed. Ludwig Finscher and Wolf-Dieter Seiffert (Kassel, 1993).

5. W. A. Mozart, *The Ten Celebrated String Quartets: First Authentic Edition in Score, Based on Autographs in the British Museum and on Early Prints*, ed. Einstein (London, 1945); *NMA VIII/20/1/2*, ed. Finscher (Kassel, 1962).

6. All four versions are reproduced (without commentary on their compositional relationship) in Robert Haas, *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart* (Potsdam, 1933), 114-16. The editions in Finscher, 'Aspects of Mozart's Compositional Process', and Konrad, *Mozarts Schaffensweise*, are faulty. The edition in the critical report to *NMA VIII/20/1/2*, 158-60, is laid out so that a comparative overview of the various versions is unavailable, not least because the fourth version--which appears in the edition--is not reproduced. See [Example 1 at page 8](#).

7. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *The Six 'Haydn' Quartets. Facsimile of the Autograph Manuscripts in the British Library Add. MS 37763*, ed. Alan Tyson (London, 1985). In addition to the facsimile, I examined the autographs of all six quartets firsthand during the 1980s.

8. See *NMA VIII/20/1/2*, critical report.

That the second version on fo. 12^v was written down very soon, if not immediately, after the first version was completed is shown not so much by differences in handwriting but rather by the various inks Mozart used: only the second version is notated in the same light, greyish-brown ink that is common to the whole of the last movement; the third version was written down in a richer, browner ink. Perhaps other trials were also necessary, before a final version of the passage was arrived at, but this is not known, for there are no other sketches or drafts. In any event, Mozart wrote down the last, fourth version on a separate, previously unused leaf that he marked again with the number 10 (see Plate 3 at page 5). This was inserted in the existing fascicle ahead of the original tenth leaf; consequently, there are now two autograph leaves marked '10', one after the other. As Alan Tyson showed, the watermark of this inserted leaf appears almost exclusively in the autographs of the D minor Quartet K. 421 and the E flat major Quartet K. 428.⁹ In fact, the added leaf of K. 387 originally made up a bifolium with the last leaf of the D minor Quartet. While this does not prove that the fourth version of mm. 125-42 originated about the time that K. 421 and 428 were composed, in June and July 1783, it nevertheless points strongly in that direction.

Before we turn to the autograph versions in detail, the various *dal segno* marks found in the first version should be mentioned, for they show that, however briefly, Mozart seriously regarded each of the three subsequent versions as a replacement for the beginning of the development. The second version begins with m. 131 and does not include the cello line. In the original, first version, the double-S *dal segno* sign is given at one point three times, for the first and second violins and viola; these signs must also apply to the second version, even if they are missing there. The third version, on the other hand, begins again at the very start of the passage. Although there is no *dal segno*, the first version nevertheless includes the usual *Vi-[de]* at the double bar--and the second syllable was to occur in the third version. But Mozart created a fourth, much improved version, that also begins with m. 125 (the inserted leaf). And while the *de* of *Vi-de* is missing (for Mozart it was presumably linked to the third version), we are nevertheless oriented by another sign further on that is easily overlooked: a small circle with a cross through it, found in the replacement text between the second violin and the viola at the double bar, which is located in the fourth version between the second violin and viola staves, in the 'first' measure. Another double-S *dal segno* sign can be seen at the upper left on the insert. It is quite faint (possibly erased?), as if Mozart originally had it in mind to begin the fourth version--like the second version--only at m. 131. Compared with the first version, it is only in this measure that something new occurs, quite apart

9. Alan Tyson (ed.), *The Six 'Haydn' Quartets*, pp. ix-x; id., *Mozart: Studies of the Autograph Scores* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), 86; id., *NMA X/33/2: Wasserzeichen-Katalog* (Kassel, 1992), watermark 62. The two exceptions are fo. 27 in the autograph of K. 458, and a leaf with the fragmentary first version of that movement.



PLATE 1. String Quartet K. 387, autograph, original fo. 10^v (first version)



PLATE 2. String Quartet K. 387, autograph, original fo. 12^v (second and third versions)



PLATE 2. String Quartet K. 387, autograph, original fo. 12' (second and third versions)



PLATE 3. String Quartet K. 387, autograph, add. fo. 10 (fourth version)

from the important incorporation of the *d*'' in m. 130, which made the *dal segno* unnecessary.

Because both the compositional directive of the development section--to modulate as quickly as possible from the tonic G major to the remote B flat minor--and the means to achieve this goal were clear to Mozart from the outset,¹⁰ the second, third, and fourth versions of measures 125-42 are merely attempts to improve on the way in which that goal could be reached. Three fundamental compositional constants are evident in all four versions. An 'inverted' sequence of ascending fifths, beginning with E minor (mm. 127-8), moves in seven steps from G major to F major, the dominant of B flat minor (mm. 141-2).¹¹ At the same time, a 4-3 suspension occurs at regular two-measure intervals. The individual harmonic goals are connected by a continuous, rising chromatic line in quarter-notes, and fixed at each newly arrived 'tonic', only to rise again a whole tone (though often through the downward leap of a seventh). This chromatic line represents the only rhythmic impulse of an otherwise almost static event, reminiscent of a practised keyboard player's modulation through all the keys.

Yet the moment of transition from sharps to flats, with its uniform voice-leading among the four parts, is potentially problematic.¹² And it is exactly here that Mozart attempts a better solution, resulting in the apparently optimal one of the fourth autograph version. Let us take a closer look at the four autograph 'approaches' (see page 8 for the examples discussed below).

Version 1 (Example 1a). In the first version, Mozart changes pragmatically from sharps to flats by means of a silent enharmonic shift at mm. 134-5 (first violin: *c#'''-ab'''*, viola: *g#'-ab'*). The cello, which for five measures has been the sole exponent of the rising chromatic line, drops in m. 133 from *c#'* to *d#*, but already pivots in the next measure to the flat side, in order to aim at G sharp minor, now A flat minor, in m. 135. Mozart manages this razor-sharp change exactly and consciously; accordingly, the third quarter-note *f#* in m. 134 (cello) is corrected to *gb*. However, the notation of the second violin must have bothered Mozart: in mm. 134-6 he originally wrote *e#''-d#''-g#''* but in order to match the other parts, silently changed the *g#''* at m. 136 to *ab''* (m. 137). To be sure, it would have been possible in this way to effect a smooth and uniform (if not synchronic) enharmonic transition in all three upper parts; however, the *d#''* in m. 135 was a 'foreign body' within the abruptly reached flat side in the first violin and viola (A flat minor),

10. Interesting as such a comparison would be, the related passage at the beginning of the coda (mm. 268 ff.) is not discussed here because of its very different conduct and structure.

11. Schlötterer, 'Beobachtungen zur Enharmonik bei Mozart', 226, rightly includes the following fugato section, to m. 173, in Mozart's progress through the circle of fifths, so that the development actually traverses the entire range of keys from G (major) to G (major).

12. Finscher, 'Aspects of Mozart's Compositional Process', 130-3; Schlötterer, 'Beobachtungen zur Enharmonik bei Mozart', 226.

and so it was retrospectively rewritten as the more consistent $e''-eb''-ab''$, without recourse to enharmonic changes.^{13/}

What could have bothered Mozart about these measures, which for the moment at least fulfilled their function? None of the succeeding versions relies on silent enharmonic change. Mozart probably noticed that his first version 'violated' any 'causal' connection between enharmony and the established tonality to the detriment of the modulatory 'willingness' (and possibilities) of the individual voices to move on with the modulation (to say nothing of the intonation problems for the four stringed instruments). Conceptually, this refined compositional strategy, based on interlocking steps around the circle of fifths, is diametrically opposed to the emphatic establishment of the enharmonic change from C sharp minor to A flat minor without the intermediate step of D flat minor. In what followed, Mozart attempted to develop each individual part uniformly. Two alternatives were tested from the outset: either the individual parts remained true to their respective enharmonic 'fields', or each descended two chromatic steps, by overshooting their boundaries on the circle of fifths (moving as early as possible to the flat side, or remaining as long as possible in sharps). Consequently, it was not so much a performance problem (intonation) but primarily an orthographic one that led to Mozart's revision. Nevertheless, this dilemma brought about a 'productive' dissatisfaction with the original, awkward voice-leading.

Version 2 (Example 1b). In the second version, chromatic like the first, the bass part posed no problem; consequently, the cello was not notated. But contrary to what might at first be supposed, the apparently unnecessary (and deleted) sharp sign before the first note of the first violin (b'' ; see Plate 2, top left, pages 4 and 5, above) is unrelated to this. Rather, it shows that Mozart intended immediately to attack the highly problematic and sudden transition in mm. 134 and 135: the sharp sign applies in fact to the $c\#\prime\prime\prime$ of m. 134, which was originally intended but never written. Mozart must have recognized right away that he could move the viola to the flat side, without any change in accidentals, at m. 131, and he accordingly began his second attempt three measures on. Except for the enharmonic dressing in flats, the viola corresponds exactly to the first version. The same can be said of the sharps in the second violin, mm. 135-6, where Mozart returned to the original conception of version 1, before corrections: in mm. 135-6 he wrote $d\#\prime\prime-g\#\prime\prime$, to keep to the sharp side in the remaining measures, without problems.^{14/} In contrast to version 1, however, the first violin moves

13. The third and final correction of this first version was not motivated by the voice-leading. In m. 139, Mozart originally wrote the quarter-notes $d\prime\prime-eb\prime\prime$ for the violin 1. These notes, erased almost immediately, would have fixed E flat minor, not B flat minor, and then--almost certainly--another measure, analogous to m. 141, would have resulted: the $b\flat$ reached in m. 139 does not mark the arrival at a 'tonic' (planned at the beginning?), but the fifth of E flat minor. Another fifth was necessary to reach the dominant of B flat minor--but the violin was too hasty.

14. In m. 140 the violin 2 would originally (and at the last moment, so to speak) have leaped to the flat side: Mozart notated a whole-note $b\flat\prime\prime$ with an accidental. But this $b\flat\prime\prime$ doubled the viola, and so it was replaced by a tied $f\prime\prime$.

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

EXAMPLE 1. String Quartet K. 387, finale, the four autograph versions of mm. 135–42 © Seiffert 1997

to the flat side two measures later (mm. 136-7); otherwise it also corresponds to the first version. This second version breaks off after m. 140. Clearly separating it by adding a double bar in darker, browner ink (perhaps at a later time?), Mozart then proceeded immediately to the next version; but this breaks off after one measure (m. 131)--probably for reasons of space--and Mozart began again, in full score, on a new system.

With version 2, the original 'enharmonic' problem was elegantly solved by consistent re-notation, but Mozart was still not satisfied with the conduct of the middle parts in the context of the four-part texture: as a legacy of version 1, the second violin leaps an octave over the viola at an unsatisfactory moment (m. 132)--unsatisfactory because the leap is meaningless and without harmonic or textural consequence: the viola's cb'' axis remains constant. What is more, the early registral change in the second violin results in enharmonically awkward fifths and fourths with the viola at mm. 131-2 ($f\#\prime/cb'$ to [$f\#\prime/cb'$]) and 135-6 ($ab'/d\#\prime$, to $eb'' [= d\#\prime] /g\#\prime$).

Version 3 (Example 1c). This is exactly what the third version achieves, avoiding unnecessary progressions in both middle voices where for harmonic and voice-leading reasons they can comfortably be omitted (mm. 131-3): second violin and viola statically in fifths; mm. 134-7: viola with tied-over *a*-flats. But the registral disposition of the parts paid an entirely unacceptable price for this solution: in m. 135 the interval between first violin and second violin is an octave plus a seventh, and that between first violin and viola is an octave plus a fourth. Furthermore, the nuisance of the registral disposition in the middle parts here is merely displaced, and even less satisfactorily resolved than in the second version, as mm. 135-6 show (the octave leap $eb'-eb''$ in the second violin, over the ab' of the viola). With the viola's rising line from e'' at the beginning of the development, this complex texture appears to offer no optimal solution to the four-part writing.

At the same time, the new textural orientation of the third version attempts to quit the sharp side as quickly as possible in all four voices without recourse to enharmonic writing. This occurs in the first violin at mm. 132-3 and in the viola two measures earlier (cf. version 2). As in the first version, the second violin effects its change only at m. 135. And the bass moves to the flat side from the very beginning: this change is accomplished as early as m. 131 with the move from B minor to G flat minor. The immediate correction of the second to fourth notes in the previous measure (originally quarter-notes $d\#\prime - e - e\#\prime$) shows the radical nature of the purpose behind the third version, which is to arrive as quickly as possible at the flat side.

Version 4 (Example 1d). The fourth and final autograph version exhibits an entirely new textural quality. All of the weaknesses of the third version--the frequently unsatisfactory distance between the first violin and the other parts, the unnecessarily lengthy exchange between the middle parts, and the disconcertingly swift move to the flat side (G flat minor instead of the more 'natural' F sharp minor)--are cleverly swept away by the reduction to a

de facto three-part texture, together with an entirely new way of combining the neighbouring parts contrapuntally.

What were the compositional consequences of this surprising reshaping for the important harmonic suspensions and the chromatically rising bass-line? Despite the loss of the fourth part, the 4-3 suspensions remained possible; a glance back at versions 1-3 shows that it was entirely superfluous, indeed a hindrance. Previously, the goals of the original chromatic cello line, representing the tonic of each newly arrived harmonic 'station', were doubled by one of the three upper parts; now, however, Mozart renounces the doublings with remarkable economy. The two violins ratchet themselves up by whole steps in a three-part sequence (mm. 134-41: F sharp minor-C sharp minor-A flat minor-E flat minor-B minor-F major), according to the following principle. What in the first measure was the tonic becomes a suspension in the second: because of the two-measure pattern, it is exactly at the moment that the new key is reached that the previous tonic is transformed into a fourth above the new one, now in another part. And in the next measure, this fourth must resolve, even if the new tonic is no longer found in the bass with its continuously moving chromatic line. It is nevertheless made possible by the leap of a fourth in the third part, which now realizes the fifth of the previous measure's suspension. This rather straightforward manoeuvre (which appears somewhat more complex in words than it actually sounds) not only frees Mozart from the troublesome fourth part, but also restores the imitative, two-measure dialogue structure of the upper parts in the first two versions; in fact, it is extended by the rising fourth of the second violin already established in mm. 131-2.^{15/} As for the change from sharps to flats in the upper parts, Mozart essentially returns to the second version: the first violin persists in sharps up to and including m. 136, and then changes to flats by dropping a second from *b''* to *bb''*. The second violin persists in sharps almost to the end.

This new structure was also made possible by the reshaping of the two lower parts, which now alternately play, at two-measure intervals, the rising chromatic line. At those moments where the viola seamlessly takes up the thread of the cello line, the cello falls silent--and vice versa. And from this, the change in the two lower parts from sharps to flats arises easily in m. 133. The problem of register in the middle parts is solved just as easily: the viola traverses its line from m. 125 to m. 130 unencumbered in the higher register and gives over the harmonically important *d''* (here, and only here, in half-notes) to the soaring second violin; from then on, the viola follows the bass voice.

15. The immediate correction of *db''* to *c#''* is noteworthy in this connection, for the original reading would unquestionably have led the violin 2 to the flat side; according to the rules of counterpoint, a leap of a fourth must remain in its original context of accidentals--contrary to the line of falling seconds, following immediately. Accordingly, the autograph 'wipe-out' in m. 132 probably erased what was originally an accidental flat (*db''*) or perhaps only the head of that note.

II. From Autograph to First Edition

Without giving his reasons, Alfred Einstein asserted that the fourth autograph version was better notated as far as the part-writing was concerned, even though he chose the first-edition version for his text.^{16/} In fact, the only difference between the two is in the writing for the first violin: in the first edition, the transition from sharp to flat keys is brought forward four measures (m. 133: *ab*“, etc.)--in other words, it also reproduces the reading of the third autograph version. What lies behind this backward step? Presumably it is that the violins now play in contrary enharmonic contexts, and their textural reference point is therefore not immediately obvious. As we have seen, however, Mozart's fourth and last autograph version is directed primarily at perfecting the four-part writing. Compared with that, the original problem of the key-changes within the individual parts recedes into the background.

If it is assumed that the reading of the first edition originated with Mozart, then an obvious question is whether this represents an improvement for the first violin and, if so, how. The first edition incorporates the brilliant contrapuntal structure of the fourth version and, with it, the economical part-writing of the second and third versions, but not the changes in accidentals in the first violin. What is more, the *fifth* version--that is, the version of the *first edition*--does away completely with this transition by shifting to the flat keys at the earliest possible moment (as in the third autograph version, and comparable to the viola in both the second and third versions). Thus the fifth version attaches even greater importance to a concise statement of the individual parts than does the fourth version. As such, it represents an improvement in the voice-leading because only in this version do both violins move completely autonomously, without an irritating break within their respective domains along the circle of fifths. It seems obvious to attribute such an improvement to the wishes and desires of the composer.

All printed editions of the quartet, from the eighteenth century to the present (excluding the *NMA*), transmit this passage as it is found in the first edition and not in the autograph. This is true even of the three early prints by Johann Anton André, which according to the title-page were made *d'après le manuscrit original de l'auteur*.^{17/} Even though the reading of the first edition is preferable from a stylistic viewpoint, a discussion of the 'correct' text must nevertheless still consider the authority of the first edition as a source. For there is a thorny editing problem hidden behind the relatively unproductive question (as far as performance practice is concerned) whether the first violin should play *ab*“-*ab*“-*ab*“, as in the first edition, or the enharmonically altered *g#*“-*c#*“-*b*“ of the autograph. This immediately

16. *The Ten Celebrated String Quartets*, p. xxx; *NMA VIII/20/1/2*, critical report, b/ 43 n. 11.

17. See *NMA VIII/20/1/2*, critical report, b/ 13-4. The editions are RISM M6124 [6188, 6193, 6189], M6136 (pub. 1800), and M6123 [6137] (pub. c.1820).

raises the more fundamental question of the relationship between the autograph and first edition.

The six string quartets dedicated to Joseph Haydn were published by Artaria in Vienna in early September 1785, as Op. 10.^{18/} The complete dedication, dated and signed with Mozart's name, appeared only in the first printing. From the outset, this particular circumstance lends a certain weight to the importance of the first edition, the more so since it is strikingly free of errors compared with other editions, including even those of Artaria. Although we do not know in what way exactly Mozart may have brought his influence to bear on the publication of this edition in particular,^{19/} there are, nevertheless, some clues.^{20/}

Autographs. All of Mozart's autographs for the 'Haydn' quartets contain a greater number of corrections, both minor and substantial, than he usually made. Some were made spontaneously during the first transcription, others only in the course of revision: the autographs are rich in erasures, places where Mozart wiped out, overwrote, or crossed out an original entry, and full of passages begun but later rejected.^{21/} The text was revised and supplemented in at least two later reworkings of the manuscript, which are documented primarily by differences in the ink colour.^{22/} In addition, Mozart appears to have worked concurrently on different quartet movements.^{23/} Along with the numerous corrections of notes and phrasings, one is struck especially by two textual aspects that must have concerned Mozart time and again: tempo and dynamic markings. Several tempo indications were supplemented by him at a later time and rendered more precise; others were changed altogether.^{24/} In some movements,

18. See Gertraut Haberkamp, *Die Erstdrucke der Werke von Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart* (Tutzing, 1986), Textband, 182-4, Bildband, 136-7; and RISM M6110, where no distinction is made between the various issues of the first edition.

19. See Haberkamp, *Die Erstdrucke*, Textband 15-16, where an opinion is also given concerning Josepha Auernhammer's presumed reading of proofs for Mozart.

20. For a striking parallel, also concerning enharmonic writing and different readings in the sources that can be found in the C minor Fantasy K. 475, see the discussion at the Addendum to this paper ([found at page 22, below](#)).

21. *The Ten Celebrated Quartets*, ed. Einstein, p. xi; *The Six 'Haydn' String Quartets*, ed. Tyson, pp. x-xi; Marius Flothuis, 'A Close Reading of the Autographs of Mozart's Ten Late Quartets', in Wolff (ed.), *The String Quartets of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven*, 154-6.

22. See *NMA VIII/20/1/2*, critical report.

23. Tyson: see pages 85 and 105 of *Studies*.

24. See *NMA VIII/20/1/2*, critical report, b/ 22-4. In his autograph, Mozart made the following additions and changes (given here in italics) to the original tempo indications. K. 387: first movement, *Allegro Vivace assai*; fourth movement, *Molto Allegro*; K. 421: first movement, *Allegro moderato* (but 'moderato' struck out, although the first edn. has 'Allegro moderato'); fourth movement, *Allegretto *mà non troppo** ('Allegretto' was written first but crossed out and replaced by 'Andante'; however, this too was crossed out and corrected to *Allegretto *mà non troppo**); K. 428: third movement, Menuetto *Allegro*; fourth movement, no tempo indication

Mozart clearly chose to refrain completely from indicating the dynamics in the first pass, so that he could add them in the second, or perhaps even the third. This is particularly apparent in the first, second, and fourth movements of the D minor Quartet K. 421, and the first and second movements of the B flat Quartet K. 458.^{25/}

In addition to Mozart's own changes and additions, the autographs include several alterations in an unknown hand, among them dynamic markings in the first and third movements of K. 428, the trio of K. 458, the last movements of K. 458 and 464, and the first movement of K. 465; these were later incorporated into the first edition.^{26/} Almost certainly these 'foreign' additions originated with the copyist or copyists working for Mozart in 1785. Although André (as later owner of the manuscript), or someone at his firm, would have been in a position to re-transfer some dynamic markings from the first edition (or of the sources deriving from it) into Mozart's autograph,^{27/} it is not likely that he did so. Not only would it have meant unnecessary work,^{28/} but other things speak against such a possibility: in the first place, only a very small percentage of the dynamic markings present in the autographs were arbitrarily singled out in this fashion; and, second, at one place in the autograph, a very similar additional dynamic marking, also in red crayon, stems from Mozart himself.^{29/} Accordingly, entries of this nature, in this colour or with this writing tool, must have been undertaken in 1785.^{30/}

[Fn. 24 continued] at first, then *Allegro vivace*; K. 458: first movement, *Allegro vivace assai*; second movement, *Menuetto Moderato*; K. 464: third movement, *Andante Cantabile* (but 'Cantabile' struck out); K. 465: second movement, *Andante cantabile* (originally 'Adagio', but this was struck out).

25. *NMA VIII/20/1/2* lists the added dynamics, and other corrections, under the rubric 'Bemerkungen zu den vermutlichen Stadien der Niederschrift'. In the autograph of the trio of the A major Quartet K. 464, Mozart inadvertently failed to indicate any dynamics; these were added in the first edition.

26. The dynamics added (in red crayon and in violin 1 except where noted) are: K. 428: first movement, m. 34, *p* [*piano*]; 3d movement, trio, m. 26, *cresc.*; m. 28, *fo* [*forte*]; m. 30, *po* [*piano*]; K. 458: 4th movement, m. 232, *p* (in violin 1 and viola); K. 464: 4th movement, m. 142, *f* [*forte*]; K. 465: first movement, m. 188, *f*.

27. This speculation implied by Einstein in *The Ten Celebrated String Quartets*, p. x.

28. As a comparison of the sources shows, André's edition is based at least in part on the first edition or sources that derive from it.

29. The additional *sfp* [*sforzato piano*] in K. 458, second movement, trio, m. 8, violin 2, appears to have been erased later.

30. In addition to these 'authentic' additions, in the autograph of the six quartets there are two other entries in a 'foreign' hand, although they certainly 'derive' from Mozart: (1) a longer passage (mm. 246-51) in the first movement of K. 458 where the original reading has been carefully erased and overwritten with a second version, which Mozart originally wrote at the end of the movement and then marked *dal segno* (see Flothuis, 'A Close Reading', 156, and *NMA VIII/20/1/2*, critical report, b/ 79-80 and b/ 161); and (2) the crossing out of an autograph numbering in connection with Mozart's later composition of one variation from the third movement of K. 464; however, this cancellation had no effect on the first edition (see *NMA VIII/20/1/2*, critical report, b/ 118).

Copies. While the autograph did not serve as the engraving text, it must have been copied at some point. This is confirmed by the well-known instruction to the copyist(s) that Mozart jotted down in the margin of the third movement of the G major Quartet K. 387: 'from this andante only the 2d violin and the viola are to be copied now, the bass part can wait until after lunch. the first violin has already been copied'.^{31/} Because these details would not have been necessary if only one person, in Mozart's presence, had been preparing the parts, we can make three deductions from Mozart's remark: at least two copyists were at work on the G major Quartet (and the other five as well?); Mozart was not constantly present when the copyists were working in his quarters (he would hardly have made the autograph available outside his house);^{32/} and parts were being copied, rather than a duplicate score.

Although no copies from this earliest period survive,^{33/} we can conclude from various documentary references that at least two complete manuscripts existed before the first edition appeared,^{34/} both of them originally unconnected with preparations for the printing.

It is clear from one of Leopold Mozart's letters that in Salzburg, even before his visit to Vienna, he already had a copy of the three quartets K. 387, 421, and 428.^{35/} Whether this was a score, or, more likely, a set of parts, is not known. But it means that Mozart had copies made for his father and sent them to Salzburg some time between autumn 1783 and the summer of 1784, after the three quartets were composed. Leopold became acquainted with the remaining three quartets--K. 458, 464, and 465--only when he came to Vienna in January 1785 to visit his son.

31. See *The Ten Celebrated Quartets*, ed. Einstein, p. xxx; *NMA VIII/20/1/2*, critical report, 35; Flothuis, 'A Close Reading', 155.

32. See Flothuis, 'A Close Reading', 155. How the copying might have proceeded is indicated by Leopold Mozart's letter of 16 Feb. 1785, written to his daughter: 'then there was an excellent new keyboard concerto by Wolfgang, which the copyist was still copying when we arrived, and the rondo of which your brother did not even have time to play through, as he had to supervise the copying' (*Briefe*, iii. 373; *Letters*, 886).

33. The copy of parts in GB-Lbl (Add. MS. 64072A-D) was at one time thought to be Mozart's original dedication copy for Haydn, but is not authentic and was copied in Berlin or central Germany c.1800. The MS, which was known to Otto Jahn (see his *W.A. Mozart* (Leipzig, 1867), ii. 413), was for many years considered lost. See *NMA VIII/20/1/2*, critical report, b/ 16 (source Ab3).

34. See *NMA VIII/20/1/2*, pp. vii n. 2, ix nn 22-4.

35. *Briefe*, iii. 373; *Letters*, 886: 'On Saturday evening, Herr Joseph Haydn and the two Barons Tinti came to see us and the new quartets were performed, or rather, the three new ones which Wolfgang has added to the other three which we have already.'

On 10 April 1784, Mozart wrote to his father in Salzburg, recommending the violinist Zeno Franz Menzel: 'Up to now, no one in Vienna has sight-read my quartets as well as he has'.^{36/} It seems inconceivable that Mozart was referring to his older quartets of the 1770s; almost certainly it was the three finished quartets, K. 387, 421, and 428, that he was writing about. Clearly Mozart had on repeated occasions performed his quartets in private circles, long before the publication of Artaria's edition. It hardly needs to be mentioned that the quartets were performed from parts, not the composer's score.

At least three more 'authentic' performances are documented in Leopold Mozart's letters. On 15 January 1785, one day after the completion of the last quartet, K. 465, Mozart allegedly performed all six of the quartets for the dedicatee himself. Leopold mentions this performance in a letter to Nannerl of 22 January 1785; he had just received a letter from Wolfgang, who had written 'that on the previous Saturday, he let his dear friend Haydn and other good friends hear his 6 quartets, which he has sold to Artaria for 100 ducats'.^{37/} Possibly only three quartets--the first three--were performed on this occasion; parts for them would already have been copied some time before, while parts for the last two quartets, K. 464 (completed on 10 January 1785) and K. 465 (completed on 14 January), could hardly have been prepared at such short notice (to say nothing of the time and endurance necessary to perform all six of the quartets).

This also explains why, only a month later, on 12 February 1785, Joseph Haydn was once more a guest in Mozart's apartment and specifically heard the quartets K. 458, 464 and 465, which up to that point were presumably unknown to him.^{38/}

Finally, we learn from Leopold Mozart that the 'Haydn' quartets, or perhaps only some of them, were performed in his presence (and Wolfgang's) on 2 April 1785, at the home of a Viennese banker.^{39/} Accordingly, a set of parts must still have been in Mozart's hands at the beginning of April 1785.

We can infer from this evidence the existence of at least three copies of the works (although their whereabouts today is unknown):

- (1) a 'Salzburg' copy, in Leopold Mozart's possession, of K. 387, 421, and 428 (parts or score);
- (2) a 'Viennese' copy, in Mozart's possession at least until April 1785, of K. 387, 421, and 428 (parts);
- (3) a 'Viennese' copy, also in Mozart's possession at least until April 1785, of K. 458, 464, and 465 (parts).

36. *Briefe*, iii. 310; *Letters*, 874. 37. *Briefe*, iii. 358, *Letters*, 885. 38. See n. 35.

39. *Briefe*, iii. 384; not in *Letters*.

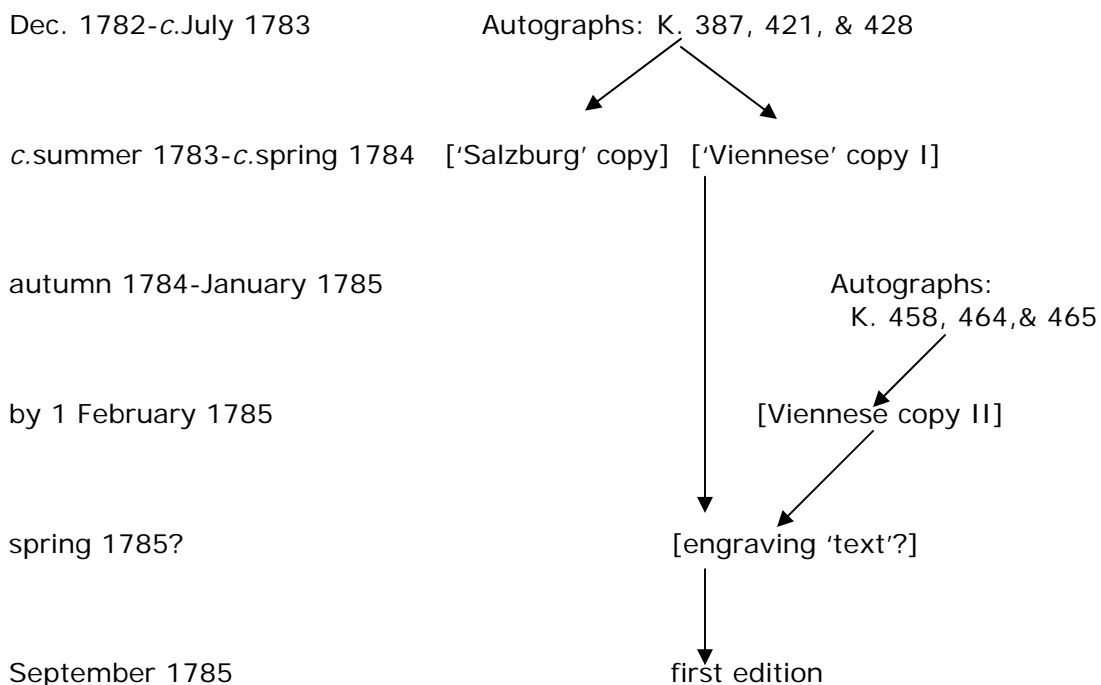
The First Edition. There is no information to help fix the date when Artaria actually began engraving the first edition of the quartets. In any case, the autographs, which contain no engraver's marks, did not serve as the source for the edition.^{40/} True, Leopold Mozart's letter of 22 January 1785 implies that Artaria could have had copies of all six quartets only a few days after the set's completion. But we can exclude this possibility. It is clear that as a text for the engraving, Artaria was using, or copying from, parts that had already been tried in performance. The first edition includes a myriad of significant cautionary accidentals, especially in the last two quartets, K. 464 and K. 465,^{41/} that are not found in the autographs (see the Appendix, page 20 below). In view of their function, these performance 'aids' cannot represent arbitrary additions by a copyist or engraver; nor do such signs normally result from proof-reading galleys. What is more, they were not added to the plates as an afterthought. It is readily apparent from the layout and spacing of the edition that they were taken into account in advance. In all likelihood, then, the cautionary accidentals found in the first edition derive from the experience of specific performances before the engraving was begun. What is more obvious than to relate them directly to the composer and his private performances of the quartets?

In short, Artaria most likely received a set of parts from Mozart which he had used several times in performance. And the set--either the 'Viennese' copies or a copy made from them^{42/}--was received only after a certain amount of time had passed after the completion of the six works (see figure at top of next page).

40. This is typically the case with Mozart; most of his works were engraved from copies made from the autographs. One rare exception are the so-called 'Paris' sonatas K. 303, 304, and 306, the autographs of which have markings that clearly correspond to the first edition.

41. In light of this, one might speculate that these two quartets in particular were frequently performed by Mozart (and the copies corrected) before Artaria's copy text was prepared, or that Artaria received the quartets in two groups (the first three or four at an earlier time). In any case, it is well known that the positions of the two middle quartets, K. 428 and 458, are reversed in the Artaria edition; nevertheless, it is clear from the engraving that K. 458 had been 'moved up' even before the engraving began, since the fourth quartet, K. 428, begins in the second violin and viola parts immediately after K. 458, on the same page.

42. In the event that Leopold Mozart brought his 'Salzburg' copies to Vienna, these too may have played a role; however, this is very unlikely.



[] = lost

If this account faithfully reflects the facts, then the readings of the first edition that either vary from the autographs, or supplement them, gain substantially in authority. For although Mozart did not proof-read the first edition--at least not in the modern sense--he nevertheless made detailed improvements to his text of the quartets in the course of playing through them with friends and colleagues. Einstein and Finscher are therefore correct in stressing the importance of the Artaria readings in their editions, and they rightly supplement the dynamic signs missing in the autographs and take over the modified tempo indications of the print. Mozart's lingering indecision on these points, demonstrated in the autographs, was finally overcome in trial performances, in which he decided on a 'final' text.^{43/}

But let us return once more to mm. 125-42 of the finale of K. 387. A somewhat more speculative philological argument may add a facet worth considering and provide further support. It is obvious that the copyist who was responsible, directly or indirectly, for the text used for the first edition had initially copied the fourth autograph version that Mozart regarded as definitive. This is shown in particular by the erroneous half-note that remained undiscovered in m. 142 of the cello line of the first edition; the mistake goes back to an overlooked correction in the autograph, where Mozart had originally notated a half-note and only later made the appropriate correction. And the copyist presumably took over another crucial error in the autograph, specifically the whole-note *c*^{'''} in mm. 134-5 of the first violin

43. The same can be said for the additional articulation, although it is for the most part inexactly rendered in the engraving and requires interpretation.

part, not the correct *c#'''*, because Mozart neglected to notate the necessary accidental. This must have struck the composer in the course of his 'trial performances'.^{44/} Something had to be done. However, because what was done was not, as might be expected of a copyist or an engraver, simply to add a sharp before the note in question, but, rather, to revise the note to *cb'''*--and in so doing to rewrite the entire complex from m. 133 to m. 136 in flat keys--our conjecture must take us back to the composer. And if our surmises as to when Mozart was active with his revisions are correct, then it is also possible to understand how the text changed in the course of three independent stages prior to the release of the first edition: the original, first autograph version (end of 1782) was revised in the summer of 1783, eventually leading to the fourth version, and this served for the preparation of the copy or copies. The printed version was arrived at only at a stage directly before the engraving, in the copy that served as the engraving text.

III. Summary

The text of Mozart's 'Haydn' quartets has been handed down in two authentic sources: in the autographs, with their many corrections, and in Artaria's first edition of 1785. All later prints have nothing to do with Mozart. The extent to which Mozart participated in reading proofs for the first edition can be more or less precisely determined by a careful and detailed comparison of the two sources. He modified, supplemented, and corrected the tempo markings of the autographs, as well as adding numerous dynamic signs--indeed, the print also includes numerous accidentals, mostly cautionary accidentals, which are missing from the autographs. As a result, the edition includes remarkably few engraving and other errors.

But how do we know that it was really Mozart who was responsible for the corrections, additions, and modifications? Passages from the letters, as well as the instructions to the copyist(s) in the autograph of the third movement of K. 387, show that all six of the quartets existed in copies used by Mozart and his friends to perform the works before the appearance of the first edition. These performing parts, made directly from the autographs, are lost. But they must have provided Artaria with an engraving text and must have contained Mozart's revisions, for during the performance of his works, Mozart would have noted those passages that were faulty or had been incorrectly copied. This is particularly clear in the case of the cautionary accidentals: typically, these are added in the course of performance, not composition. And they cannot have been added after the engraving was already completed, since space was left for them on the plates from the beginning. This is not to say that the proofs themselves were not read, but the decisive changes to the text were most probably made by Mozart on the lost copies, that is, during the 'proof-playing'.

44. The harmonic shift in mm. 133-5 resulting from this wrong note (C sharp minor-C major-A flat major) is too sophisticated, however, to be considered an audacious twist; for another view, see *The Ten Celebrated String Quartets*, ed. Einstein, p. xxxi.

Accordingly, the first edition of the quartets is a source of paramount importance, and where it differs significantly and sensibly from the autograph, it must be given priority. To be sure, Artaria's print still included numerous errors that remained undiscovered; for the most part these arose out of misinterpretations of the autographs by the original copyist(s). Why were they not discovered by Mozart? With few exceptions they are not audible mistakes, but incorrect articulations, which may not have been apparent in performance. A comparison with Mozart's autographs permits all of the mistakes to be corrected.

The sole passage in all twenty-four movements of the quartets in which the print provides a decisively different primary text from the autographs is mm. 132-6 of the first violin part in the finale of K. 387, which is notated enharmonically with flats, instead of sharps as in the autograph. Yet a closer examination of this passage, in the context of all four surviving autographs, shows that the changes in the first edition are only the tip of the iceberg. Mozart's revisions to the first eighteen measures of the development section kindled his dissatisfaction with the original, abrupt enharmonic change from sharps to flats, although each part elegantly effected the notational change in the course of the rising-fifth sequence, if not simultaneously. This is what the second autograph version shows. But it also revealed a weakness in the first version with respect to the conduct of the middle part, a weakness unsuccessfully compensated in the third version. The problem of the accidentals had receded into the background, even though Mozart once again changed (at least in part) the enharmonic writing in the third version. With its contrapuntal construction and reduction to three real parts, the fourth version resolved the hitherto unconquered problem of the part-writing.

With this final autograph version, it appears that Mozart felt he had solved the two original matters of dissatisfaction: the notation and the part-writing. But as already noted, the first violin in the first edition differs in mm. 132-6 from the fourth autograph version: as in the third version, it is enharmonically notated with flats. Orthographically it represents an improvement with respect to the conduct of the individual parts, for now the two violins move through the entire problematic passage within a single 'domain'.

For the quartet player, the question of which orthography is the more successful is relatively unimportant because, in this passage, he can achieve a satisfactory result only when he plays in equal temperament. The editor of a critical edition, however, must decide between the different readings. One must give precedence to the text of the first edition not only because it contains many improvements over the autographs, but especially because it was--in all probability--'corrected in performance' by Mozart and consequently authorized by him.^{45/}

Translated by Bruce Cooper Clarke and Cliff Eisen

45. An earlier and slightly different version of this article appears in Annegrit Laubenthal and Kara Kusan Windweh (eds.), *Studien zur Musikgeschichte: Eine Festschrift für Ludwig Finscher* (Kassel, 1995), 377-92.

APPENDIX

Cautionary Accidentals not Notated in the Autographs but Present in the First Edition

Work, movement	Measure	Part	Reading
K. 387, finale	142	vc.	1st note n (= natural)
	147	vc.	1st note n
K. 428, finale	235	va.	2nd note b
	297	vn. 2	2nd note b
K. 458, 1st movement	114	va.	1st note b
	168	vn. I	5th note b
	236	vn. 2	upper note b
K. 458, 2nd movement	12	va.	2nd note n
K. 458, 3rd movement	34	vn. I	antepenultimate note b
	34	vc.	penultimate note b
K. 458, finale	141	va.	antepenultimate note b
K. 464, 1st movement	21	vc.	1st note n
	23	vn. I	1st note n *
	27	vc.	1st note n
	101	vc.	1st and 2 nd notes n
	102	vc.	1st note n
	128	vn. 2	1st note n
	185	vc.	1st note n
	192	vc.	1st note n
	K. 464, 2nd movement	16	vn. 2
53		vc.	1st note #
60		va.	1st note n *
64		vc.	1st note #
K. 464, 3rd movement	59	va.	last note n
	79	va.	Penultimate note n
	113	vn. I	1st note b
	158	va.	last note #
K. 464, finale	89	va.	1st note n
	93	vn. 2	last note n
	136	vn. 2	2nd note #
	188	va.	2nd note #
	194	vn. I	1st note #
		va.	1st note #

* Probably added to plate later.

APPENDIX: Cautionary accidentals not notated in the autographs but present in the first edition (continued)

K. 465, 1 st movement	6	va.	1 st note b
	57	va.	lower note n
	128	vn. 2	last note n
	229	vn. 1	1 st note n
K. 465, 2 ^d movement	5	vn. 2	2 nd note n
	49	vn. 2	2 nd note n
	69	vn. 2	1 st note b
	92	vn. 2	1 st note b
K. 465, 3 rd movement	26	va.	1 st note n
	31	vn. 1	1 st note b
K. 465, trio	40	vn. 2	b
K. 465, finale	46	va.	1 st note b
	48	vc.	b
	66	vn. 2	1 st note b
	96, 97	va.	1 st note b
	175	va.	1 st note #
	178	vn. 2	1 st note #
	179	va.	1 st note #
	295, 296, 299, 300, 309, 310, 311, 313-18	va.	1 st note b
	309	vc.	b **
	320	vn. 2	1 st note b
	335	vn. 1	1 st note #
	360	vn. 1	1 st note b

** A substantial addition, not found in autograph.

ADDENDUM: A striking parallel in the C minor Fantasy, K.475

[Note to the reader: For technical reasons, this footnote—number 20 on page 12—is found here.]

20. A striking parallel, also concerning enharmonic writing and different readings in the sources, can be found in the C minor Fantasy K. 475, mm. 137-8 (Henle edn.), the autograph of which was long considered lost. In the 'Più Allegro' section of the Fantasy--also based on a sequence of fifths, beginning on G minor (m. 130) and finding its first resting-point only with the imperfect cadence in A flat major (m. 141)--there is a sudden and dramatic acceleration, at m. 136, in the modulatory process. In mm. 137-8, the writing of the broken chords differs between the autograph and first edition, not in the actual pitches but in their notation, which is enharmonically changed. As the following comparison shows, the 'sharp-side' notation in the autograph was changed to flats, presumably because the autograph reading created unnecessary contradictions between the left and right hands. A flat is, in any case, the harmonic goal.

Measure/beat	Autograph	First edition
137/1	B flat minor	B flat minor
137/2	B major, first inversion (but left hand <i>b</i> not <i>d#</i> !)	C flat major, first inversion
137/3	C sharp ⁷ major, first inversion	D flat ⁷ major, first inversion
138/1	F sharp major	G flat major
138/2	A flat ⁷ major, first inversion (but left hand <i>b#</i> not <i>c</i> !)	A flat ⁷ , first inversion
138/3	B flat ⁷ , first inversion	B flat ⁷ , first inversion
139/1	[E flat minor etc.]	[E flat minor etc.]

It is difficult to believe that anyone other than the author could have undertaken such consequential changes. And is it not significant that it was Mozart who took a hand in the important enharmonic changes of this demanding modulatory section, so reminiscent of mm. 125-42 of the finale of K. 387?

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