

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Thomas Irvine was born to American parents in Munich in 1968 and grew up in Stony Brook, New York. Starting in 1986, he studied at the University of Michigan School of Music in Ann Arbor, the State University of New York at Stony Brook, and the Shepherd School of Music at Rice University, where he received a Bachelor of Music degree in viola performance in 1991. From 1991 until 1994 he was a graduate student in viola performance at the Indiana University School of Music in Bloomington. He earned a Master of Music degree there in 1996.

In 1994 he moved to Germany and began a professional musical career. In the next five years he played the modern and historical viola in numerous German orchestras and ensembles, toured Europe and Japan, and recorded for most German state radio networks and several European record labels. He also worked as a music teacher and arts manager.

In 1999 he began graduate studies at Cornell University, where he earned a Master of Arts degree in musicology in 2002. From 2000-2002 he was a teaching assistant in the Cornell Department of Music. In the fall of the same year he returned to Germany as a fellow of the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) at the Institute of Musicology of the University of Würzburg, where he is now a visiting research fellow and adjunct lecturer. He has written for *Acta Mozartiana*, the *Mozart-Jahrbuch*, *Early Music*, and *Eighteenth Century Music*. As a violist, he continues to appear with the chamber music group “Ensemble Campanile.”

Thomas Irvine lives in Bielefeld, Germany with his wife, the cellist Nicola Heinrich, and their daughter, Hannah.

In Memory of  
Thomas F. Irvine, jr. (1922-2001)  
and for  
Hannah Franziska Irvine (born 2003)

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is a pleasure to thank my Special Committee (Neal Zaslaw, Malcolm Bilson, David Yearsley, and Ulrich Konrad) for their support throughout the research and writing of this dissertation. Neal Zaslaw suggested that I write about Mozart and performance early in my first year in Ithaca; despite the many unexpected twists and turns my project has taken I have never once regretted following his advice, and without his continuing help and wise counsel I would surely have lost my way. Professors Bilson, Yearsley, and Konrad were model mentors, each contributing his own unique perspective. I am grateful for their perceptive criticism, their enthusiasm, and for the high standards that they set in their own work. I would also like to thank Professor Konrad and his staff in Würzburg, particularly Hansjörg Ewert, for their continuing gracious hospitality.

I am indebted to Cornell University, the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), and the Mario Einaudi Center for European Studies at Cornell University for their generous financial support.

I wish to thank the following librarians and libraries for their kind assistance and cooperation: Lenore Coral at the Sidney Cox Library of Music and Dance at Cornell University (for her immense knowledge, her world-class collection, and her friendship), Otto Biba and his staff at the Archive of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna, Geneviève Geffray at the Biblioteca Mozartiana at the Mozarteum in Salzburg, the staffs at the Musikabteilung of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in

Vienna, the Stadtbibliothek Wien, the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, the British Library, the Bodleian Library in Oxford, the Sibley Library at the Eastman School of Music/University of Rochester, and last but not least the interlibrary loan office at the Universitätsbibliothek in Bielefeld. Christoph Grosspietsch at the Neue Mozart-Ausgabe and Rupert Ridgewell at the British Library were always ready with answers to my sometimes perplexing questions.

I owe special thanks to Karin Steiner for putting me up on numerous trips to Vienna, Susan Waterbury for her hospitality on my return trips to Ithaca, and the Ewert family for lending me their spare room and bicycle so often in Würzburg. The administrative staff of the Cornell Department of Music, Jane Belonsoff and Ann Tillman, made research and writing “in absentia” far easier than it ought to have been.

Dexter Edge, Cliff Eisen, Gertraut Haberkamp, Richard Kramer, Wolfgang Rehm, Annette Richards, Wolf-Dieter Seiffert, and James Webster all gave generously of their time and advice, as did many of my fellow graduate students at Cornell (among these I owe special gratitude to Emily Dolan for her good-natured last minute proofreading). Musician colleagues in the United States and Germany, particularly Elizabeth Simkin and Isabel Schau, lent me their ears on many occasions. Thanks are due as well to my students in Würzburg, who listened patiently as I worked out some of the ideas in this dissertation, and to Joseph Prousch and Christoph Meyer, who helped prepare the musical examples.

I owe a most profound debt to my friends Hansjörg Ewert, Nicholas Mathew, and Wiebke Thormählen, whose insights and challenges are reflected on almost every page of this dissertation.

For their support throughout my (very) long education I would like to thank my family, particularly my mother Olga Zilboorg; for her hospitality and lively interest in my work my thanks go as well to my mother-in-law Gertraud Heinrich. I could never have started, let alone finished, this dissertation without the love and support of my wife Nicola, who has always been my most musical critic. My father Thomas F. Irvine, jr, lived long enough to see this project begin and my daughter Hannah Franziska arrived as I began to write in earnest: without his inspiring memory and her enchanting presence my work would have been half as rewarding. This dissertation is dedicated to both of them.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH .....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS .....	ix
PREFACE .....	xv
LIBRARY SIGLA .....	xx
THE FOUNDATIONS OF MOZART SCHOLARSHIP .....	1
Introduction.....	1
Wolfgang Plath's Polemic .....	2
Otto Jahn: The Founder .....	13
Historicism.....	20
<i>Geistesgeschichte</i> .....	28
Nietzsche contra Jahn .....	32
Positivism.....	36
The Mandarins Enraged.....	41
The New Musicology .....	44
TEXT CRITICISM AND PERFORMANCE STUDIES .....	49
The Right Text .....	50
Theories of Reception.....	61
Historical Performance and Textual Criticism.....	66
Performance Studies I: Musicology .....	79
Performance Studies II: Approaches from Outside of Musicology .....	82
Towards a Performance-based Textual Criticism?.....	85

EXECUTION AND EXPRESSION.....	90
H.C. Koch’s Twofold Definition of <i>Ausführung</i> .....	90
Execution and Expression.....	94
Herder on the Performance of Language.....	102
Execution and Expression at the End of the Eighteenth Century.....	107
Mozart on execution and Expression.....	111
The Place of Genius in Composition and Performance.....	115
The Expressive Rhetoric of Mozart’s Compositional Practice .....	117
Performative Signs.....	120
Luigi Boccherini: String Quartet in E-Flat, G. 201 .....	123
Paul Wranitzky: String Quartet in G, op. 4/op. 10 .....	129
Mozart: String Quartet in G, K. 387 .....	135
UTOPIA PERFORMED: MOZART’S FANTASY K. 475 .....	143
The Fantasy in the Lodge .....	144
Joseph II and “Enlightenment from Above” .....	147
<i>Gaukelei</i> .....	149
<i>Sensus</i> and <i>Ratio</i> in K. 475 .....	153
Utopia Performed?.....	159
The Collision of Text and Performance .....	163
The Fantasy in the Novel.....	166
Wilhelm Heinse in Italy .....	169
<i>Hildegard von Hohenthal</i> : Writing Musical Multimedia.....	171
The Tuning Lesson .....	173
Performing and Interpreting Fantasy .....	178
Two Utopias.....	180
THE FINALE OF K. 593:“THE WITTIEST THEME” .....	183
Absent Performances .....	183
History.....	184
Sources .....	187
Excursus: The Salzburg Flute Arrangement.....	200
Trivial/Difficult.....	203

Friendly/Ghostly .....	206
<i>Lectio difficilior</i> .....	209
<i>Das launigste Thema</i> .....	213
Echoes .....	217
EPILOGUE .....	221
APPENDIX ONE .....	225
APPENDIX TWO.....	228
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	232

## LIST OF FIGURES

1.1: Vase with Aulos-Player .....	17
3.1: P. Wranitzky, String Quartet op. 4/10: autograph fol. 1r .....	130
3.2: P. Wranitzky, String Quartet op. 4/10: autograph fol. 3r .....	132
3.3: P. Wranitzky, String Quartet op. 4/10: autograph fol. 2r .....	132
3.4: P. Wranitzky, String Quartet op. 4/10: autograph fol. 4r .....	133
4.1: Heinse: <i>Hildegard von Hohenthal</i> , frontispiece.....	177
5.1: Chromatic and “Zig-zag” Versions, K. 593 iv/m. 1 .....	188
5.2a: K. 593/iv mm. 1-3: Autograph .....	190
5.2b: K. 593/iv mm. 267-262: Autograph .....	191
5.3a: K. 593/iv mm. 1-11: Artaria 1793, violin 1 .....	192
5.3b: K. 593/iv mm. 263-279: Pleyel 1799, violin 1 .....	192
5.4: K. 593/iv mm. 1-36: Viennese manuscript copy, 1792(?), violin 1 ..	194
5.5a: K. 593/iv mm 1-8: Johann Traeg master copy (before 1799), violin version.....	195
5.5b: K. 593/iv mm. 1-10: Johann Traeg master copy (before 1799), flute version.....	196
5.6a: K. 593/iv mm. 81-113: André 1800, violin 1 .....	197
5.6b: K. 593/iv mm. 263-279: André 1800, violin 1 .....	197

## LIST OF TABLES

5.1: Some Sources for K. 593.....	198
-----------------------------------	-----

## LIST OF MUSICAL EXAMPLES

3.1: L. Boccherini: String Quartet in E-Flat Major G. 201, mm. 1-31.....	127
3.2: W.A. Mozart: String Quartet in G K. 387, mm. 1-55 .....	138
4.1: W.A. Mozart: <i>Fantasie</i> in c minor K. 475, mm. 1-36 (Artaria 1785)	154
4.2: W.A. Mozart: <i>Fantasie</i> in c minor K. 475, mm. 56-84.....	157

## PREFACE

Two separate narratives make up the story I will tell in this dissertation. The first examines the role of historical consciousness in the writing of the history of musical performance; it aims to provide the historiographical reflection that I believe such a writing demands. The second describes how the contradiction between performance and textuality is itself evident – in a kind of performance – in several works of Mozart’s years in Vienna.

Chapter one begins with an episode from the recent history of Mozart research. In 1964, the young Wolfgang Plath, who had recently assumed the editorship of the *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe*, argued in a position paper that only the scholarly techniques he called “positivism” could bring renewal to what he saw as a discipline in decline. His thesis, as we will see, was extremely controversial, and the questions he raised are of importance far beyond the limited disciplinary boundaries of Mozart scholarship. The most important of these questions – is there a “musical” way to write “music history”? – is central to my project.

In the first chapter I will use the debate about Plath’s position paper as a point of departure for my own brief survey of some of the historiographical options open to the music historian, looking both backward at the historical contexts of writing music history and forward to the scholarly quarrels of our own time. This survey will concentrate on the concept, or better group of concepts, known as “historicism,” which I will define broadly as the dual goals of giving history as much detail as possible

while also giving it meaning. “Historicism” is of central importance for my own study, because the infinite detail of musical performance is, as I see it, the ultimate historicist challenge.

In chapter two I will move from a specific debate – the one Plath provoked in Mozart scholarship – to a general survey of thought on musical notation in its performance. Here I will follow a trajectory from traditional editorial practice to contemporary performance theory, attempting to illuminate the opposition between the strictures of classical textual criticism, on the one hand, and the unfettered, even messy contingency of performance, on the other. Beneath the tension between the two lies the tension between “absolutism” (a potential consequence, for instance, of an “Urtext” performance) and “relativism” (the ultimate consequences of a theory is which the historical text has little or no meaning for performance in the present). Along the way I will examine how musicologists and other humanist scholars use the term “performance.” At the end of chapter two I introduce a specific problem that certain of Mozart’s texts present for editors and performers: the differences between his autographs and (presumably authorized) first editions. Three works whose sources disagree in this manner, the String Quartet in G K. 387, the Fantasy for Clavier in C Minor K. 475, and the String Quintet in D K. 593, will provide a frame for examining problems of text, performance, and history in the rest of the dissertation.

My two larger arguments, the historiographical and the historical, will cross in chapter three. I begin the chapter with an examination of the eighteenth-century musical lexicographer Heinrich Christoph Koch’s use

of the word “Ausführung” to describe both composition *and* performance. I will then explore how prominent writers in German, a generation before Koch, treated performance with caution. They were nervous about it, I will argue, because of the danger an overly nuanced performance presents to a model of musical communication – the so-called *Affektenlehre* – that depends on the “one-to-one” translation of musical meaning from the composer through performance to the audience. I then draw a contrast between such thinking and the “expressivist” theories of language, exemplified by those of Johann Gottfried Herder, that began to gain influence in the 1770s. The strands of my two arguments cross exactly here, for not only was Herder a founder of expressivist linguistics, he was also one of the first historicist thinkers. In Herder’s thought, so influential on the further development of German thinking about history, the limitless nuance of human expression and the infinite detail of the historical record spring from the same source.

In the final section of the third chapter, I will search for traces of the conflict between the unlimited nuances of performance and the demands of textuality in Mozart’s music. To do this, I will frame Mozart’s practices with those of two of his contemporaries, Luigi Boccherini and Paul Wranitzky, by following their approaches to performance as evidenced by real – that is to say, “factual” – historical traces of intervention in texts of string quartets by all three. I have chosen this frame with care, for all three were participants in what I will call – borrowing the term from recent writings on Liszt by Jim Samson – the “ecology” of making chamber music

in mid-1780s Vienna.<sup>1</sup> At the chapter's end I argue that Mozart's music reveals a sophisticated awareness of the delicate relation between texts and their performances.

The focus of chapter four is how opposing poles of Enlightenment thought, sensitivity and rationality, play out in performances, real and imagined, of Mozart's music. The main object of my investigation will be a notated "free" fantasy, Mozart's K. 475, in various performances. Once again the challenge is to think through, to imagine, these performances *in* history. The first performance, Mozart's appearance at a Masonic benefit concert in December 1785 is a real historical event, about which we know no further details beyond that Mozart "fantasized" at the keyboard. Nonetheless, I will use the text of K. 475 to illuminate what I imagine this performance could mean in a broader aesthetic and political context. Reversing the process, I will then move from these contexts back to K. 475's text and its perilous position between improvisatory freedom and textual fixity.

The second performance of K. 475 in chapter four takes place in a work of fiction, Wilhelm Heine's musical novel *Hildegard von Hohenthal* (1795). Here the situation is reversed: the circumstances in which the Fantasy appears are a creation of Heine's (rich) imagination, but the musical text discussed and performed by his characters is the "real" text of the C Minor Fantasy. Once again, understanding this performance's context (its "ecology") will change our understanding of its text. As I will

---

<sup>1</sup> Jim Samson, *Virtuosity and the Musical Work* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

argue at the end of the chapter, Heinse's characters take K. 475 to mean something quite different from what it meant in the Masonic lodge.

In chapter five I will return to the specifics of editing Mozart's texts for performance. In a "case study" of the finale of the String Quintet in D K. 593, I will show how the two approaches made out by Wolfgang Plath, the "positive" and the "interpretive," are bound to collide in practice. The former, if it is true to all of the available "facts," leads to the extremely complex (in performance ultimately unusable) picture that K. 593's surviving sources paint. The "interpretive" approach requires that order be brought to this confusion from the outside, by the critical editor. In a final juxtaposition between how we think about text and performance and how Mozart's contemporaries did, I will claim that the two approaches are closer together than we might think.

Finally, in a short epilogue, I will bring the various strands of my argument together, sketching the consequences of my findings for further thought on text, performance, and history in our constructions of Mozart's music and its cultural contexts.

\*\*\*

All quotations in the main body of the text are in English. Primary sources, and those secondary sources not readily available to the English-speaking reader, are given in the footnotes in their original language.

## LIBRARY SIGLA

<b>Abbreviation</b>	<b>Library</b>
CH Bod	Stiftung Bodmer, Geneva
US Cae	Eda Kuhn Loeb Music Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
D B	Staatsbibliothek Berlin, Musikabteilung
A Wgm	Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna
A Wn	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musikabteilung, Vienna
A Sm	Bibliotheca Mozartiana der internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum, Salzburg
US R Sibley	University of Rochester/Eastman School of Music, Sibley Music Library
US Ic	Sidney Cox Library of Music and Dance, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY