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I hereby recommend that the thesis prepared under my supervision by William Bruce McKinney

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A Document of Orchestral Performance Practice in the Nineteenth Century.

be accepted as fulfilling this part of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Musical Arts

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GUSTAV MAHLER'S SCORE OF BEETHOVEN'S NINTH SYMPHONY--
A DOCUMENT OF ORCHESTRAL PERFORMANCE PRACTICE
IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Presented by

William Bruce McKinney

To fulfill the dissertation requirement for the degree of
Doctor of Musical Arts

College-Conservatory of Music
of the
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INTRODUCTION

The twentieth-century reaction to the intense subjectivism of the Romantic period has left its mark on the musicians of our generation. New editions of the works of the composers of the common-practice period have removed the editorial accretions of the nineteenth century and have attempted to present musical texts as their composers would have wished them to be presented. Performing musicians are now trained to treat a scholarly edition as an ultimate authority, and the reproduction of a composer's intentions is the goal that our singers, conductors and instrumentalists profess to strive for in performance. However, neither the free, subjective approach toward performance of a previous era, nor the more rigorous, objective approach of our own has been the object of much serious musicological research, and misunderstandings exist concerning the nature and origin of the performance traditions which we follow today, and those which we have discarded.

Purpose

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine in detail Gustav Mahler's score to the Beethoven Ninth Symphony, one of the previously unexplored documents to the performance practice of the nineteenth-century conductor. An attempt is made to reach documented conclusions about Mahler's position as an interpretative musician and about the relationship between his approach and that

of other men. The influence of Richard Wagner and Hans von Bülow on Mahler's own work is studied, as is Mahler's influence in turn on his disciples, Bruno Walter and Otto Klemperer. As a part of the latter investigation, recordings of many of the Ninth Symphony performances of German-trained conductors of the first half of the twentieth century are compared with the notations found in Mahler's score, and an attempt is made to consider the extent to which some of the performance traditions of Mahler's time remain a part of our musical life today.

Limitations

Some possible areas of investigation, while of interest from a musical or aesthetic point of view, remain outside the scope of this study. The question of the right of a conductor to make changes in a composer's text has not been discussed, and indeed, this matter has been treated in available literature on the performance of Beethoven's music.¹ Similarly, a comparison of Beethoven's autograph with published editions of the Ninth Symphony is not intended and will not be made. Areas of performance practice covered by this study will be determined by the material found in Mahler's score. For example, the question of tempo or the use of tempo rubato in the performance of Beethoven, while an important part of Richard Wagner's approach to conducting, will not be treated in a detailed manner, for Mahler has not added

¹See W. H. Wong, "Certain Problems Relative to the Performance of Beethoven's Symphonies." (Unpublished Ed. D. Thesis, Columbia University Teachers College, 1960).

notations about tempi to his score.

Acknowledgement

I wish at this time to express my gratitude to the Archive Division of Universal Edition, Vienna, for providing me with a xerox copy of Gustav Mahler's score of the Beethoven Ninth Symphony for use in my research on this project.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	11
CHAPTER	
I. THE PERFORMANCE OF BEETHOVEN SYMPHONIES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY	1
II. GUSTAV MAHLER	23
III. THE CHANGES IN MAHLER'S SCORE OF THE BEETHOVEN NINTH SYMPHONY	46
IV. THE INFLUENCE OF MAHLER'S CHANGES IN THE NINTH SYMPHONY	72
V. CONCLUSIONS	83
APPENDIX	
A. A CATALOGUE OF THE CHANGES IN MAHLER'S SCORE OF THE NINTH SYMPHONY	85
B. AN INTERPRETATIVE ANALYSIS OF SELECTED RECORDED PERFORMANCES OF THE NINTH SYMPHONY	156
SOURCES CONSULTED	162

CHAPTER I

THE PERFORMANCE OF BEETHOVEN SYMPHONIES
IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURYPrologue

It was not easy for the nineteenth century to digest Beethoven's music. The demands which his last symphonies and string quartets made on performers and listeners were intensified by traditions of performance practice of the time and by the primitive conditions surrounding public concerts of orchestral music, which were still something of a novelty. In Vienna where Beethoven lived and worked, there was no professional concert orchestra until 1842.¹ The orchestra which was assembled in 1824 for the first performance of the Ninth Symphony did have a large complement of strings for an orchestra at that time (twenty-four violins, ten violas, twelve cellos, and twelve basses), but half of the violinists were amateurs, and there were only two orchestral rehearsals prior to the performance.² The direction of the music was divided between Schuppanzigh, the concertmaster; Umlauf, the choral conductor; and Conradin Kreutzer, who directed from the piano in the old eighteenth-

¹Adam Carse, The Orchestra from Beethoven to Berlioz (Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, 1948), p. 251.

²Georg Schünemann, Geschichte des Dirigierens, reprint of the Leipzig edition of 1913 (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1965), p. 319.

century manner.³ This practice of dividing the conducting responsibility for the Ninth Symphony between a violinist-conductor who was in charge of the first three movements and a choral conductor who conducted the finale seems to have continued until the time of Mendelssohn.⁴

In addition to the problems created by this situation, where an extremely difficult new work was prepared with less than competent players and insufficient rehearsal time, composers, who needed public performances of their music in order to make a living, did not insist on large forces for performances, even if this was desirable. Beethoven himself once suggested that a minimum instrumentation for his Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Symphonies would include eight violins, four violas, two cellos and two basses,⁵ and the Koch Lexicon (1802) recommends an orchestra with twelve violins, three violas, three cellos and three basses for the performance of symphonies and concert music.⁶ In 1828 the newly-founded Hamburg Philharmonic performed Beethoven's Fifth Symphony with forty musicians,⁷ and the Ninth Symphony was played in 1826 in Leipzig from the orchestral parts alone

³Carse, The Orchestra, p. 261.

⁴Schlünemann, Geschichte, p. 173.

⁵Ludwig van Beethoven, Letters. Edited and translated by Emily Anderson (New York: St. Martins Press, 1961), p. 343.

⁶Carse, The Orchestra, p. 24.

⁷Josef Sittard, Geschichte des Musik- und Concertwesens in Hamburg (Altona: A. C. Reher, 1890), pp. 305-307.

(no one had a score!) with "less than thirty string players."⁸ Under these conditions it is not suprising that the strings were often overpowered by the wind instruments.⁹ Many of the balance problems which concerned Wagner and his followers simply did not exist in Beethoven's time, where musicians had to deal with a completely different set of circumstances.

Other factors contributed to the difficulty of achieving a good standard of performance for the Beethoven Symphonies. Early published parts of these works contained errors which were not corrected for many years, in spite of Beethoven's efforts. In 1810 he wrote to Breitkopf about two extra bars which had been included in the published edition of the Scherzo of the Fifth Symphony,¹⁰ but the error was not corrected until performances of the piece under Mendelssohn in 1846.¹¹ There was also the question of the attitude of the performer toward the music he performed. After all, this was the era of the pastiche, and composers such as Handel, Rossini, and even Mozart had been known to insert material from one piece into another. As far as Beethoven's music was concerned, we know that Türk,

⁸Carse, The Orchestra, p. 136.

⁹Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁰Beethoven, Letters, p. 289.

¹¹W. H. Wong, "Certain Problems Relative to the Performance of Beethoven's Symphonies" (unpublished Ed. D. dissertation, Columbia University Teachers College, 1960), pp. 146-147.

director of a musical society in Halle, omitted the introduction to the last movement of the First Symphony because "he felt that it would make the orchestra laugh."¹² Fétis, according to Berlioz, altered harmonic progressions in his editions of the Symphonies, and Habeneck omitted the basses from the beginning of the Scherzo of the Fifth,¹³ made a large cut in the Finale of the Second, and replaced the Larghetto of this symphony with the Allegretto from the Seventh, because he thought that this movement would be more successful with the audience.¹⁴ There is evidence that even Beethoven was cavalier about the performance of his own music. In a letter of May 27, 1813 he suggested that violas could take the place of horns in a performance of his King Stephan Overture, Opus 117.¹⁵ According to Berlioz, "Beethoven . . . did not expect his double basses to play every note--it was simply regarded as impossible."¹⁶

Wagner and Beethoven

The best musical minds of the mid-nineteenth century realized that Beethoven's music was revolutionary as far as the development of the symphony orchestra was concerned. Richard Wagner's remarks about his early experiences with orchestral music also document the

¹²Sir George Grove, Beethoven and his Nine Symphonies, reprint of the 1898 edition (New York: Dover Publications, 1962), p. 13.

¹³Hector Berlioz, Memoires, translated by Ernest Newman (New York: Tudor Publishing Co., 1932), p. 64.

¹⁴Schlünemann, Geschichte, p. 322.

¹⁵Beethoven, Letters, p. 419.

¹⁶Wong, "Performance of Beethoven's Symphonies," p. 29.

close relationship between how this music was performed and how it was understood.

In the days of my youth, orchestral pieces at the celebrated Leipzig Gewandhaus Concerts were not conducted at all; they were simply played through under the leadership of Concertmeister Mathai, like overtures and entractes at a theater. At least there was no 'disturbing individuality' in the shape of a conductor! . . . With Beethoven's Ninth Symphony alone they could not get on, though it was considered a point of honor to give that work every year. . . . I was so much astonished at the utterly confused and bewildering effect of the Gewandhaus performance that I had lost courage, and gave up the study of Beethoven for some time.¹⁷

This discouragement with the Gewandhaus concerts was not entirely for musical reasons. Wagner was a complicated man who looked at musical events in political and sometimes even racial terms. For him Mendelssohn and the Gewandhaus represented the music of the past--"naive" music of superficial emotional content, whatever its virtues. Wagner was interested not only in the future of German music, but also in the future of German musical life, and in his prose writings he proposes a musical revolution for the new German nation which would touch every aspect of music-making in the society. That Mendelssohn, a Jew, refused to direct a symphony that young Wagner submitted to him,¹⁸ is a factor which also must be considered in judging the course that Wagner's actions took when he finally began to exert power over the musical life in Germany.

The musicians of the 1840's understood that Wagner's challenge was political as well as musical, and conductors of the

¹⁷Richard Wagner, On Conducting, in The Complete Prose Works of Richard Wagner, ed. and tr. by William Ashton Ellis, IV (New York: Broude, 1966), 300.

¹⁸Ibid., VI, 349.

"Mendelssohn school" as Wagner called them, simply refused to conduct Wagner's music.¹⁹ With the founding of the Allgemeine Deutsche Musikverein in 1859, the influence of the generation of Wagner, Liszt, and Berlioz prevailed, and the idea of orchestral music as dramatic in essence and the concept of the conductor as an interpreter of the inner content of the music was accepted.

The empathetic element of spirituality, the concept of interpretation as a duty of the director of a work came in. In order to show the justification for this great purge, one only needs to remember that . . . for example, in 1853, thirty-six years after the death of Beethoven, the Ninth Symphony had not yet been heard in Karlsruhe, until Liszt performed it at a music festival.²⁰

The main objective of Wagner's essay "On Conducting," which became the bible for German conductors of Wagnerian persuasion in the second half of the nineteenth century was to show the interpreter how to divine the expressive content of Germanic music beginning with Carl Maria von Weber and Beethoven and continuing through Wagner's own music. The development by Wagner of the concepts of "melos" and of "naive" and "sentimental" style were devices to this end. Although Wagner was the person

¹⁹Hans Pfitzner, Gesammelte Schriften, III (Augsburg: Benno Filser, 1929), 168-169.

²⁰"Das einführende Element der Geistigkeit, der Begriff der Aufassung als Verpflichtung für den Leiter eines Werkes zog ein. Man braucht nur, um die Berechtigung dieses grossen Reinemachens zu erweisen, sich vorzuhalten, dass . . . Beispielsweise die neunte Sinfonie bis zum Jahre 1853, also 36 Jahre nach dem Tode Beethoven's, in Karlsruhe noch nicht erklingen war, wo sie erst Liszt bei eine Musikfeste ausführte!" Pfitzner, Gesammelte Schriften, III, 169.

who pamphleteered for the new, expressive style of performance, Franz Liszt should probably receive some of the credit for its realization.

Liszt did not possess a Germanic conducting technique, knew nothing of the Mendelssohn School or of the tradition of Weber and Spohr. . . . His Kunstanschauung was rooted in French culture. Habeneck's technique of precision and Berlioz' programmatic conception of musical expression formed the basis of his technique, which he developed further by welding on to it a Germanic approach to thinking.²¹

Both Wagner and Liszt conducted Beethoven symphonies more slowly than people had been accustomed to hearing them.²² They redefined these works according to the aesthetic of program music, and applied the concept of tempo rubato. Although small string sections were still common in German orchestras in the 1850's and 1860's,²³ the concert orchestras were increasing in size, and at an 1846 performance of the Beethoven Ninth Symphony Wagner experimented with the use of a doubled wind section. To "clarify Beethoven's intentions," additional expression markings and dynamic nuances were added to the parts.

²¹"Liszt besass keine deutsche Kapellmeistertechnik, kannte keine Mendelssohnschule, keine Webersche oder Sporsche Tradition. . . . Seine Kunstanschauung wurzelte in der französischen Kultur. Habenecks Präzisionstechnik und Berlioz' programmatisches Erfassen des musikalischen Ausdrucks bildeten die Grundlage seiner Direktion, die er durch innigstes Anschmiegen an deutsche Denkungsart weiterführte." Schünemann, Geschichte, p. 330.

²²Ibid., p. 329.

²³"I am making ready to go with Wagner to . . . St. Gaul and there to conduct a couple of my symphonic poems with a very respectable orchestra." (The orchestra's string section consisted of 10/10/8/6/6). From Liszt's letter of November 21, 1856. Franz Liszt, Letters, translated by Constance Bache, I (New York: Charles Scribner, 1894), 294.

As to the artistic side of the performance, I provided for an expressive rendering on the part of the orchestra by marking in the band parts themselves everything I deemed needful for a drastic bringing out of nuances. In particular I took careful advantage of the local custom of doubling the 'wind' at grand musical performances.²⁴

The Ninth Symphony was very important for the aesthetic of the "Music of the Future." The association of a text with a symphonic form heralded the Gesamtkunstwerk, and the text itself could be interpreted as sympathetic to Wagner's pan-Germanic and socialistic ideas. The gigantic conception of the piece and the intensity of expression present in it were also appropriate to the Faustian world of Wagner, Liszt, and Berlioz. These factors, perhaps, suggest why two written documents which detail Wagner's approach to the performance of this work have been preserved.

Wagner's Revisions in the Ninth Symphony

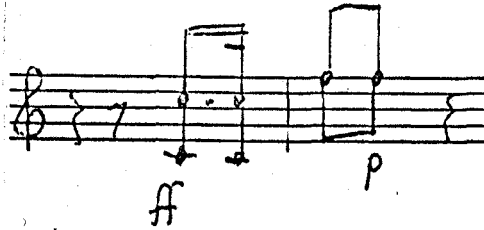
In "The Rendering of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony"²⁵ Richard Wagner outlines the kinds of changes he made in Beethoven's text for his performance of the piece in Dresden in 1846 and suggests other alterations which he thought might be appropriate for future performances of the work. The most significant of these revisions are:

- (1) changes in trumpet and horn parts to avoid unnatural leaps of ninths and twelfths, necessary on the natural brass instruments of Beethoven's time, but avoidable using chromatic brass instruments which were available

²⁴Wagner, Complete Prose Works, III, 243.

²⁵Ibid., V, 229-253.

in the 1840's. Thus, in measures 139-140 of the first movement the printed horn I and II part reads:²⁶



which Wagner would have corrected to read:



- (2) changes in flute parts to include a high b^b . Beethoven's flute parts avoid this note, and many unnatural melodic leaps result. Thus, in measures 61 and 65 of the second movement:



would be changed to:



²⁶For the purposes of this paper references to Beethoven's text of the Ninth Symphony are to the Edwind F. Kalmus Miniature Score of the work (Kalmus edition No. 57).

- (3) changes in register in the violin parts. Beethoven's violin parts generally avoid notes above ledger-line g. Thus, in measures 274-277 of the second movement:



would be corrected to read:

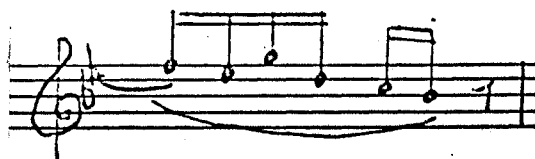


- (4) changes in dynamics to improve the orchestral balance. For example, in measures 96-101 of the first movement Wagner asks the strings to play only poco crescendo until measure 100 so that the woodwinds can be heard clearly. In the corresponding passage of the recapitulation of this movement (measures 457-462) Wagner suggests that the strings play without crescendo until measure 461 so that the clarinet may come through.
- (5) changes in the woodwind counterpoint in measures 138-145 and 407-414 of the first movement. Wagner, following the example of Liszt's arrangement of the Ninth Symphony for the keyboard, feels that certain missing notes and octave displacements have distorted Beethoven's (own) counterpoint in this passage. He proposes, for example, these changes:

In measure 139, instead of:



the oboe plays:



In measure 143, instead of:



the flute plays:



- (6) changes in orchestration of the second theme in the second movement (e. g., measures 93-108 of the movement). Wagner implies that it was common practice to double the woodwind instruments here in order to strengthen the melody, but he feels that even this expedient is not sufficient to make the melody come through. "If I had to conduct this Symphony again, I can think of no better remedy for the undeniable indistinctness, if not inaudibility in which this extraordinarily energetic dance-motive is lost, than to allot a quite definite share in the theme to at least four horns. This might perhaps be done as follows:²⁷

²⁷Wagner, "The Rendering of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony," pp. 237-238.

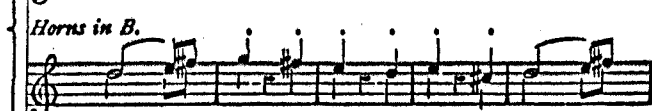
Oboes and clarinets.



Horns in D.



Horns in B.



Bassoons.




etc.

- (7) changes in orchestration at the beginning of the last movement (e. g., measures 1-7, 17-25, and 208-215). Wagner altered the trumpet parts to reinforce the woodwinds:²⁸

1. *Trumpets.*




2.




etc.

²⁸Ibid., pp. 239-241.

The second written document concerning Wagner's approach to the Ninth Symphony is Heinrich Porges' account of the performance of this work, conducted by Wagner, which dedicated the Bayreuth Festspielhaus.²⁹ Porges, a choral conductor and musical journalist, was a trusted member of the Wagner circle. Liszt thought well of him, and Porges was also helpful in arranging conducting appearances in Prague for Hans von Bülow.³⁰ A primary purpose of Porges' account of Wagner's performance of the Ninth Symphony seems to have been to document Wagner's use of rubato in his performance. Although a detailed account of the tempo modifications used by Wagner is out of place here, it is interesting to note that:

- (1) Wagner felt that he was the only conductor who trusted himself to take the Adagio of the third movement slowly enough.
- (2) The cello-bass recitative in the last movement was performed completely in tempo, following Beethoven's instructions.
- (3) At the end of the last movement (from measure 891) a four bar ritardando was added. This was followed by an accelerando poco a poco to the main tempo.

Porges also records changes which concern dynamics and the interpretation of fermatas. Significant among them are:

- (1) changes in dynamics. In measures 93-108 of the second movement the strings play "with an inner forte;" that is, perhaps, quasi mf.³¹ In measure 25 of the third movement the strings begin pp possible.

²⁹Heinrich Porges, Die Aufführung von Beethoven's Neunter Symphonie unter Richard Wagner in Bayreuth, 22. Mai, 1872 (Leipzig: C. F. Kahnt, 1872).

³⁰Liszt, Letters, pp. 51 and 379-380.

³¹"Mit einem innerlichen Forte." Porges, Die Aufführung von Beethoven's Neunter Symphonie, p. 16.

- (2) the addition of nuances of expression in the interpretation of fermatas. In measure 395 of the second movement the fermata is held for a very short time and a short general pause follows it. In measure 530 of the same movement the fermata is also cut off quickly. In measure 42 of the third movement and similar places which follow, the fermata is interpreted as a gradual ritardando which applies to the last four sixteenth notes in the measure. Finally, in the last movement, Porges indicates that Wagner interpolated a short pause before the beginning of the Allegro Assai (measure 92) and that the fermata of measure 330 was held for an extremely long time.

The importance of Wagner's interpretation of the Ninth Symphony has never been assessed. It is hoped that a comparison of the data presented here with the information found in Mahler's score will provide some information about the impact of Wagner's ideas, and that a further comparison of the data with extant phonograph recordings by German-trained conductors will suggest the extent to which any continuity still exists as far as the interpretative traditions surrounding this work are concerned.

Hans von Bülow

The written word was one way Wagner attempted to influence performance practice and establish a musical tradition based on his ideals. Another way in which he shaped the course of musical life in Germany was through his protégées. Most important among them, towering head and shoulders above most performers of the late nineteenth century was Hans von Bülow. Bülow married Liszt's daughter, Cosima, and she in turn bore two children by Wagner before she finally left Bülow to marry him.³² Bülow's life itself thus

³²Ernest Newman, Wagner as Man and Artist (New York: Vintage Books, 1960), pp.147-148.

provided an example of the power Wagnerian ideas had in Germany in the mid-nineteenth century.

Bülow was born in 1830. His father's connections in Dresden and the social, musical life of his mother's family in Leipzig facilitated his movement among the powers of the German musical establishment. He was present in Dresden for the first performance of Rienzi in 1842, at the first performance of Tannhäuser as well, and he heard Wagner's Dresden performance of the Beethoven Ninth Symphony.³³ In 1841 he had sought out Liszt, who was in Dresden on a concert tour, and Liszt had befriended him. Shortly after the Dresden performance of the Ninth Symphony Bülow met Wagner also, and he too was encouraging to the young man.³⁴ The young Bülow was somewhat weak and indecisive, and the older musician, perhaps, symbolized his wish for rebellion against the desires of his strong, though well-meaning parents who, while they encouraged his musical development, did not look favorably upon a musical career for him. Bülow became enraptured with Wagner and with Wagner's music. Between 1846 and 1850 he struggled to cope with the conflict between feelings of loyalty to his parents and his inner desires. Finally, after a short period in Leipzig and Berlin as a simultaneous student of music and law, Bülow fled to Zurich where he was accepted into Wagner's house as an apprentice and a comrade.³⁵

³³Richard du Moulin-Eckart, Hans von Bülow (München: Rös1, 1921), pp. 28 and 37.

³⁴Ibid., p. 38.

³⁵Ibid., p. 79.

I am a musician and I will remain one. I am a follower and now a student of Wagner's, and I will show him my worth. It is irrevocably decided.³⁶

Through fortuitous circumstance Bülow began conducting soon after arriving in Zurich. Later he was engaged at the opera in St. Gall, and soon he began his career of guest appearances as a conductor and pianist throughout Germany and Austria. He served as the first and greatest champion of the music of Berlioz, Liszt, and Wagner. He prepared the first piano score of Tristan und Isolde for publication and conducted the first performance of the opera in 1865 and of Die Meistersinger in 1868. He performed the Eb Piano Concerto of Liszt almost everywhere he went and conducted orchestral excerpts of Wagner's music, overtures of Berlioz, tone poems of Liszt and his own music throughout Europe and Russia. His identification with Wagner and Liszt--his sense of mission--was intense. In a letter of 1858 he even signed his name Hans v. B(erlioz) u L(iszt) o W(agner).³⁷ After his wife ran away with Wagner, Bülow's devotion to the music of the new generation transcended the great sense of personal loss he must have felt. On August 7, 1878, he wrote to his friend and associate, Carl Bechstein:

The Berlin recital is of great importance to me. To send the proceeds to Bayreuth--not for the composer, that is, but for Parsifal--amounts to a moral necessity.³⁸

³⁶"Ich bin Musiker und werde es bleiben. Ich bin Anhänger, jetzt Schüler Wagners und werde dies auch mein Wirken beweisen. Es ist unumstosslich beschlossen." Hans von Bülow, Briefe (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1898) IV, 80-81.

³⁷Ibid., p. 156.

³⁸Hans von Bülow, Letters, edited by Count Richard du Moulin-Eckart and translated by Hannah Waller (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1931), p. 170.

Liszt and Wagner did everything they could to coach Bülow in their approach to music-making. That this coaching amounted to specific, detailed suggestions is documented both by the writings of Bülow and his students on the one hand, and by Wagner and Liszt on the other.

The great veneration which greeted Wagner everywhere in Zurich touched him deeply. He was even more excited about Wagner's mastery as a conductor. After all, Wagner made almost a completely new production out of Don Giovanni, and with the help of Hans and Ritter revised the orchestra parts.³⁹

.....

Now, when Bülow had to conduct this music one fine day, . . . I got him to read that phrase correctly:⁴⁰ it produces an instant effect, laconic as the tone-poet meant it, if one ever so slightly curbs the passion of the tempo for a moment.⁴¹

.....

I found particularly memorable the rigid slow tempi . . . the slow beginnings of various Scherzi . . . the exactitude of his phrasing, his intellectual penetration of the score . . . his analysis of period structure, and above all his understanding of the psychological content of Beethoven Symphonies and of Wagner Preludes in particular have been a shining example to me to this day.⁴²

³⁹"Tief aber erfreute ihn die grosse Verehrung, die man in Zurich allenthalben Wagner entgegenbrachte. Noch mehr aber dessen Meisterschaft als Dirigent. Hatte er doch den 'Don Juan' fast völlig neueinstudiert, ja mit Hilfe von Hans und Ritter die Orchesterstimmen revidiert." Moulin-Eckart, Hans v. Bülow, p. 80.

⁴⁰In the Egmont Overture of Beethoven, measures 86-92.

⁴¹Wagner, Complete Prose Works, IV, 332-333.

⁴²Richard Strauss, Recollections and Reflections, edited by Willi Schuh and translated by L. J. Lawrence (London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1953), p. 50.

After 1869 when the break with Cosima occurred, Bülow devoted most of his time to the music of Beethoven. In 1880 he accepted a position as music director at the court of the Duke of Meiningen, who assembled for him an orchestra of forty-five musicians, and Bülow dedicated his efforts with this orchestra to the performance of Beethoven's orchestral music. In 1881 he presented a cycle of all nine Beethoven symphonies, augmenting the size of the orchestra to sixty players and paying the salaries of the new men out of his own pocket.⁴³ Later, this orchestra toured the major cities in Germany, performing in Hamburg, for example, in 1882, 1884, and 1885.⁴⁴ In 1885 Bülow was named music director for the Philharmonic Concerts in Berlin and in the next year a Berlin impresario arranged for him to begin a series of orchestral concerts in Hamburg as well. Bülow continued both these activities until his death in 1894. An exact accounting of his performances of Beethoven symphonies during the period of 1880-1894 is an undertaking outside the limits of this paper, but it is known that he performed the Ninth Symphony in Leipzig (1881),⁴⁵ Hamburg (1886 and 1889),⁴⁶ and Berlin (1888).⁴⁷

⁴³David Woolderidge, Conductor's World (New York: Praeger, 1970), pp. 65-66.

⁴⁴Kurt Stephenson, Hundert Jahre Philharmonische Gesellschaft in Hamburg (Hamburg: Brochek, 1928), p. 187.

⁴⁵Hans von Bülow and Richard Strauss, Correspondence, ed. by Willi Schuh and Franz Trenner and tr. by Anthony Gishford (London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1955), p. 178.

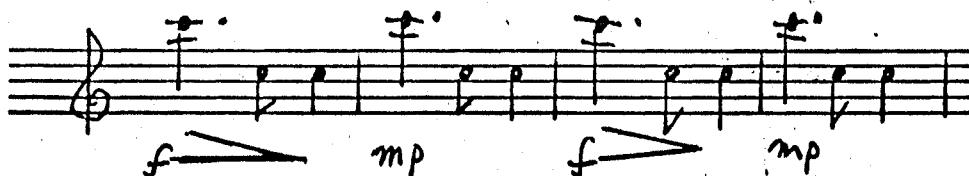
⁴⁶Bülow, Letters, pp. 396 and 411.

⁴⁷Sittard, Geschichte des Concertwesens in Hamburg, pp. 367-368.

In 1885 Bülow invited Richard Strauss to come to Meiningen as his assistant. The relationship which developed between Bülow and Strauss represents one direct link between the Wagnerian approach to conducting and music-making in the twentieth century. Two years later, in the summer of 1887, Walter Damrosch went to Frankfurt to study with von Bülow, and during that summer transcribed Bülow's notations concerning the performance of the Beethoven symphonies into his own scores. Some of Bülow's suggestions regarding the performance of the Ninth Symphony were published in an article by Damrosch in 1927.⁴⁸

Bülow's markings, as outlined by Damrosch, follow the spirit of Wagner's recommendations for the performance of the piece. Specifically, Bülow's changes parallel Wagner's markings exactly in a number of cases:

- (1) Horns are added to the woodwind melody in measures 93-108 of the second movement. In addition Bülow changes the dynamics in the strings to read:



- (2) The violins play 8va in measures 276-277 of the second movement.
- (3) The fermata in measure 42 of the third movement is interpreted as a ritardando which applies to the last four sixteenth notes of the measure.

⁴⁸Walter Damrosch, "Hans von Bülow and the Ninth Symphony," Musical Quarterly, XIII (April, 1927), 280-293.

- (4) The trumpets play along with the woodwind melody in the opening tutti sections of the last movement.

In other cases the Bülow revisions refer to passages which are not covered in either of the accounts of Wagner's performance of the symphony. Whether or not Bülow's thinking ran parallel to Wagner's in these instances, many interesting interpretative questions are raised by these changes, the most significant of which are the following:

First movement

- 16 A comma is added before the last thirty-second note of the measure in all instruments; that is, the winds and strings rest momentarily before attacking the up-beat to measure 17.
- 74-75 A $\langle \rangle$ is added.
- 121-127 In each measure a $\langle \rangle$ is added to the melodic motives in the violins.
- 201 A $\langle \rangle$ is added to the violin I part.
- 304 Here and in similar places which follow (e. g., m. 308) the tympani part is rewritten to read:



- 405 The violin I part is marked 8va through the first note in measure 406.
- 481-498 The woodwinds are doubled.
- 489 Clarinet I plays col bassoon I 8va.
- 510 A comma is added before the last three sixteenth notes in the measure.
- 512-513 A fermata is placed over the bar-line between the two measures.

545-547 The tympani part is rewritten to read:



Third movement

- 23 In the woodwind parts a comma is added between the third and fourth quarter notes of the measure.
- 148 In violin I the crescendo is moved from measure 149 to the third dotted-quarter-note beat of this measure.

Fourth movement

- 433-455 The horns play the fugue theme; e. g., in measures 435-438 the horns (in B^b) play:



- 541-542 A two measure tympani roll is added on the note a.
- 596 The second half note of the measure is changed to a quarter note and a quarter-note rest.
- 610-611 A fermata is placed over the bar-line between the two measures.
- 631 A comma is added after the word Ihr; that is, the fifth quarter-note beat of the measure becomes an eighth note and an eighth-note rest.
- 654-730 "In the choral double fugue, . . . Bülow very properly has the trombone enunciate the theme from the beginning and also completes it in the trumpets in such bars where Beethoven was compelled to leave 'holes' because the trumpets of his period could not play certain notes."⁴⁹
- 720-724 The chorus altos and tenors change parts.⁵⁰

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 291.

⁵⁰The Damrosch notes do not indicate how long the exchange lasts.

729-730 A fermata is placed over the bar-line between the two measures.

938-940 The trumpets play col oboes 8va basso.⁵¹

Whether the revisions outlined here represent Richard Wagner's ideas about the Beethoven Ninth Symphony or are a direct result of Bülow's own creativity may never be known. In any event Bülow's achievement in spreading a Wagnerian style of performance throughout Germany, and the successful struggle on Wagner's own part to replace conductors of the so-called "Mendelssohn school" with people who thought as he did, created a favorable climate for Wagnerian ideals and for Wagner's own music. Wagner's identification with the socialist revolution of 1849--his anti-establishment image--made him a hero to young musicians everywhere, who now chose him as their spiritual leader. Wagner, practical and calculating enough to take advantage of his opportunities, did all he could to promote himself, establishing music journals and Wagner Vereine--associations of young people generally--to propagandize for him. Slowly the musical centers of Germany capitulated. In 1875 a large-scale series of Wagnerian opera performances took place in Vienna, the city of Brahms and Hanslick, and at about the same time a young Bohemian Jew named Gustav Mahler took up residence in the city as a student of piano and composition at the staid Vienna Conservatory.

⁵¹The Damrosch notes do not indicate the octave in which the trumpets play.

CHAPTER II

GUSTAV MAHLER

Early life

Gustav Mahler was born in a small town in Bohemia on July 7, 1860. In that year the Jews of Austria-Hungary were given freedom to move from place to place for the first time, and Mahler's family moved to Iglau, a large provincial town, where the family opened a tavern--a circumstance that was the source of shame and bitterness for Mahler as an adult.¹ Iglau was about half-way between Vienna and Prague, six hours distant from Vienna by train. There was an opera company in the town, and there were performances of Figaro, Fidelio, Faust, Ernani, and Il Trovatore during Mahler's youth.²

Mahler did not have a happy childhood. He was the oldest of twelve children, five of whom died, and there was little love in his family. His father came from the lower class and married his mother, who was lame, only in order to achieve middle-class status. The frustrations present in the family situation were transferred to the children.

It only requires a little imagination brought to bear on some of the essential biographical facts--Mahler's status problems, the incompatibility of his parents, his mother's fragile health, the scenes of brutality, the death of Ernst, the swift death of four other infant brothers, the morbid

¹Donald Mitchell, Gustav Mahler, the Early Years (London: Rockliff, 1958), p. 17.

²Ibid., p. 31.

imagination of Justine, the neurotic indolence of Otto, the crazy ambition of Alois--to gain a fairly clear picture of the almost grotesquely contorted background to Mahler's youth.³

As if these obstacles were not enough, Mahler was Jewish too, and in Central Europe Jews were discriminated against by both the German minority and the Czech majority.

'I am thrice homeless!' he used to say. 'As a native of Bohemia in Austria, as an Austrian among Germans, and as a Jew throughout all the world. Everywhere an intruder, never welcomed.'⁴

If Mahler's sense of not belonging sharpened his intellect and his capacity for expression, it was also a source of pain, and a practical impediment in his chosen career.

So: up to this point I am not counted as one of the constellation of great stars. It is true that certain agents have made overtures to me regarding taking Richter's place, but that is just a lot of hot air. These men are trying to do something without having the authority to do it. I think that your thought really hit the nail on the head. As things now stand in the world, my Jewishness prevents my entry into every court theater. Neither Vienna, nor Berlin, nor Dresden, nor Munich is open to me.⁵

Faced with a specific decision regarding his faith, Mahler abandoned the Jewish religion, accepting baptism into the Catholic

³Ibid., p. 12.

⁴Alma Mahler, Gustav Mahler, Memories and Letters, translated by Basil Creighton (London: John Murray, 1968), p. 109.

⁵"Also: Bis jetzt bin ich noch nicht in die grosse Planetenkonstellation inbegriffen. Wohl sind von einigen Agenten an mich 'Anträge' gelangt, die Stelle Richters 'anzunehmen'--aber das ist ja lauter Wind. Diese Herren versuchen es, ohne dazu beauftragt zu sein.--Ich glaube, dass Du mit deiner Reservatio das Richtige getroffen hast. Mein Judentum verwehrt mir, wie die Sachen jetzt in der Welt stehen, den Eintritt in jedes Hoftheater--Nicht Wien, nicht Berlin, nicht Dresden, nicht München steht mir offen." Gustav Mahler, Briefe (Berlin: Paul Zsolnay, 1925), pp. 101-102.

faith shortly before he left Hamburg to begin his duties at the court theater in Vienna in 1897.⁶ In following a path into the Christian church familiar to so many European Jews from the time of the Spanish Inquisition, it is doubtful that Mahler relinquished his emotional ties to his Jewish heritage.

He frequently asked me to warn him when he gesticulated too much, because he hated to see others do so and thought it ill-bred. No one dared tell him funny stories about Jews; they made him seriously angry.⁷

In 1875 Mahler's parents, who had encouraged his musical efforts, sent their son to play for Julius Epstein, a well-known member of the piano faculty at the Vienna Conservatory, and in September of that year Mahler entered the conservatory as Epstein's student. He distinguished himself in piano and composition at the conservatory, but he did not study conducting, and there is no evidence that he was at all interested in a career as a conductor before circumstances forced him into it.⁸ During his student days Mahler poured a great deal of his passionate intensity into the Wagner cult. He joined the Vienna Wagnerverein, made a pilgrimage to Bayreuth for a performance of Parsival, and began work on an opera libretto written in alliterative verse (Stabreime). He became so involved in the philosophical implications of the Wagner ethos that he became a vegetarian.⁹ This was not simply a whim on Mahler's part, for he

⁶Alma Mahler, Gustav Mahler, p. 44.

⁷Ibid., p. 101

⁸Mitchell, Gustav Mahler, p. 105.

⁹Ibid., pp. 48-49.

retained vegetarian habits through his stay in Olmütz in 1882.¹⁰

Mahler's preoccupation with Wagner, similar perhaps to Wagner's preoccupation with Beethoven, continued throughout his life. He once told his friend, Natalie Bauer-Lechner, how Beethoven and Wagner helped him solve his composition problems--"Last night a voice called to me in my sleep (it was Beethoven's or Wagner's--not bad company!--both of whom accompany me at night these days), 'Let the horns come in three measures later.' "¹¹ On another occasion he wrote to his wife, "There are only Beethoven and Richard, . . . and after them, nobody."¹²

Mahler's conducting career

Mahler received his diploma from the Vienna Conservatory in 1878. However, he did not begin work as a conductor until almost three years after leaving the conservatory, and this is additional evidence that he was not especially interested in pursuing a career in conducting. He was interested in composition, and it was after he was denied the coveted Beethoven Prize in composition that he accepted his first job, as conductor and "music director" at a summer theater in Bad Hall.

Like nearly every student, Mahler was faced with bitter disillusionment when, after graduating from the conservatory, he had to leave the lofty realm of study for the laborious drudgery of everyday life. He had to accept humble jobs, such

¹⁰Mahler, Briefe, p. 21.

¹¹"Da ruft mir heute im Schlaf eine Stimme zu (es war die Beethovens oder Wagners, mit denen ich jetzt überhaupt--keine üble Gesellschaft!--nächtlichen Umgang pflege) 'Lass die Hörner drei Takte später einfallen.' " Natalie Bauer-Lechner, Erinnerungen an Gustav Mahler (Leipzig: E. P. Tal, 1923), p. 48.

¹²Mitchell, Gustav Mahler, p. 60.

as giving piano lessons to the son of a rich Hungarian country squire and conducting miserable operettas at the shabby summer theater of Bad Hall, a modest Spa in upper Austria.¹³

Mahler's duties at Bad Hall included menial tasks, such as putting out music and arranging chairs, as well as the dubious pleasure of conducting operettas, farces and stage music in a theater with a seating capacity of 200.¹⁴ The end of the summer season did not bring an immediate offer of further employment, even though Mahler had now recognized that a conducting position was preferable to living hand-to-mouth in Vienna with no real prospects for a stable future. Only a full year later, possibly with the help of the connections of the father of a friend, was he successful in securing an appointment as Director cum pianist-coach-conductor-chorus manager in the provincial town of Laibach.¹⁵

Laibach did have a musical tradition which extended back to a performance of Caccini's Euridice in 1620, but at the time Mahler was employed there, the theater had an orchestra of eighteen men who were supported by members of the Laibach Philharmonic when special productions were presented.¹⁶ In 1881-1882 Mahler's responsibilities with these meager forces included Il Trovatore, Der Freischutz, and Faust. For the following season Mahler moved to the town of Olmütz where conditions were scarcely better. He was not the kind of person to be thankful for

¹³Ernest Krenek, "Gustav Mahler," in Gustav Mahler by Bruno Walter, translated by James Galston (New York: The Greystone Press, 1941), p. 166.

¹⁴Alma Mahler, Gustav Mahler, p. 110.

¹⁵Dragotin Cvetko, "Gustav Mahler's Saison in Laibach," Musik des Ostens, (1968) V, 75-76.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 77.

the opportunity to work in a mediocre environment with a chance to perfect his technique and learn from the demands of a situation where he had to do everything himself. It was from Olmütz that he wrote his friend, Dr. Friedrich Löhr:

So far I have conducted Meyerbeer and Verdi almost exclusively--thank God. I have finagled to exclude Wagner and Mozart from the repertoire completely, for I couldn't bear to beat Lohengrin--or Don Giovanni--into the ground here. . . . I have to say--in spite of the unbelievable lack of feeling of my people--that they do much in a helpful spirit nevertheless, and this time have set to work with more seriousness than usual--unfortunately, really with only a kind of sympathy for this 'Idealist'--a hateful name--for they can not understand that an artist can be completely involved in the work of art. Often, when I am really into it, and want to sweep them along to a higher level--and see the astonished faces of these people, and the way that they give each other knowing little smiles--then my hot blood sinks all at once, and I only want to run away for ever.¹⁷

In the fall of 1883 Mahler was successful in securing an appointment as second conductor at the theater in Kassel. The fact that he was able to find a place in an established German opera house after only three years of isolation should have given him some comfort, but it did not. In December of that year Hans von Bülow and the Meiningen orchestra came to Kassel for a concert. After the concert

¹⁷"Bis jetzt habe ich--Gott sei Dank--beinahe ausschliesslich Meyerbeer und Verdi dirigiert. Wagner und Mozart habe ich standhaft aus dem Repertoire hinausintrigiert; --denn das könnte ich nicht ertragen, hier etwa den Lohengrin--oder Don Juan--hinunterzutaktieren. . . . Ich muss sagen--trotz der unsäglichen Gefühllosigkeit meiner Leute--tun sie mir doch manches zulieb und haben diesmal etwas mehr Ernst eingesetzt--freilich--leider nur eine Art Mitleid mit diesem 'Idealisten'--dies ist nämlich einer sehr verächtliche Bezeichnung--denn können sie nicht fassen, dass ein Künstler ganz aufgehen kann in dem Kunstwerk. Oft, wenn ich so mitten im Feuer bin, und sie mitreissen möchte zu einem höheren Schwung--und sehe die staunenden Gesichter dieser Menschen, wie sie sich gegenseitig verständnisvoll anlächeln--da sinkt wohl mein schäumendes Blut auf eine Weile zusammen und ich möchte für immer davonrennen." Mahler, Briefe, p. 20.

which Mahler attended, he wrote Bülow a letter:

I have been engaged as second conductor at the theater here. You are well able to judge for yourself how disappointing such a post may be for one who loves and yearns for true art with all his being. . . . I have no guiding-star and am the helpless prey to doubts and mistakes. Your concert yesterday was the fulfillment of my highest dreams and hopes of artistic perfection. Listening I felt at once: This is your goal! So I turn to you and implore you! Take me with you.¹⁸

Mahler's biographers have chosen to take the content of this letter at face value, but it is possible that Mahler was less than sincere. Bülow was one of the most important men in music and Mahler must have felt that he was stuck in a hole he would never get out of. Bülow's reaction to Mahler's entreaty was to send the letter to the Kassel theater management, which compromised Mahler's position there. Mahler's miscalculation succeeded in making his life even more difficult, and this propensity he had for getting in trouble with his superiors continued to be characteristic of his career as a conductor.

Mahler did remain in Kassel for the season of 1884-1885. His obvious ability and the force of his personality made him a valuable man in a society where musical activity was increasing greatly. In the spring of 1885 he was chosen over the musical director of the theater to direct Kassel's annual music festival which included orchestral concerts and an oratorio performance. This appointment was a feather in Mahler's cap, but it finished him at the theater.

My appointment has led to a terrible political struggle, and the whole thing was almost called off because of it.--People here, especially the guild people, can not excuse my youth.--Our orchestra is on strike because the Musical Director sees himself compromised, and the Manager of the theater even had the audacity to appeal to my magnanimity and ask me to step

¹⁸Gabriel Engel, Gustav Mahler, Song-Symphonist (New York: The Bruckner Society of America, 1932), pp. 36-37.

down. Naturally, I showed him the door, and am a dead man in the theater.¹⁹

The suggestion that the main reason for the orchestra's antagonism was an unwillingness to accept the choice of Mahler as conductor of the festival was only a part of the story. Later in his life, Mahler admitted the real issue:

During the first years of my career as a conductor, when I didn't really know how things worked, and made people rehearse eight or more hours every day, things once got so far out of hand that an actual revolution threatened to break out in my orchestra in Kassel. As a friend related it to me, all of the instrumentalists and singers had planned to come to the rehearsal armed with sticks and clubs and beat me black and blue.²⁰

Mahler had a tendency to overlook personal psychology in his passionate pursuit of musical truth. He had trouble with orchestras in Leipzig, Hamburg, and Vienna, and when he came to America in 1908, he could not adjust to the different kind of relationships present in American musical society, where, even at that time, the musicians union had a role in determining which musicians were hired.²¹ Regarding

¹⁹"Meine Wahl hat einen furchtbaren Parteikampf hervorgerufen, und wäre die ganze Sache zuletzt sogar daran gescheitert.--Meine Jungheit kann man mir hier, besonders bei der Zunft nicht verzeihen.--Unser Orchester macht Strike, weil Herr Hofkapellmeister sich blamiert sieht und hat sogar der Intendant die Unverfrorenheit gehabt, an meinen Edelmut zu appellieren und mich zum Verzichten bewegen wollen. Ich habe ihm natürlich heimgeleuchtet und bin nun im Theater ein toter Mann." Mahler, Briefe, p. 37.

²⁰"In den ersten Jahren meiner Kapellmeister tätigkeit, da ich noch nicht so weg hatte, worauf es ankommt, und die Leute achtstündige und noch längere Proben täglich machen liess, da kam es in Kassel einmal so weit, dass eine wahre Revolution in meinem Orchester auszubrechen drohte. Wie mir von einem Freund verraten wurde, beabsichtigen nämlich sämtliche Instrumentalisten und Choristen mit Stöcken und Knütteln bewaffnet in die Probe zu kommen um mich leiblich durchzubleuen." Bauer-Lechner, Erinnerungen, p. 14.

²¹Mahler, Briefe, pp. 419-420.

his relationship with the orchestra in Vienna, Alma Mahler wrote:

His domineering manner, the way he stamped his feet at rehearsals when his patience gave out, the stabs of his baton aimed at some miscreant who did not play or blow quite cleanly, or came in a moment late--all this embittered the orchestra, whose hearts were in any case hardened against him by the growing anti-semitism of those days.²²

Fortunately, Mahler was able to leave Kassel without entering the ranks of the unemployed, for he was invited to go to Prague as second conductor under the highly regarded Wagner disciple, Anton Seidl. For the first time in his life, he had a job he could be excited about, and he wrote to his friend, Friedrich Löhr:

Please hurry and send me news again about 1. your family, 2. yourself--past, present, and future. About me you know everything! I'm in the process, as the saying goes, of making it.²³

Mahler was in Prague for only one season, but it was an exciting one, for Seidl left without warning for America early in the year, leaving Mahler with the responsibility of running the music at the opera house himself. In addition, Karl Muck, who had prepared a performance of the Beethoven Ninth Symphony, suddenly became ill, and Mahler took over the performance at the final rehearsal.²⁴ At the end of the season Mahler was asked to go to Leipzig, again as second conductor, but this time as assistant to

²²Alma Mahler, Gustav Mahler, p. 14.

²³"Ich bitte Dich übrigens dringend, mir wieder Mitteilungen zu machen 1. über Deine Familie, 2. über Dich speziell in bezug auf Perfektum, Praesens und Futurum. Von mir weißt Du alles! Ich bin im Begriffe, was man sagt, Carriere zu machen." Mahler, Briefe, p. 44.

²⁴Engel, Gustav Mahler, p. 50.

Artur Nikisch. The attractiveness of a position in one of the major German musical centers working with Nikisch, who had already made a very successful career for himself, was compelling, but on the other hand, the opera house in Leipzig lived in the shadow of the celebrated Gewandhaus concerts, all of which would be conducted by Nikisch. In Prague Mahler for the first time had been his own boss. It was extremely difficult for him to function well as a subordinate to anyone, even Artur Nikisch, a fact which he recognized. Shortly after accepting the position in Leipzig, Mahler tried to resign from it, and this effort destroyed any chance he might have had to create good will.

Nikisch conducts so efficiently that I almost feel as if I were conducting myself. . . . I have no personal contact with him whatsoever. He is cold and secretive towards me, whether because of conceit or mistrust--I cannot tell.²⁵

Mahler's two year tenure in Leipzig was a season of storms.

In 1887 the orchestra committee wrote a letter to the theater management complaining about Mahler's tactics:

In the name of the members of the City Orchestra the undersigned representatives of the orchestra regretfully feel forced to respectfully ask for protection and support against the shabby treatment that Mr. Mahler gives the orchestra. . . . Although the afore-mentioned gentlemen /Nikisch and the other conductors on the staff/ are very happy with the way we perform, it is completely different with Mr. Mahler, who is hardly happy with any of the members of the orchestra in the rehearsals and who not rarely demands impossible things from us.²⁶

²⁵Ibid., p. 52.

²⁶"Der gehorsamst unterzeichnete Vorstand des Stadtorchesters sieht sich leider gezwungen Sie im Namen der Mitglieder des Stadtorchesters um Schutz und Beistand zu bitten gegen die unwürdige Behandlung die der Herr Kapellmeister Mahler dem Orchester zuteil werden lässt. . . . Wenn nun die genannten Herren sich mit dem begnügen was wir leisten vermögen, so ist das vollkommen anders bei Herrn Kapellmeister Mahler, demselben vermag in den Proben kaum eines der Orchestermglieder zu genügen, nicht selten verlangt der Herr

It must be recognized that Mahler's position as assistant to one of the brightest stars in the conducting profession at that time was unenviable. The fact that he was personally incapable of subordinating himself to anyone exacerbated the difficulties in the situation. The common task of the second conductor at an opera house is to conduct performances of repertory operas which have been rehearsed, prepared, and introduced to the public by the Musical Director. It is impossible to ignore the suspicion that Mahler's performances may have included attempts to correct characteristics of Nikisch's interpretation that he found unacceptable, which could only have served to increase his problems with the orchestra and with the management.

In the spring of 1888 Mahler had his last fight with the Leipzig theater management and resigned successfully. Very shortly thereafter he received an offer to travel to Budapest to become Music Director of the opera house there. He was to receive a generous salary, and the court officials who ran the opera house promised him the money and authority necessary to build an exciting musical establishment. On the other hand Mahler knew that his position at the opera house was a politically sensitive one, and "that a premature termination of this arrangement was to be expected if and when a certain political constellation should change, in which case Mahler would be paid off properly."²⁷

geradezu unmögliches. Gunter Hempel, "Gustav Mahler in Leipzig," Musik und Gesellschaft, XVII (November, 1967), 784-785.

²⁷Krenek, "Gustav Mahler," pp. 179-180.

In 1891 Mahler was thirty-one years of age. In less than ten years of activity as a conductor, with no significant financial resources or personal influence behind him, he had advanced rapidly, certainly the result of his ability and his personal dynamism. About five feet in height, passionate in his manner of speech, and blunt in his personal relationships, Mahler was an intense, physically active podium personality, something very new and exciting in the late nineteenth century.²⁸ Now he began to attract the attention of people who held musical power in Germany. Already in 1887 Richard Strauss had written to Leipzig to Hans von Bülow, his friend and teacher:

I made a new, very attractive acquaintance in Herr Mahler, who appeared to me a highly intelligent musician and conductor; one of the few modern conductors who knows about tempo modification, and he expressed splendid ideas generally, particularly about Wagner's tempi.²⁹

Strauss recommended to Bülow the Mahler arrangement of Die Drei Pintos, an uncompleted comic opera of Carl Maria von Weber which Weber's heirs had commissioned Mahler to finish. Bülow did not remember his harsh prior treatment of Mahler. However, he was not very pleased with Mahler's work:

On your recommendation I sent for the vocal score . . . and with the best will to fish something praiseworthy out of it-- I found it quite impossible. Whether Weberish or Mahlerish-- it is all the same.³⁰

²⁸Mitchell, Gustav Mahler, pp. 113-115 passim. During his tenure in Vienna and America Mahler abandoned excessive gesticulation, due perhaps in part to his state of health, for he became prone to severe angina attacks. See Ernst Josef Lert, "The Conductor Gustav Mahler," Chord and Discord, I (1938, No. 1), 14.

²⁹Bülow and Strauss, Correspondence, p. 61.

³⁰Ibid., p. 69.

Strauss, always over-eager to please his mentor, evidently changed his mind about the opera, for he replied:

Mahler has committed some frightful stupidities in the scoring-- in the simplest places 3 trumpets, trombones and tuba! He constantly writes for the oboes up to the high f and g, the horns up to d for F horn; and he's a conductor.³¹

The irony in Bülow's attitude toward Mahler continued to grow, for in 1891 Mahler was dismissed from his post in Budapest and engaged as Musical Director by the Hamburg opera. Bülow was active in the city as conductor of a series of orchestral concerts, and in April of that year he wrote his daughter, Daniela:

Hamburg has now secured a really excellent opera-conductor in Herr Gustav Mahler (a serious, energetic Jew from Budapest), who in my opinion equals the very best: Mottl, Richter, and so on. I heard him do Siegfried recently. . . . I was filled with honest admiration for him, for he made--no, forced--the orchestra to pipe to his measure, without having had a rehearsal.³²

As Musical Director of the Hamburg Opera Mahler had gained one of the most important conducting positions in Germany. It was fortunate that Bernhard Pollini, the manager of the theater, appreciated his talents, for Mahler's fights with orchestra members continued.³³ His personal assertiveness was not limited to his treatment of the orchestra, for Richard Specht relates that he once stopped the orchestra and turned around and stared at the audience until everyone was quiet.³⁴

³¹Ibid., p. 70. Mahler also thought that his instrumentation of the Weber opera was bad, and when he conducted the opera in Prague, he made changes in it.

³²Bülow, Letters, p. 426.

³³Bauer-Lechner, Erinnerungen, p. 14.

³⁴Richard Specht, Gustav Mahler (Berlin: Schuster and Loeffler, 1913), pp. 73-74.

His duties at the theater were onerous. Generally, he spent four hours each day in musical rehearsals, and in addition he conducted an unbelievable number of performances--104 in 1892-1893, 129 in 1893-1894, 139 in 1894-1895, and 151 in 1895-1896.³⁵ He also attended the Bülow concerts, and after Bülow's death Mahler was one of a number of conductors invited to conduct the group during the 1894-1895 season. The next year, he was invited to take over the complete season of subscription concerts, and for the first time in his life he had his own concert orchestra to conduct. Predictably, his tenure with this orchestra was short, for he was incapable of keeping out of trouble with the musicians, and the demands of his work at the opera house, coupled with his own compositional activity were simply too much. However, his season of orchestral concerts in Hamburg did include a performance of the Beethoven Ninth Symphony, and it was at this performance that Mahler introduced a thoroughly retouched version of the Symphony to the public.³⁶

Mahler in Vienna

Throughout his wanderings across Europe, Mahler kept one eye on Vienna. Even in 1885 when he was chosen to conduct the music-festival concerts in Kassel, he wrote Epstein and asked him to "let the Viennese also hear something" about his activities.³⁷ Many people in Vienna were friendly toward Mahler--Bruckner had been kind to him

³⁵Kurt Stephenson, Hundert Jahre Philharmonische Gesellschaft in Hamburg (Hamburg: Broschek und Co., 1928), p. 187.

³⁶Bauer-Lechner, Erinnerungen, p. 46.

³⁷Engel, Gustav Mahler, p. 43.

while he was a student, and Brahms had come away from Mahler's 1891 Budapest performance of Don Giovanni praising him to the skies.³⁸ Music at the Vienna opera had deteriorated, and many people recognized the need for a fresh wind to blow away some of the cobwebs there. No one doubted that Mahler could provide that.

In 1894 there were hints that Mahler was being considered for a position at the Imperial Opera. Mahler realized what kind of reception he would get:

Suppose I did go to Vienna! With my way of doing things, what sort of a reception would I get? I would only need to try my interpretation of a Beethoven symphony once with that honest Hans- /Richter/ trained orchestra, in order to come up against the bitterest kind of opposition.³⁹

Nevertheless, the attractiveness of a position in Vienna was more than any ambitious man could disregard. In 1897 Mahler was presented with a concrete offer by the management of the theater, and he accepted, moving to Vienna first as Assistant to the Director, Wilhelm Jahn, a subterfuge on the part of the management to allow the musical community to prepare itself for what was to come. Within weeks after the opening of the 1897 season of the Vienna Opera, Mahler was the Artistic Director of the house.

The ten years that Mahler spent with the Vienna Opera were filled with bitter controversies, plots, and nuances of anti-semitism, but they are still regarded as one of the finest periods in the history

³⁸Mahler, Briefe, p. 93.

³⁹"Gesetzt, ich käme nach Wien! Was würde ich mit meiner Art, die Dinge anzufassen in Wien erleben? Ich brauchte nur einmal zu versuchen, dem berühmten vom biedereren Hans ausgebildeten Philharmonicum meine Auffassung einer Beethovenschen Symphonie beizubringen, um sofort auf dem widerwärtigsten Kampf zu stossen." Ibid., p. 102.

of musical life in Vienna. Mahler presented the Wagnerian repertoire without cuts for the first time in Vienna, abolished old customs such as the use of a paid claque, and forbade the entrance of latecomers into the opera house. Working with the stage director, Alfred Roller, he created one of the first drama-oriented ensemble companies. As a conductor and performer, his impact upon the musical life of Vienna was enormous. At the beginning Mahler himself was transported.

He exclaimed:

It's fantastic! The whole company is on my side, and my position is exceptional, splendid.⁴⁰

In spite of his enemies' attacks, Mahler was an immense public success in Vienna. During his first three years there he conducted the Sunday afternoon subscription concerts of the Vienna Philharmonic--actually, the opera orchestra under another name--and the three, nine-concert series that Mahler performed with the orchestra were extremely popular.⁴¹ The concerts included most of the Beethoven orchestral music and two performances of the Ninth Symphony. The intense interest Mahler had in the problems presented by the music of Beethoven at this time of his life seems to have been related to his activity as a composer. On several occasions he spoke with Natalie Bauer-Lechner about difficulties he had with the orchestration of his own music, for example:

I must choose whether I adjust my instrumentation for an orchestra which is unsatisfactory for my tasks and obsolete (like Beethoven did with the Ninth, for which the orchestra

⁴⁰"Es geht famöös! Das ganze Personal ist sehr für mich eingenommen, und meine Position ist eine exceptionelle, glänzende. Mahler, Briefe, p. 167.

⁴¹Bruno Walter, Gustav Mahler, translated by Lotte Walter Lindt (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1958), p. 41.

of that time is completely inadequate, as a result of which the work is limited and inhibited until a Chosen One comes who can break the bonds for a real profit, like I did with my performance last year), or whether I don't refuse to take what I need.⁴²

.....

Beethoven's Symphonies present a problem that most conductors simply find unsolvable. I'm forever finding out more about them. They absolutely require interpretation and reworking. Even the strength and make-up of the orchestra makes this necessary; in Beethoven's time the whole orchestra was not as large as the string section alone is today. If the other instruments are not brought into the correct relationship /with the strings/ the music won't come out right. Wagner understood that exactly, but even he had to experience the most severe attacks on account of it.⁴³

The whole matter of the proper performance of the Beethoven Symphonies came to a head during the concerts with the Vienna Philharmonic. The Viennese critics became aware that Mahler was making extensive revisions in the orchestral parts, and they began to attack him for it. At the second Viennese performance of the Ninth Symphony Mahler distributed a printed reply to the critics' attacks. The importance of this document for the study of the Mahler

⁴²"Ich stehe vor der Wahl, entweder für ein ungenügendes und für meine Sachen veraltetes Orchester die Instrumentation einzurichten (wie es Beethoven naiver Weise mit der Neunten tat, für die das Orchester der damaligen Zeit absolut nicht ausreichte, wodurch sie gehemmt und eingeschränkt ist, bis ein Berufener kommt, der ihr zum hohen Gewinn die Bände löst wie ich bei meiner vorjährigen Aufführung), oder ich versage mir's nicht, zu nehmen, was ich brauche." Bauer-Lechner, Erinnerungen, p. 46.

⁴³"Beethoven's Symphonien sind ein Problem, das für den gewöhnlichen Dirigenten einfach unlösbar ist. Ich komme immer mehr dahinter. Sie bedürfen unbedingt der Interpretation und Nacharbeitung. Schon die Zusammensetzung und Stärke des Orchesters macht das Nötig; zu Beethovens Zeiten war das ganze Orchester nicht so gross wie heute die Streicher allein. Wenn nun die übrigen Instrumente nicht ins richtige Verhältniss dazu gebracht werden, kann es nicht richtig heraus kommen. Wagner wusste das ganz genau; aber auch er musste deswegen die ärgsten Angriffe erfahren! Ibid., p. 131.

revisions of Beethoven's text makes a complete presentation of its contents appropriate here:

Since certain public comments by some members of the audience could have led to the impression that capricious changes in some details might have been made in Beethoven's works, and in the Ninth Symphony in particular, by the conductor of today's performance, it appears necessary not to refrain from issuing a few clarifying remarks on this point.

Because of his illness, which led to complete deafness, Beethoven lost the irreplaceable close contact with reality with the aural world, exactly at the time when the great growth in his artistic conceptions required the creation of new means of expression and an up-until-then unheard of flexibility in the treatment of the orchestra. This fact is well known, as is the fact that the technique of the brass instruments of that time was not sufficient to make it possible for these instruments to play melodic lines. Just this deficiency has, with the passage of time, resulted in a perfection of these instruments, and a reluctance to use the increased technical capacity of these instruments for a better performance of the works of Beethoven would almost be a crime. Richard Wagner, who labored passionately all of his life in word and deed to rescue the performance of Beethoven's works from an almost unbearable neglect, showed the way to a manner of performance of this piece which would fit the intentions of the composer, as much as this was possible, in his essay "On the Performance of the Ninth Symphony of Beethoven," (Complete Works, Volume 9), a path which all of the new conductors have followed. The conductor of today's performance, as a result of firm conviction which has come from his own life with this piece, has done this also, without exceeding significantly the boundaries which Wagner indicated.

A re-orchestration, alteration, or even an "improvement" of Beethoven's piece is absolutely not in question here. The long practiced increase of the numbers of string instruments used /in the orchestra/ has long since led to the use of additional wind instruments, which serve only to strengthen the wind sonority, and in no case receive a new orchestral role. In this as in every other point which concerns the interpretation of the work in general or in particular, consultation of the score (and indeed, the more one wants to go into details, the more important it is to do this) will lead to the proof that, far from capriciousness and premeditation or being led astray by "tradition," the conductor was interested only in re-living the feelings of Beethoven down to the most minute detail, in order not to let the slightest bit of what the Master has created be sacrificed or swallowed up in a confusing cacophony of sound.⁴⁴

⁴⁴"Da infolge gewisser öffentlich gefallener Äusserungen bei

Thus, Mahler suggests that his retouchings compensate for problems caused by Beethoven's deafness, the imperfect instruments available in Beethoven's time, and the changes in the size of the orchestra since the 1820's. He calls on the example of Wagner to support his decisions, and he suggests that the scope of his revisions has remained within the limits of Wagner's own changes. The accuracy of Mahler's statements is questionable. The investigation of the Mahler revisions which occupies the latter portion of this paper will show that he was telling less than half the truth.

einem Teil des Publikums die Meinung entstehen könnte, als wären seitens des Dirigenten der heutigen Aufführung an den Werken Beethovens, und insbesondere an der Neunten Symphonie, willkürliche Umgestaltungen in irgendwelchen Einzelheiten vorgenommen worden, so scheint es geboten, mit einer aufklärenden Bemerkung über diesen Punkt nicht zurückzuhalten.

Beethoven hatte durch sein in völlige Taubheit ausgeartetes Gehörleiden den unerlässlichen innigen Kontakt mit der Realität, mit der physisch tönenden Welt gerade in jener Epoche seines Schaffens verloren, in welcher ihm die gewaltigste Steigerung seiner Konzeptionen zur Auffindung neuer Ausdrucksmittel und zu einer bis dahin ungeahnten Drastik in der Behandlung des Orchesters hindrängte. Ebenso bekannt wie diese Tatsache, ist die andere, dass die Beschaffenheit der damaligen Blechinstrumente gewisse zur Bildung der Melodie nötige Tonfolgen schlechterdings ausschloss. Gerade dieser Mangel hat mit der Zeit eine Vervollkommenung jener Instrumente herbeigeführt, welche nunmehr nicht zumöglichst vollendeter Ausführung der Werke Beethovens auszunützen, geradezu als Frevel erschiene.

Richard Wagner, der sein ganzes Leben hindurch in Wort und Tat leidenschaftlich bemüht war, den Vortrag Beethovenscher Werke einer nachgerade unerträglich gewordenen Verwahrlosung zu entreissen, hat in seinem Aufsatz "Zum Vortrag der Neunten Symphonie Beethovens" (Ges. Schriften, Bd. 9) jenen Weg zu einer den Intentionen ihres Schöpfers möglichst entsprechenden Ausführung dieser Symphonie gewiesen, auf dem ihm alle neueren Dirigenten gefolgt sind. Auch der Leiter des heutigen Konzertes hat dies in vollster, aus eigenem Durchleben des Werkes gewonnener und gefestigter Überzeugung getan, ohne im wesentlichen über die von Wagner angedeuteten Grenzen hinauszugehen.

Von einer Uminstrumentierung, Änderung oder gar "Verbesserung" des Beethovenschen Werkes kann natürlich absolut nicht die Rede sein.

Mahler's public statement did not help his position with the Vienna Philharmonic and it only gave his critics additional ammunition to use against him. He was not able to retain his position as conductor of the Philharmonic concerts, and after the 1900-1901 season his activity in Vienna was limited to the opera. At least one writer feels that Mahler's tenure in Vienna was really one great battle with windmills, not without its brilliant moments, but generally without permanent results, for after Mahler left the Vienna Opera in 1907--tired, discouraged, already an ill man--the institution sank back into the laissez-faire lethargy from which he for a brief time had rescued it.⁴⁵

The 1902-1907 period in Mahler's life was marked by increased activity as a guest conductor. He conducted in St. Petersburg, Wiesbaden, Amsterdam, Berlin, Mannheim, Leipzig, Cologne, Mainz, Frankfurt, Trieste, Strassburg, Antwerp, Breslau, Essen, Munich, Prague, and Helsinki. There are records of his performances of the Beethoven Ninth Symphony in Helsinki,⁴⁶ Prague,⁴⁷ and Strassburg.⁴⁸

Die längst geübte Vervielfachung der Streichinstrumente hat--und zwar ebenfalls schon seit langem--eine Vermehrung der Bläser zur Folge gehabt, die ausschliesslich der Klangverstärkung dienen sollen, keineswegs aber eine neue orchestrale Rolle zugeteilt erhielten. In diesem, wie in jedem Punkte, der die Interpretation des Werkes im ganzen wie im einzelnen betrifft, kann an der Hand der Partitur (und zwar je mehr ins Detail eingehend, desto zwingender) der Nachweis geführt werden, dass es dem Dirigenten überall nur darum zu tun war, fern von Willkür und Absichtlichkeit, aber auch von keiner "Tradition" beirrt, den Willen Beethovens bis ins scheinbar Geringfügigste nachzufühlen und in der Ausführung auch nicht das Kleinste von dem, was der Meister gewollt hat, zu opfern, oder in einem verwirrenden Tongewühl untergehen zu lassen." Quoted in Paul Stefan, Gustav Mahler (Munich: R. Piper, 1920), pp. 65-66.

⁴⁵Fritz Stiedry, "Der Operndirektor Mahler," Melos, I (1948), p. 135.

⁴⁶Alma Mahler, Gustav Mahler, p. 297.

⁴⁷Bauer-Lechner, Erinnerungen, p. 131.

⁴⁸Alma Mahler, Gustav Mahler, p. 33.

Although he finally bowed to the intense pressure which had grown ever uglier during his tenure in Vienna, and resigned to travel to America as principal conductor at the Metropolitan Opera in New York, his popularity with the public in Vienna continued until the end.

No attacks on Mahler the opera chief or the composer could dislodge Mahler the conductor. His popularity in this city obsessed by music and the theater was really extraordinary. As he crossed the street . . . cabmen would turn to look at him and mutter, in tones of awe: "Mahler himself!"⁴⁹

Mahler in America

In America Mahler's accomplishments as a conductor were diminished by his failing health and the difficulties created by the unstable nature of musical life in New York at that time. He had an instant success in his first year at the Metropolitan Opera; so much success, in fact, that the management of the opera house offered him the post of Musical Director. With the pain of his ten-year struggle in Vienna still very much in his memory, Mahler declined the offer, but he expressed a willingness to continue his duties as a conductor at the opera house. The management hired Arturo Toscanini to be the new Musical Director. Toscanini, who was not eager to accept a person of Mahler's stature as a principal associate, immediately demanded to open his first season with a German opera, indeed with the new production of Tristan und Isolde which had been introduced by Mahler the previous year. Mahler realized that his position at the opera house had been compromised, and when he was subsequently offered the leadership of the reorganized New York Philharmonic concerts, he

⁴⁹Walter, Gustav Mahler, p. 41.

accepted.⁵⁰

From 1909 until his death Mahler's conducting activity consisted of these concerts and a small number of European guest appearances. His attitude toward his American responsibilities differed considerably from that which had previously been characteristic of him, partly as a result of his illness, and partly, perhaps, from a more philosophical attitude which his experience in Vienna had forced upon him. In 1909 he wrote to Bruno Walter:

How senseless it is to let oneself be drowned in life's brutal rat-race! To be unfaithful to oneself and to the Higher Power that watches over one even for an hour! But I only write in this manner, for at the next opportunity - for example, when I leave my room - I will certainly become just as crazy as all the others.⁵¹

Mahler continued to be interested in the music of Beethoven, and his New York Philharmonic programs contained a great deal of Beethoven's music including a performance of the Ninth Symphony,⁵² as well as music by Richard Strauss, Tschaikowsky, and Claude Debussy. These Beethoven performances still created a furor, for the New York music critics objected, as had their Viennese counterparts, to Mahler's changes in Beethoven's text.⁵³ Mahler remained controlled, almost

⁵⁰Mahler, Briefe, pp. 429-431, passim.

⁵¹"Wie unsinnig ist es nur, sich vom brutalen Lebensstrudel so untertauchen zu lassen! Sich selbst und dem Höheren über sich selbst auch nur eine Stunde untreu zu sein! Aber das schreibe ich nur so hin-- denn bei der nächsten Gelegenheit, also z. B., wenn ich jetzt aus diesem meinem Zimmer hinausgehe, werde ich bestimmt wieder so unsinnig wie alle anderen." Ibid., p. 382.

⁵²Programs of the New York Philharmonic Symphony Society, 1909-1911.

⁵³Ossip Gabrilowitsch, An Open Letter to the Musical Critic of the New York Tribune (Munich: Alfred Schmid, 1911), pp. 4-5.

resigned in his attitude. Saddened by the problems of his personal life, living with the knowledge that his health was deteriorating, he limited his battles with the mediocre world to ironic descriptions of his problems in letters to his European friends. Early in 1911, suffering from a serious streptococcus infection, he left New York on the long ship voyage for Europe. He arrived in Vienna in time to die in May of that year. The 1911-1912 programs of the New York Philharmonic Symphony Society list Josef Stransky as the conductor, and one program contains a performance of a movement of Mahler's Symphony No. V, in memoriam. Evidently Mahler's impact on American musical life at the beginning of the twentieth century was not worth a complete performance of a single work.

CHAPTER III

THE CHANGES IN MAHLER'S SCORE OF THE
BEETHOVEN NINTH SYMPHONYIntroduction

The copy of the score of the Beethoven Ninth Symphony which Mahler owned (C. F. Peters plate number 5450) was published between 1871 and 1873.¹ Although it is not possible to determine exactly when Mahler began making his revisions in Beethoven's text, the first opportunity he had to conduct the work according to his convictions was during his performances with the orchestra of the Hamburg subscription concerts in 1895-1896. Mahler's alterations rest in part on the work of Richard Wagner, and perhaps to a lesser extent on the changes made by Hans von Bülow, but the scope of Mahler's work dwarfs the efforts of both these men in magnitude.

Even though it is difficult to say when Mahler began his work on the symphony, there is evidence that he worked on it for a considerable period of time. At least three different varieties of ink or kinds of pencil have been used to mark the manuscript, and there are a number of places where Mahler changed his mind about the proper rendering of a particular passage. In the first movement, for example, the trumpet parts in mm. 513-515 were marked pp at first. Later they were crossed out completely. In mm. 517-520 of this movement Mahler

¹Otto Erich Deutsch, Musik Verlags Nummern (Berlin: Mersburger Verlag, 1961), p. 14.

first crossed out the trumpet part, then erased his marking and wrote out an altered version of the part, and finally crossed that out also.

The markings

For the most part Mahler's notations are legible and meticulous, although there are places where he seems to have neglected to make some obvious changes.² The Mahler markings are not quick notes made for his own personal use, but rather detailed changes which a librarian or copyist could transcribe directly into a set of orchestral parts. Where he has inserted written instructions into the score, he has chosen to use Roman characters, and not the Gothic script that Germans were taught to use prior to World War II. Finally, although the alterations include changes of orchestration, the addition of instruments to the score, new dynamics, mute indications, bowings and musical expression marks, none of the added markings relates to conducting technique. This is particularly interesting since Mahler often made notations which concerned conducting technique in the scores of his own works.

Most of Mahler's markings are clear, but some of the corrections are hard to read, and the meaning of others is uncertain. A few require some additional comments at this point in order to support the meaning that has been ascribed to them in the catalogue of changes which is included as an appendix to this paper.

²Following the suggestion of Wagner, Mahler generally rewrites the trumpets and horns in octaves in cases where the natural brass instruments of Beethoven's time were forced to skip a ninth or an eleventh. However, he occasionally neglects to make this change; e. g., IV: 471-474, horns III and IV.

Many passages in the wind, brass, and percussion parts of the Mahler score are enclosed in brackets. Orchestral wind and brass players still use brackets ($\lceil$ $\rceil$) to indicate where doubling instruments should play, and this seems to be the notation that Mahler has used for this purpose. Evidence that this is indeed the proper interpretation of the brackets marked in the score can be found, for example, in mm. 313-315 of the first movement where the tympani part has been enclosed in brackets. Here, Mahler uses doubled stems to show exactly when a second tympanist should stop playing:



Additional evidence supporting this interpretation of the bracket notation can be found in the last movement. An open bracket (*i. e.*, $\lceil$) has been added to the woodwind parts in m. 191. The notation "doubling p . . . cresc. poco a poco" appears above the bracket.³ The fact that Mahler's written-out instructions correspond with the bracket notation should eliminate any question about the meaning of the bracketed passages in the score.⁴

Occasionally, heavy ink circles have been placed around short passages in some of the instrumental parts. In mm. 156-157 of the third movement the first oboe part is circled and the notes of the oboe part have been written into the second flute line in the score.

³"Verstärkung p . . . cresc. poco a poco."

⁴In the catalogue of changes (Appendix A) brackets are interpreted as doubling indications.

In another place (IV: 895-899) the trombone parts are circled. Inside the circle Mahler has written "third remains."⁵ Both of these notations suggest that circled measures should be interpreted as tacit passages. However, there are other places in the score where parts are simply crossed out (e. g., I: 401-413, trumpets and tympani). An indication that these two notations were used interchangeably is provided by the markings in the second flute part in mm. 410 and 412 of the first movement. In measure 410 the second flute notes are crossed out, and in measure 412, a parallel passage, the notes are circled.

Changes in orchestration

Richard Wagner suggested that it might be appropriate to increase the size of the woodwind and brass sections for performances of the Ninth Symphony, and many conductors have followed this suggestion.⁶ Mahler's use of doubling instruments is carefully thought out and precisely marked. The use of additional wind, brass, and even percussion instruments is not confined to doubling parts, but extends to the composition of new instrumental parts for the doubling instruments, and even to the inclusion of instruments, such as the tuba, not called for in Beethoven's score. Essentially, Mahler has reorchestrated the Ninth Symphony using the orchestral resources which were available to a composer in the 1890's. Thus, his score calls for an orchestra which contains four flutes, piccolo,⁷ four oboes, four clarinets, four bassoons,

⁵"3. bleibt."

⁶See Felix Weingartner, On the Performance of Beethoven's Symphonies, translated by Jessie Crosland (New York: Dover, 1969), p. 177.

⁷In IV: 422-431 and 851-916, Mahler's brackets enclose the piccolo, flute and oboe parts. This implies that he expected to have four flutes and two piccolos at his disposal!

contrabassoon, eight horns, four trumpets, three trombones, tuba, two tympanists, three percussionists, and strings.

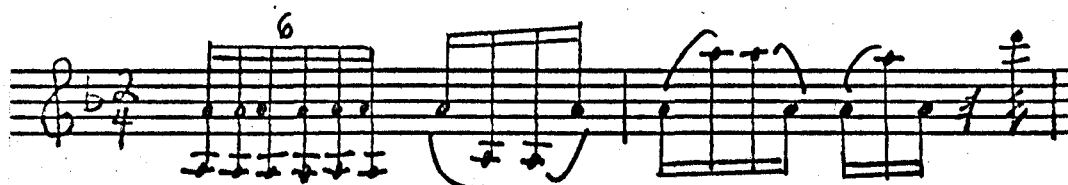
The development of chromatic brass instruments was the most significant technological development between the time of Beethoven and Mahler, and it is here that Mahler's changes in orchestration are most extensive. In many cases his revisions supply chromatic notes to the parts Beethoven wrote for his natural brass instruments. Thus, in IV: 655 and 692-700, two trumpets replace the alto trombone and double all the notes of the chorus altos. Later, in IV: 678-696, the third and fourth horns double the chorus sopranos 8va basso. In other cases Mahler alters the brass writing to add power and thickness to Beethoven's sinewy, classically-conceived orchestration. Mahler calls for eight horns in the first and fourth movements of the symphony and all eight are used for the climax of the first movement (mm. 300ff.). It is here that four trumpets and two sets of tympani are used for the first time also.

The addition of the tuba to the orchestra for the Ninth Symphony, perhaps the most ostentatious of all of the Mahler changes, is confined to the beginning of the last movement of the work (mm. 1-29) where the tuba and the third trombone are used to reinforce the bass line in the orchestral tutti.⁸ Changes such as this suggest that it was Mahler's goal not just to provide a more perfect realization of Beethoven's concept of orchestral sound, but rather to perfect the musical structure itself, as he understood it. Both the extensive revisions in the brass writing and the addition of instruments not found in the original version

⁸See pp. 61-63 of this paper.

of the work contradict Mahler's claim that his changes remain within the bounds suggested by Wagner in his writings on the performance of the symphony. Actually, the Mahler revisions surpass Wagner's suggestions in both their basic conception and the scope of their application, as this and the following discussion both demonstrate. In fact, Mahler has added an overlay to the orchestration which consists of all the accretions to the technique of writing for orchestra which had built up from the time of Beethoven to his own day. Thus, he has rewritten many passages for the string instruments, compensating for the weaknesses of the individual instruments on the one hand, and making allowances for the weaker physical position of the second violins in the orchestra on the other. In mm. 15-16 of the first movement he has strengthened the string writing by having the first and second violins play in unison and by doubling the bassoon part in the cello.

I: 15-16, violins.



I: 15-16, cello.



In mm. 24-27 of this movement the second violins join the firsts to reinforce the melodic line, and the violas play the second violin part,

removing this important part from a weak register on the violin and placing it in a strong register on the viola. The total effect in both cases is an increase in string sonority. In mm. 132-137 of the movement Mahler subtracts the second violins from the texture when they do not have important music to play and adds the violas to the second violin part when more strength is needed, which provides a better balance of sound than was possible in the Beethoven original.

I: 132-135, violins and viola.

The image displays a handwritten musical score for measures 132-135, specifically for the violin and viola parts. The score is written on six staves, arranged in three pairs. The first pair of staves (I and II) represents the Violin I and Violin II parts, while the second pair (III and IV) represents the Viola and Violoncello parts. The notation is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The score is divided into two systems by a vertical line. The first system covers measures 132-134, and the second system covers measures 135-137. The handwriting is clear and legible, with various musical notations including notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The score is a reproduction of a handwritten manuscript, showing some ink bleed-through and slight variations in line thickness.

Finally, Mahler occasionally specifies the number of stands of strings that should play during a particular passage. He, like Wagner, obviously worried about the problem of an unwanted crescendo during the famous string unisono pianissimo in the first movement of the symphony (mm. 116-120). Thus, he prescribes a steady decrease in the number of players who continue to play as the passage progresses. Three stands of cellos play in m. 117, two in m. 118, and only one in m. 119; four stands of violas play in m. 118, three on the first beat of m. 119, and two on the second beat; four stands of second violins play in m. 118, two stands on the first beat of m. 119, one stand on the second beat; and five stands of first violins play in m. 118, three stands on the first beat of m. 119, and two stands on the second beat. The whole string section enters again in m. 120.

Mahler's changes in the woodwind and brass parts of the symphony are more extensive than the alterations he has made in the string parts and they may even be more controversial, for changes in the choice of instruments, and in the case of the clarinets most of all, changes of register, result in instrumental colors which are different from those Beethoven had in mind. It is true that while Mahler interchanges string instruments at will in order to achieve an increase in sonority, he is very careful about adding new woodwind colors to the orchestration and relies on the support of his doubling instruments most of the time. Equal care has been taken with the addition of trumpets and trombones to the orchestration, while, on the other hand, the use of additional french horns to support the texture, or the substitution of a horn color for a woodwind color (usually clarinet or bassoon) in the

orchestral tutti has been liberal. It is evident that Mahler felt that Beethoven's writing for the clarinets, and to a lesser extent, for the bassoons as well, was weak and ineffectual, for he did everything he could to move these instruments into a higher register. As a result the clarinets often now play in unison with the oboes,⁹ or the bassoons move into the second clarinet register, and extra horns are added to double the bassoons or plug the gap created by moving the clarinets out of the middle of the registration.¹⁰ Just how much unison high clarinets and oboes cease to sound like Beethoven and start to sound like Mahler or Richard Strauss is a question that each listener must settle for himself.

The main goals of the Mahler changes in woodwind and brass orchestration are to increase the volume of sound by adding additional wind instruments to the orchestra, or by moving the wind section of the orchestra into a higher register, and to correct Beethoven's balances by substituting instruments which blend together more easily than those which appear in the original orchestration. For example, in the first case clarinets are added to the orchestration to double the oboe line in mm. 320-330 of the last movement,¹¹ and in the second case, the oboe is often replaced by the flute in soft, exposed passages such as mm. 114-116 of the third movement.¹² The latter revision suggests

⁹E. g., I: 301-335. See Appendix A.

¹⁰E. g., I: 24-27. See Appendix A.

¹¹See Appendix A.

¹²See Appendix A.

that Mahler was not only worried about the ability of the flute and oboe to blend well together, but that he was also concerned about the ability of his oboists to control their instruments.¹³ In mm. 527-530 of the second movement both oboes are also replaced by flutes, and in m. 555 of the movement the oboe parts and the second bassoon part are crossed out completely. Mahler has also eliminated the troublesome, low b^b from the second bassoon in mm. 331-344 and mm. 348-349 of the last movement.¹⁴

In other soft passages throughout the symphony brass and percussion instruments are removed from the orchestration. Mahler seems to have been particularly unhappy with many of the rhythmic ostinatos in the Beethoven trumpet and tympani parts. These instruments are crossed out in mm. 120-147 of the first movement, the tympani does not play in mm. 99-115 of the third movement, and in mm. 851-861 of the last movement the cymbals and bass drum have been crossed out.

In the opening measures of the slow movement (mm. 5-15) and in mm. 337-415 of the last movement the brass instruments are marked con sordino. It may be true that muted brass sounds softer than unmuted brass, and as long as the brass players are inexperienced, playing soft and muted gives them a psychological advantage, but it is unlikely that Mahler was trying to achieve a better balance by asking his professional brass players to play with mutes. It is more probable that he chose a muted tone color because he found it more

¹³German oboe players still play with much more vibrato and with a darker, woodier, less controlled sound than do their American counterparts.

¹⁴See Appendix A.

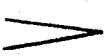
pleasing. In this instance certainly, if not in many of the other examples discussed above, Mahler, the conductor, is no longer the faithful servant of the composer, but rather an orchestrator acting in his own behalf.

Changes in dynamics

Although revisions in orchestration are the most eye-catching part of the alterations Mahler has made in the Ninth Symphony, many other markings are of equally great interest to conductors and students of performance practice. Among these are the changes which have been made in dynamics. In Mahler's score, changes in dynamic intensity are more precisely indicated than in the original text of the work.¹⁵ Just as Mahler employs the full forces of the late-nineteenth-century orchestra in his realization of the work, so does he use the complete vocabulary of late-nineteenth-century notation, ranging from fff to pppp, to mark his interpretation of intensity levels into the symphony. The additional markings add precision to what Beethoven may have intended in some cases, and they provide a stronger sense of contrast between loud and soft in others. The combined use of more contrasting dynamic markings, subtler orchestration, and the addition of doubling wind and brass instruments make it possible to intensify the dramatic qualities of Beethoven's music, and in the climactic passages in the first and last movements of the piece, Mahler's use of these tools to heighten the tension of the music is quite masterful. In mm. 92-200 of the final movement

¹⁵E. g., II: 549-556. See Appendix A.

of the symphony, for example, the sense of Beethoven's text is clear--reiteration of a simple theme leads from a modest beginning to a grand climax. Mahler makes no changes between measure 92 and measure 171, but in measure 172 the trumpets are marked mf instead of f. Horns III and IV enter here (p) doubling horns I and II. This change keeps the intensity level about the same but it provides the conductor with a reservoir of dynamic strength for use later on, and this is the principle which is followed from here on. In mm. 173-180 the added horns (p) and trumpets (mf) are marked crescendo poco a poco. In m. 180 the woodwind doubling instruments enter (p . . . crescendo poco a poco), as do horns VII and VIII, doubling horns III and IV; and trumpets III and IV, doubling trumpets I and II. All of these instruments enter p . . . crescendo poco a poco. THE INSTRUMENTS IN BEETHOVEN'S ORIGINAL WOODWIND AND BRASS SECTION CONTINUE TO PLAY FORTE. The strings and tympani (mf) now begin to crescendo poco a poco, and at m. 186 the whole orchestra reaches fff.

Throughout the symphony Mahler has made several other less conspicuous changes in Beethoven's dynamic markings. Legend has it that Toscanini was the conductor who started postponing crescendos until the last possible moment in order to increase the drama of the music, but Mahler does it also.¹⁶ Elsewhere, sudden changes from a loud to a soft dynamic are made milder by changing a marking such as ff . . . pp to mf  p.¹⁷ This illustrates a principle still

¹⁶E. g., I: 495-497.

¹⁷E. g., IV: 203.

taught by many conductors that a piano which follows a fortissimo must, for acoustical reasons, be performed louder than usual so that the echo of the fortissimo in the hall does not drown out the piano passage. Finally, Mahler tries to avoid situations where a wind or brass instrument plays forte as a part of a tutti in one measure and plays piano-dolce as a soloist immediately thereafter. Using his doubling instruments, he rewrites many passages in the symphony so that the solo instrument may have a moment to rest.

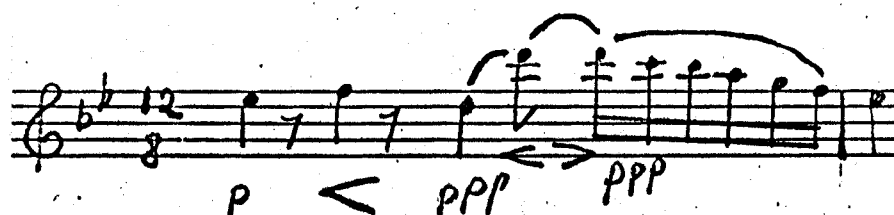
I: 191-192, oboes I and II--the Mahler version:



Interpretation marks

The expression and phrasing markings a conductor adds to a score provide the clearest indications of his individuality, and it is also in this area that Beethoven's original markings are most sparse. Mahler has added additional articulation, phrasing, and dynamic marks in order to encourage expressive playing on the part of his musicians.

III: 156-157, violin I--the Mahler version:



Less commonly, he has added articulation markings to change the length of notes.¹⁸ In the orchestral recitative which begins the final movement of the symphony, a passage which has provided conductors with one of the greatest interpretative challenges in orchestral literature, Mahler has attempted to fix as accurately as possible the exact performance of the rubatos he wished to include in the music. These markings and the extensive orchestration changes which are contained in this section of the piece (IV: 1-90) make this one of the most interesting passages in the Mahler score. Excerpts from this section of the score are reproduced below. One should note that extensive revisions have been made in the brass parts, a trombone, tuba, and four additional horns have been added to the orchestration, articulation marks have been added to the printed horn parts, and the tympani part has been simplified at one point. The trumpets are doubled in the second through the seventh and the eighteenth through the twenty-fifth measure, the woodwinds are doubled, many woodwind parts are marked 8va and the first and second flutes play the same part. The orchestral recitatives in the cello and bass contain numerous additional markings for accelerando and ritardando as well as many bowing markings and additional dynamics, and in a few cases Mahler has seen fit to change rhythmic values to achieve a more precise articulation of the phrasing.¹⁹ The following pages of this paper are a xerographic copy of Mahler's score.

¹⁸E. g., IV: 1-7, horns I and II. Staccato dots have been added.

¹⁹E. g., IV: 13-14.

IV: 1-7, woodwinds and horns VI and VIII:

6. 8. 10. 12.
5.

Presto. (♩. = 96.)

Flauto I.

Flauto II.

Oboe I.

Oboe II.

Clarinetto I. in B.

Clarinetto II. in B.

Fagotto I.

Fagotto II.

Contrabbasso.

cal I

gr

allegro

IV: 20-29

(20)

Horns I and II in D

Horns III and IV in B $\flat$

Trumpets I and II in B $\flat$

Tympani

Trombone III and Tuba

Cello

Bass

Edition Peters, Horns V-VIII

5450

*5-6-7
ther*

IV: 30-53, strings:

[illegible]

IV: 54-74, strings:

Violin I (60)

Violin II

Viola

Cello

Bass

Tempo I.
cresc.

rit.

dimin.

ppp

Edition Peters.

(3)

5450

(70)

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Cello

Bass

p

ppp

cresc.

rit.

dimin.

ppp

Edition Peters.

5450

IV: 75-90, strings:

[illegible]

The image shows a page from a musical score for "The Rose Tree" by Edvard Grieg. The score is in G major and 3/4 time. It features a piano part and a voice part. The piano part includes a prelude and a postlude. The voice part is a solo for the male voice. The score is published by Edition Peters.

The markings which have been added to the orchestral recitative are easier to experience than to comment upon, but it is clear that Mahler has interpreted Beethoven's direction, "selon le caractère d'un Récitatif, mais in Tempo," in a figurative rather than a literal sense, if, indeed, he has observed it at all. Likewise, the simple phrasings of Beethoven's original become jagged and breathless in the Mahler version. The reluctance of conductors to take the time to share their thoughts on interpretation with the public has made it difficult to trace attitudes toward the performance of orchestral music through the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. Yet, the sense of Mahler's interpretation as conveyed by these markings is strikingly similar to interpretations found in extant, recorded versions of the symphony by conductors active in our lifetime, and this suggests that the persistence of a late-nineteenth-century approach to music-making may be much stronger than is commonly realized.²⁰

String bowings

The beginning of the last movement is only one of many places where string bowings are added in the Mahler score. Many of these bowings help determine the type of articulation used for a given passage, and other bowings encourage the musicians to play with full tone (e. g., I: 24-26). Some of these requests are for the

²⁰See for example the Bruno Walter recording of the Ninth Symphony (Columbia ML 5200). Even in the famous Toscanini recording of the symphony (RCA LM 6009) many interesting points of correspondence between the Mahler notations and the Toscanini performance can be found. This topic is explored in more detail in Chapter IV of this paper.

use of large amounts of bow in a very short space of time, and it is hard to believe that these bowing suggestions would be feasible for any orchestra.²¹ In addition to specifying bowings for his string players, Mahler has occasionally suggested which string should be used for a particular passage. These choices have usually been made for expressive rather than for technical reasons, as in mm. 110-112 of the first movement where the first violins are asked to play on the D-string.

The influence of Wagner and Bülow

The evidence which the Mahler revisions of the Ninth Symphony provide us suggests that Mahler made substantial use of the changes proposed by Wagner and Bülow and that he based his approach to the performance of the Ninth Symphony on the concepts developed by these two men. Thus, following Wagner's suggestions, Mahler does alter the trumpet and horn parts to avoid unnatural leaps.²² He makes changes in flute parts to include notes above the ledger-line a,²³ and he makes changes in violin parts to include notes above ledger-line g.²⁴ In addition Mahler makes the following revisions in the manner advocated by Wagner:

First movement

96-101 The dynamics are altered to improve the orchestral balance.

²¹E. g., I: 327, violin I--both a down-bow and an up-bow are marked on the dotted-quarter-note b^b.

²²E. g., IV: 680-682. ²³E. g., II: 142-143.

²⁴E. g., I: 416-419.

138-145 The woodwind counterpoint is altered, following the suggestions of Wagner and Liszt.

Second movement

61 The flute b^b is marked 8va.

93-108 Horns and trumpets double the woodwind melody.

274-277 The violins play the notes b^b-a-g-f--8va.

Third movement

25 The strings play as soft as possible (ppp in the Mahler score).

Fourth movement

1-7 The trumpet parts are altered so that the trumpets reinforce the woodwind melody.

The absence of any indications which refer to the choice of tempi from the Mahler score makes it impossible to discuss a relationship between tempi in Mahler's performance and that of Wagner. Similarly, Heinrich Porges's interesting account of the interpretation of fermatas in the Wagner Bayreuth performance of the Ninth Symphony can not be compared with the Mahler changes on the basis of the evidence found in Mahler's score.

Hans von Bülow's suggestions for the performance of the symphony are often more specific than the Wagner proposals. In addition to the Wagner changes which both Bülow and Mahler have adopted, Mahler follows the Bülow revisions in the following instances:

First movement

16 A comma is added to the wind and brass parts before the final thirty-second note of the measure.

201-202 A $\langle \rangle$ is added in the violin I part.

304 In this measure and similar places which follow Bülow omits some notes from the tympani part. By doubling sections of the tympani part Mahler accomplishes a similar effect.

481-496 The woodwinds are doubled.

589 Clarinet I doubles bassoon I.

Fourth movement

433-455 Horns and bassoons are added to double the fugue subject entrances and to reinforce weak voices in the counterpoint.

596 Although Mahler does not alter the rhythm of this passage as does Bülow, his bowing markings suggest that his concept of the phrasing agrees with Bülow's

631 A comma is added after the word Ihr.

654-730 The brass parts have been revised so that the brass players play the theme statements without the rests found in Beethoven's original parts.

938-940 Both Bülow and Mahler reinforce the woodwind melody with brass instruments. Bülow chooses trumpets for the job; Mahler uses horns.

The lack of information about tempi and the interpretation of fermatas in the Mahler score makes a comparison of Bülow's ideas about these matters with Mahler's conception impossible. A determination of the amount of influence Wagner and Bülow both may have had on Mahler's decisions in these areas of musical interpretation must thus rest on the less tangible evidence provided by Mahler's life and by the opinions of his contemporaries. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that there is some similarity between the approach found in recorded performances by Willem Mengelberg and Bruno Walter, both associates of Mahler, and the suggestions offered by Wagner and Bülow. This suggests in turn that it is possible that Mahler's choice of

tempi and his attitude toward the pacing of the music may also have remained close to the ideas of Wagner and Bülow, indeed perhaps closer to Bülow of whose performances he had had first hand experience.

CHAPTER IV

THE INFLUENCE OF MAHLER'S CHANGES
IN THE NINTH SYMPHONYIntroduction

Although a large body of literature dealing with the development of musical style from generation to generation exists, the history of the growth of many traditions of performance practice has remained an uncharted domain. One source for information about musical performances in the last fifty years is the phonograph recording, and no study of performance practice of a work which is part of today's standard orchestral repertoire can afford to overlook this potential source of information. However, this is a particularly difficult area to explore, for in lending credence to the evidence presented by a recording of a particular orchestra and conductor, it is necessary to consider the circumstances under which the recording was made; whether, for example, the recording can be trusted to be a definitive statement of the approach of this conductor to the work in question. In addition all but the most obvious musical nuances are lost on many of the recordings of orchestral music made before the age of stereo. Even in more recent recordings it is not possible to assume that the orchestral balance of the recording is comparable to the balance of a live performance. It is often impossible to hear middle voices in the musical texture, audio distortion changes the timbres of the various instruments so that a clarinet may sound like an oboe, or a bassoon

like a french horn, and even the tempi presented in a recording are open to question, for record companies have been known to speed up a tape at pressing time in order to reduce the number of sides needed for a given piece of music.

For these reasons an attempt has been made to exercise caution in the portions of the following discussion which are based on evidence contained in the recordings of the Ninth Symphony. However, until the investigation of performance practice of music which is a part of twentieth-century repertoire is a more common object of serious study, until the music libraries of the major American and European orchestras have been investigated for evidence of changes in orchestral parts such as those described in this paper, and until the private libraries of the great conductors of the generation just past; that is, the generation of Toscanini, Walter, Kleiber, Furtwängler, Koussevitsky, et. al., have been made available for study, recorded performances and word of mouth will be the only sources of information about these practices.

The influence of Mahler, the conductor

Gustav Mahler's prominence as a conductor was confined to a relatively brief period which lasted roughly from the time he began work in Hamburg until the year he left Vienna to travel to America (1891-1908). In addition to his performances in these cities during that time, he was active as a guest conductor, and he also traveled with the Hamburg Opera on a tour to London in 1892 and with the Vienna Opera on its tour to Paris in 1900. Mahler's reputation as a conductor was far-reaching, at least as far as the musical public was concerned.

The students at the St. Petersburg Conservatory were alerted to Mahler's 1908 visit by their teachers, Nicolai Malko tells us, and the conservatory community was aware that the Mahler approach to Beethoven symphonies involved changes in orchestration.¹

Mahler's direct influence on other conductors seems to have been limited to three men. Bruno Walter and Otto Klemperer had contact with Mahler during their formative years, and Mahler took an interest in the careers of both of these men, albeit more in the case of Walter than in that of Klemperer. At the same time neither of these conductors were really students of Mahler in any real way, although they have both at times been called his pupils.²

Bruno Walter

Bruno Walter met Mahler in 1894 when, at eighteen, he came to the Hamburg Opera as an operatic coach. As a coach and chorus master under Mahler, Walter had a great opportunity to become familiar with his musical ideas. Mahler's brittle, dynamic personality was fascinating to Walter, who came from a much different kind of background.

Having grown up in a middle-class environment, I had looked on genius as something that existed in books and scores, in the thrill of the concert hall, the theatre and art gallery, whereas one's fellows were likely to be commonplace, and real life dull. Now higher spheres seemed to open before me. Mahler, in aspect and gesture, seemed at once genius and demon; suddenly life took on a romantic quality.³

¹Nicolai Malko, A Certain Art (New York: William Morrow, 1966), p. 39.

²E. g., Juliusz Wolfson, "Otto Klemperer," Anbruch III (October, 1921), p. 291.

³Walter, Gustav Mahler, p. 18.

The relationship between Mahler and Walter became close. Mahler gave Walter advice on career decisions, and at one point, even offered him financial support for a summer in which he was out of work.⁴ In 1898 Mahler asked Walter to come to Vienna to serve as second conductor there. Walter, still just twenty-two, thought he was not experienced enough for the job. Mahler's reply sounded like the talk of an injured parent:

What kind of nonsense is that in your letter? When I make you an offer, I know what I am doing. I need an assistant that carries a Fieldmarshall's baton in his knapsack. Whose protégé you are, is no concern of yours, or of the public either . . . You yourself couldn't say where you could learn more than you could here with me right now. So, jump to it and leave everything to me.⁵

Walter followed his own conscience, and waited. Finally in 1901 he accepted a second offer from Mahler to join the conducting staff at the Vienna Opera, where he remained until 1912.⁶

Many observers have regarded Bruno Walter's conducting as a continuation of the spirit of Mahler's approach to his art. Walter's own writings do not make his debt to Mahler seem so certain. On the one hand he shows the highest respect for Mahler's musical ideas:

His interpretation was never arbitrary. That he was accused of this was owing to the wide difference between his inspired renderings and what audiences were used to. When he made changes in the classics, they were designed to make the spirit

⁴Mahler, Briefe, pp. 224-225.

⁵"Was ist denn das für eine Gewerdenheit in Ihrem Brief? Wenn ich Ihnen einen Antrag stelle, so weiss ich doch, was ich tue. Ich brauche einen Adjutanten, der hier seinen Marschallstab im Tornister trägt . . . Wessen Nachfolger Sie sind, was geht es Sie an, was geht es das Publikum an? . . . Wo Sie derzeit mehr lernen können als bei mir, werden Sie selbst nicht sagen können. Also greifen Sie keck zu und überlassen Sie das andere mir. Ibid., p. 269.

⁶Walter, Gustav Mahler, p. 112.

live rather than reproduce the dead letter. Hence his much criticized retouching of the instrumentation of Beethoven's Ninth.⁷

However, Walter also expressed misgivings about the kind of alterations Mahler inserted into his performances of the Beethoven symphonies:

It can never be the conductor's affair to admix strange timbres to the proper colors of the score, to augment or change the character of its sonority. . . . Even the smallest license in retouching is to be deplored; yet, on the other hand, even incisive alterations such as were recommended by Wagner in his suggestions about the performing of Beethoven's Ninth, may bear witness to exemplary re-creative faithfulness and be able in a legitimate manner, to aid musical interpretation.⁸

Shortly, an attempt will be made to reevaluate these somewhat contradictory statements using evidence found in an extant Walter recording of the Ninth Symphony.

Otto Klemperer

As a boy Otto Klemperer saw Mahler conduct in Hamburg, and in 1906 he served as off-stage conductor for a performance of Mahler's Second Symphony under Oscar Fried. Two years later, he handled the same chore for a performance of Mahler's Third Symphony which Mahler himself conducted.⁹ Mahler gave Klemperer a flattering letter of recommendation which helped him land his first steady conducting job as chorus master at the opera in Prague. Two years later Mahler interceded with the management of the Hamburg Opera to help Klemperer get a position there.¹⁰ During the last few years of Mahler's life

⁷Ibid., p. 77.

⁸Bruno Walter, Of Music and Music Making, translated by Paul Hamburger (London: Faber and Faber, 1961), pp. 137-138.

⁹Otto Klemperer, Minor Recollections, translated by J. Maxwell Brownjohn (London: Dennis Dobson, 1964), pp. 12-14, passim.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 19.

these two men had a friendly relationship, and Klemperer often visited Mahler at his summer house. The discussions they had together touched on problems of musical interpretation. Regarding the performance of the Beethoven Pastoral Symphony, Mahler told him:

At first of course you will conduct the work as it is written, but later on you will see that some instrumental retouching has to be done!¹¹

Klemperer's attitude concerning Mahler's changes in the Beethoven symphonies is careful. He suggests that it is possible "to bring out the full content of such music without retouching,"¹² and he feels that Mahler's retouchings were so much a part of Mahler's own personality that they could not be successfully copied by another conductor.

Willem Mengelberg

Mahler's relationship with Willem Mengelberg, the Musical Director of the Amsterdam Concertgebouw from 1888-1944, was much more a congenial association between colleagues than was his relationship with either Walter or Klemperer. From 1903 on Mahler made many journeys to Amsterdam for performances of his own works, and at these concerts both he and Mengelberg conducted. Mahler was extremely happy with Mengelberg's conducting and with his approach to his own music. He felt that Mengelberg's ideas were spiritually akin to his own, and Mengelberg in turn became one of the most devoted workers for the appreciation of Mahler's music.¹³ Some of Mahler's biographers have been eager to suggest that Mengelberg was also a

¹¹Ibid., p. 26. ¹²Ibid.

¹³Alma Mahler, Gustav Mahler, pp. 249-274, passim.

student or disciple rather than an associate of Mahler, but Mahler's letters simply do not support this. On the other hand a recording of a Mengelberg performance of the Beethoven Ninth Symphony does bear some resemblance to Mahler's version of the work, particularly in its treatment of the orchestral recitative in the last movement and in the use of many changes in orchestration.¹⁴

Other Conductors

The attitude of other prominent conductors of the early twentieth-century toward Gustav Mahler's conducting was divided. Men like Pfitzner, Weingartner, Kleiber and Furtwängler held themselves in awe of Mahler's achievements, and the increasing success that Mahler's own music had with the public may have served to remove some of the controversy which surrounded his activities as Director of the operatic establishments in Hamburg and Vienna. However, not many musicians were inclined to express themselves in favor of Mahler's changes in music which was part of the standard orchestral repertoire. The opinion of Hans Pfitzner, whose own conducting career is of no small importance, is typical:

Among the conductors who are no longer alive, I valued Gustav Mahler most highly. . . . And still even he couldn't withstand the sickness of wanting to reveal something shockingly new in a rendition of an older piece of music.¹⁵

Although most people seemed to view the Mahler revisions with distaste, this did not mean that the works of Beethoven were performed

¹⁴See Appendix B.

¹⁵"Ich habe unter den nicht mehr lebenden Dirigenten am meisten Gustav Mahler geschätzt. . . . Und doch hat auch er der Sucht nicht widerstehen können, mit der Wiedergabe eines älteren Werkes unerhört Neues enthüllen zu wollen." Pfitzner, Gesammelte Schriften, III, 239.

as Beethoven had written them. Conductors such as Kleiber, Furtwängler, Richard Strauss, Weingartner, and in more recent times, Stokowski, continued to incorporate changes into this music, each to a greater or lesser degree depending on his personality.¹⁶ If these conductors did choose to acknowledge a source for their retouching of Beethoven's scores, they were much more likely to turn to Richard Wagner or Hans von Bülow for justification, than to Gustav Mahler. Felix Weingartner prefaced his remarks to On the Performance of Beethoven's Symphonies with this statement:

Since the later years of Bülow's activity all kinds of distortions as regards time and phrasing have unfortunately become the fashion in the rendering of Beethoven's works. . . . I have no hesitation now in condemning. . . the addition of instruments which Beethoven never employed, the inclusion of trombones in passages for which no trombones were prescribed. . . .¹⁷

More recently conductors such as Arturo Toscanini have gained a reputation for conducting the great orchestral works of the common-practice period in a manner truly faithful to the ideals of the composer, and a style of interpretation which attempts to adhere more closely to the text of the composer has become the fashion. Whether the interpretations of conductors such as Toscanini are actually free of revisions such as those outlined above is an interesting topic for further research, but a proper investigation of this matter must await the time when the personal libraries of these men are made available for scholarly research. In the meantime occasional hints found in autobiographical material, and tantalizing suggestions

¹⁶Elliott Washington Galkin, "The Theory and Practice of Orchestral Conducting Since 1752," (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1960), pp. 360-363, passim.

¹⁷A reprint of the 1907 edition (New York: Dover, 1969), p. 61.

provided by the technically inadequate recordings of the Toscanini era are all the evidence that we have to draw on.

The recordings

In spite of the fact that many recorded examples of the work of conductors such as Mengelberg, Klemperer, Furtwängler, Walter, and even Weingartner and Strauss are extant, very little effort has been made to investigate this material for evidence about performance practice. To help determine the extent to which Gustav Mahler's approach to the Ninth Symphony influenced the thinking of other conductors, eleven recorded versions of this work were compared with a selected set of markings taken from Mahler's score. Most of the recordings are by conductors who belong to the German musical tradition--individuals who might have had an opportunity to come into direct contact with Mahler's work. They include recordings by Bernstein, Fried, Furtwängler, Kleiber, Klemperer, Mengelberg, Ormandy, Stokowski, Toscanini, Walter, and Weingartner. The technical quality of the recordings varies a great deal, as their dates of issue, which range from a mid-1920's version by Oscar Fried to a recent Leonard Bernstein performance with the New York Philharmonic, would indicate. Thus, it has been possible to reach more detailed conclusions in the case of some conductors than in the case of others. No attempt has been made to evaluate characteristics of the recordings which are not related to Mahler's manuscript; for example, an attempt to compare metronome markings has not been made. The complete results of the listening comparisons are contained in Appendix B, and a summary of the major findings which are suggested by the data follows.

Conclusions based on the recordings

None of the recordings suggests that any conductor was as lavish in revising Beethoven's text as was Gustav Mahler. However, almost all of the recordings contain some changes in orchestration or phrasing. The most important instances in which most of the recordings depart from Beethoven's text relate to Wagner's discussions on the performance of the Ninth Symphony, and in these cases the conductors generally follow the Wagner recommendations.¹⁸

The recorded performances by Willem Mengelberg and Bruno Walter are closer to the sense of the markings found in Mahler's score than are any of the other recordings, and the personal relationship that each of these men had with Mahler is thus supported by the evidence found here. On the other hand the recorded performance by Otto Klemperer does not bear a significant resemblance to either the Mengelberg or the Walter version, and evidence of influence by Mahler on Klemperer's interpretation of the Ninth Symphony seems to be discounted.

The fact that Leonard Bernstein served as Bruno Walter's assistant while the latter was the conductor of the New York Philharmonic, made Bernstein's recording of the work of particular interest. His approach is certainly not unrelated to that of Walter--the tempos are on the slow side in both versions, and Bernstein does make use of many of the Wagner orchestration changes. Most significantly, there is a

¹⁸Horns are added to the woodwind melody in mm. 93-108 of the second movement, the first violins play 8va in mm. 276-277 of the second movement, the flute notes b^b-b-c are often played 8va as in mm. 142-143 of the second movement, and the trumpet parts are altered in the beginning of the fourth movement so that the trumpets support the woodwind melody. See appendix B.

similarity between the Bernstein and the Walter treatment of the orchestral recitative in the last movement of the piece, and here especially the evidence in the recordings suggests that both these men are indebted to the Mahler retouchings for details of their interpretation.¹⁹

Arturo Toscanini's well-known recording of the Ninth Symphony was included in the list of selected performances because of this conductor's importance to American musical life in recent times. It is interesting to note that Toscanini did not leave Beethoven's orchestration untouched, and that some of the details of even this performance are related to the practices of the German romantic tradition.²⁰ This and other recorded evidence of Toscanini at work suggests that his reputation as the most faithful twentieth-century servant of the intentions of the composer needs re-evaluation, but that, unfortunately, is a subject for another paper.

¹⁹E. g., in measures 9-16 and 38-46 of the last movement similar dynamics, phrasings, and tempi are used. See appendix B.

²⁰E. g., horns play col clarinets I and II 8va basso in mm. 938-940 of the last movement.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

The foregoing pages have described the development of a tradition of performance practice for the Beethoven Ninth Symphony from the time of Richard Wagner through that of Gustav Mahler. An attempt has been made to obtain information about the sources of Mahler's attitudes toward performance and the ways in which his own ideas may have influenced other conductors. The focus of the study has been the Mahler score of the Beethoven Ninth Symphony which has been examined in detail. A catalogue of the markings Mahler made in his score has been included as an appendix to this paper.

From the study of this document it is clear that Mahler made extensive revisions in the Beethoven text as far as instrumentation, dynamics, rhythms, and phrasings are concerned, and that he also added many indications of a specific nature regarding other matters which relate to musical performance, such as string bowings. Obviously, Mahler felt that his additions and corrections remained within the spirit of Beethoven's original conception. The public statement he made at the time of his Vienna performances of the symphony indicates that he found support for his revisions in the writings of Richard Wagner. There is evidence that Mahler was also influenced by other changes which Wagner's disciple, Hans von Bülow, made in the Beethoven text. However, an objective appraisal of the scope of the Mahler changes suggests that his revisions exceed in magnitude the Wagner and Bülow

changes combined, and that there is reason to believe that much of the unfavorable criticism directed against Mahler during his performances of the Ninth Symphony in this country and abroad had more than a little justification.

Finally, through the analysis of a selected group of recorded performances of the Ninth Symphony, an attempt has been made to reach a judgement about how much the performance traditions represented by the Mahler approach to the symphony remain in force. Although conclusions reached by the analysis of phonograph recordings must remain tentative, it appears that, except for Willem Mengelberg and Bruno Walter, two conductors who were closely associated with Mahler's work, there is little specific influence of Mahler's interpretative ideas upon contemporary music-making. However, it is obvious that many conductors still make changes in this symphony following the suggestions of Richard Wagner, and that the so-called literalist tradition of musical performance which has been ascribed to Arturo Toscanini and his followers may owe more to the persistence of a romantic, Wagnerian tradition than has commonly been realized.

APPENDIX A

A CATALOGUE OF THE CHANGES IN MAHLER'S
SCORE OF THE NINTH SYMPHONY

This catalogue has been compiled to provide a written record of the revisions made by one of the most important conductors of the nineteenth century in one of the masterworks of orchestral literature. With the exception of Felix Weingartner's essays on the performance of the music of Beethoven, no comparable document of a conductor's interpretative practice exists in the public domain.

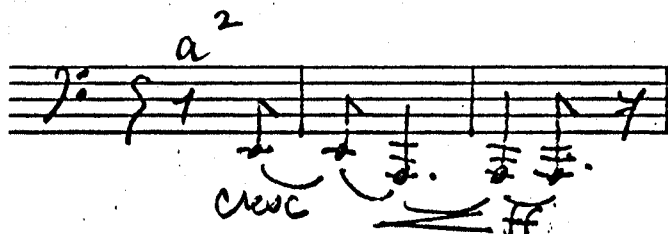
In the list which follows the Mahler changes are listed in measure-by-measure order. It will be necessary for the reader to consult a score of the symphony in order to follow the changes which are listed, and the Kalmus miniature score of the Ninth Symphony (Kalmus edition no. 57) has been used as a guide to the Beethoven text during the preparation of the catalogue. Markings which have been translated from the German appear in a footnote in the original language the first time they are used in the text. Unless otherwise stated, measure numbers are inclusive of all the measures where a marking applies; thus, mm. 510-521, flutes: doubled; means that the flutes are doubled from the beginning of m. 510 through the end of m. 521. Similarly, a marking appears at the beginning of the first measure listed unless otherwise stated. In the case of changes which occupy a part of a measure, measurements are always given in absolute time units; thus, the indication--clarinet II: fourth eighth note 8va--refers to the fourth eighth-note division in the measure and

not to the fourth one of the eighth notes which are found in the measure. The word until implies but not including; thus, the notation--8va until the third sixteenth note of m. 183--means that the third sixteenth-note division of m. 183 is not played 8va by the instrument in question. Finally, markings added to the score which duplicate Beethoven's printed directions (e. g., a crescendo mark in a measure where a printed crescendo appears) have not been included in the catalogue.

The first movement

14 Bassoons: p.

14-16 Horns V and VI (in F):



14-27 Flutes, oboes, and clarinets: doubled beginning with the fourth eighth note of m. 14.

14-27 Bassoons: doubled.

15-16 Woodwinds and brass: crescendo molto. The second quarter note of m. 16 is marked ff.

15-16 Cello: probably col bassoon. The marking is unclear. At one time the word "trem" was written in the cello line of the score, but the bassoon notes and the notation a² have been written in on top of it.

15-16 Violin II: col violin I beginning with the second quarter note of m. 15.

16 Woodwinds and brass: the  has been replaced by .

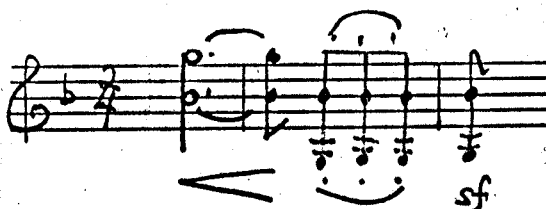
16-17 Flute II: 8va from the d in m. 16 through the d in m. 17.

19-20 Horn II: col horn I 8va basso.

- 19-21 Horns III and IV: col horns I and II as corrected.
- 21-23 Strings: the chords are marked down-bow.
- 22 Horns III and IV: col oboes I and II 8va basso.
- 24 Violins I and II: the violins use two bows (down-bow and up-bow) in this measure.
- 24 Viola, cello, and bass: both notes are marked down-bow.
- 24-25 Strings:  beginning in m. 24 and extending through m. 25.
- 24-27 Flute I: col violin I 8va but omitting the grace note. Flute II: 8va in m. 24; col flute I in mm. 25-27.
- 24-27 Horn II: 8va basso. Horn III: 8va. Horn V: col horn III. Horn VI: col horn II.
- 24-27 Clarinets I and II (in B^b):



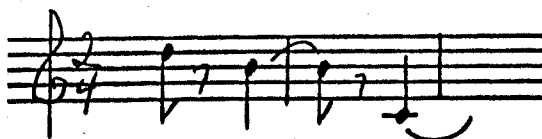
- 25 Violin I: down-bow on the b^b. Violas, cellos, and basses use two bows (down-bow and up-bow) in this measure.
- 25-26 Bassoon I: b^b-a-g are played 8va. Bassoon II: col bassoon I as corrected.
- 25-27 Viola:



27 Tutti: an accented staccato mark (') is added.

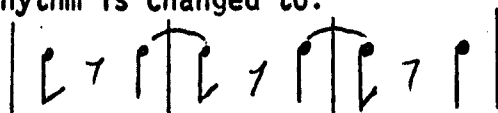
31-32 Viola: the $\underline{b^b}$ is marked 8va.

31-32 Horn II (in D):

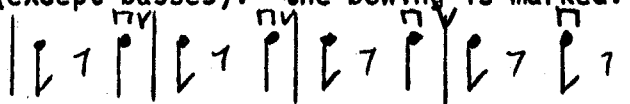


31-32 Horn III: the $\underline{b^b}$ is marked 8va. It is not clear whether this notation applies to horn IV also.

31-33 Tutti: the rhythm is changed to:



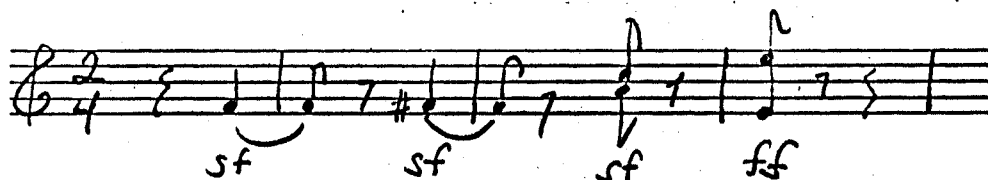
31-33 Strings (except basses): the bowing is marked:



31-33 Clarinet II: 8va from the second quarter note of m. 31 through the downbeat of m. 33.

31-34 Woodwinds: doubled from the second quarter note of m. 31 through the third eighth note of m. 34.

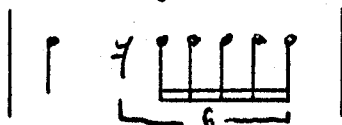
31-34 Horns V and VI (in F):



32-33 Clarinet I: col violin I through the first quarter note of m. 33.

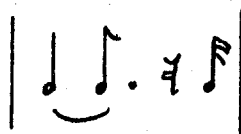
34 Woodwinds and brass (except bassoon): fp on the downbeat.

34 Violin II and cello: The rhythm is altered to:

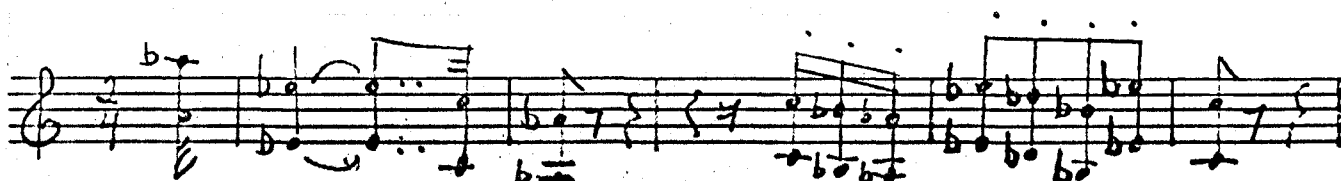


34 Violin I and viola: fff beginning on the $\underline{b^b}$.

- 34 Violin II and cello: fff beginning with the first a/d double-stop. This chord is marked up-bow.
- 34-35 Violin I and viola: down-bow on the b^b in m. 34; up-bow on the downbeat of m. 35. The slur in m. 35 has been extended to include the final d.
- 35 Flutes: the first note (a) has been crossed out.
- 35 Clarinets, horns, violin II and cello: pp.
- 35 Violin I and viola: the printed diminuendo has been crossed out.
- 47-63 Flute I: doubled.
- 48-50 Horns: molto crescendo from the middle of m. 48. Horns V and VI enter piano in m. 48.
- 48-50 Horns V and VI: col horns III and IV as corrected.
- 48-63 Bassoons: doubled. Clarinet I: doubled from the last eighth note of m. 48. Flute II: doubled from the last eighth note of m. 48.
- 49-50 Violin II: col violin I from the second quarter note of m. 49.
- 49-50 Cello: the word tremolo is written in under the cello line in the score.
- 49-50 Bass: col bassoon I.
- 49-63 Oboes: doubled.
- 50 Woodwinds and brass: the rhythm is changed to:



- 50 Horns I-IV: the last note of the measure is marked 8va.
- 50-52 Flute II: col flute I beginning with the last note of m. 50.
- 51-55 Horns I and II (in D):



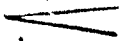
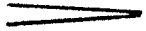
- 51-55 Horn IV: col horn III 8va basso.
- 51-55 Horn V: col violin I 8va basso through the first eighth note of m. 55.
- 51-55 Horn VI: col horn V. The last three sixteenth notes of m. 53 and all of mm. 54-55 are played col horn V 8va basso.
- 56 Horn I: col clarinet II. Horn II: col bassoon I.
- 58 Horn I: col clarinet II. Horn II: col bassoon I.
- 58 Clarinet I: the d# is played 8va.
- 60 Horn I: col clarinet II. Horn II: col bassoon I.
- 61 Horn I: the c is played 8va. Horn II: col horn I (as corrected) 8va basso for the first four sixteenth notes of the measure.
- 63 Cello:



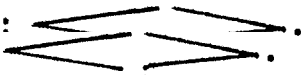
- 64 Violin I: the first note in the measure is marked down-bow.
- 64-72 Horns V and VI: col horns I and II.
- 66-67 Violin I, viola, and cello: the printed  are replaced by . After each of the printed chords these instruments play col violin II. For example, in m. 66 the violin I part is altered to read:¹



¹Mahler changed his mind about this passage several times, for these changes have been crossed out and then reinstated. In addition the word "remains" (bleibt) has been written in above the first violin part. Whether this refers to Beethoven's marking or to Mahler's change can not be determined.

- 66-67 Violin II: col violin I in m. 66. After the downbeat of m. 67 violin II plays col cello.
- 67 Bassoon I: col cello for the last seven sixteenth notes of the measure. Bassoon II: col bass in the same manner.
- 68-69 Horns III and IV: play the printed horn I and II parts.
- 68-70 Horns I and II: col clarinet I as printed.
- 68-71 Flute II and clarinets I and II: 8va until the second quarter note of m. 71.
- 69-70 Horns: staccato dots are added so that the horn articulation matches those of the woodwinds.
- 70-72 Viola, cello and bass: all the notes are marked down-bow beginning with the second quarter note of m. 70.
- 72 Horn IV: col horn III 8va basso.
- 74 Strings: pp beginning with the second eighth note of the measure.
- 74 Viola: divisi from the second eighth note of the measure.
- 75 Horns III and IV: a breath mark is added at the end of the measure.
- 80 Strings: the piano marking is replaced by ppp.
- 80-88 Strings: staccato dots are added to all of the eighth notes in this passage.
- 84-86 Flute II: col flute I beginning with the second eighth note in m. 84.
- 84-87 Strings: the crescendo-diminuendo marking is faintly crossed out.
- 88-89 Violin II: pp beginning with the second sixteenth note in m. 88.
- 88-89 Viola: pp beginning with the last three sixteenth notes in m. 88.
- 88-89 Woodwinds:  marks are added at the end of m. 88, and  marks are added at the beginning of m. 89. In flute I the crescendo begins on the second eighth note of the measure. In the oboe I, the clarinets, and the bassoons it begins on the last eighth note of the measure. The diminuendo begins on the

second eighth note of m. 89 in flute I. In the oboe I, the clarinets and the bassoons it begins with the down-beat and ends with the second eighth note of the measure.

- 89 Violin I: pp.
- 90-91 Woodwinds: dynamic markings are added as in mm. 88-89.
- 92 Strings: pp . . . crescendo.
- 95 Bassoons: doubled.
- 95 Viola and cello: col bassoon I.²
- 96 Clarinets: .
- 96-99 Strings: pp. The crescendo markings are crossed out.
- 97 Clarinets and bassoons: .
- 97-103 Bassoons: doubled.
- 98 Flute II and clarinets: crescendo molto beginning with the fourth eighth note of the measure. A caret accent (^) has been added to the fourth eighth note of the measure.
- 98-103 Flute II and clarinets: doubled.
- 100-101 Strings: the piu crescendo is crossed out; molto crescendo is added.
- 100-103 Flute I and oboes: doubled beginning with the second sixteenth note in m. 100.
- 106-107 Woodwinds: doubled.
- 110-111 Violin I: the notation, "D-string."³ is written in below the violin I line in the score.
- 115-117 Viola: crossed out. The violas play beginning with the ab in m. 117.
- 116-120 Horns III and IV: crossed out.

²The cello part is marked 8va also, but the 8va marking is written below the cello line in the score. This probably means that the bassoon part should be played 8va basso by the cellos. In this connection see I: 146-147.

³"D-Saite."

- 117-120 Strings: the number of stands of string players who play in these measures is specified. In m. 117: 3 stands of cellos;⁴ m. 118: 5 stands of violin I, 4 stands of violin II, 4 stands of violas, 2 stands of cellos; m. 119: downbeat, 3 stands of violin I, 2 stands of violin II, 3 stands of violas, 1 stand of cellos; second beat, 2 stands of violin I, 1 stand of violin II, 2 stands of violas, and 1 stand of cellos; m. 120: tutti.⁵
- 120 Cello: col bass.⁶
- 120-124 Cello and bass: an up-bow has been marked on the second eighth note of each measure.
- 120-132 Tympani: crossed out.
- 130-131 Woodwinds: doubled.
- 132 Violin II: crossed out after the fifth thirty-second note of the measure.
- 132 Viola: the downbeat f is crossed out.
- 132-133 Flute II: col flute I.
- 132-133 Cello and bass: down-bows are marked on the fourth eighth note of each measure.
- 132-137 Bassoons: doubled.
- 132-137 Horns I and II: the sf markings are changed to sfp.
- 132-142 Trumpets and tympani: crossed out.
- 133 Violin II: ff.
- 134 Violin II: the first thirty-second note (c) is changed to an eighth note, and the remaining thirty-second notes in the measure are crossed out.
- 135 Violin II: ff.
- 135 Viola: col violin II.

⁴"3 Pulte."

⁵"Alle."

⁶This change is made so that this passage matches a corresponding place in the recapitulation (m. 387ff.).

135-136 Horns I and II (in D):



- 136 Violin II: crossed out after the fifth thirty-second note of the measure.
- 137 Viola: col violin II.
- 137-138 Oboe I: the last note in m. 137 and the first note in m. 138 are crossed out.
- 137-138 Oboe II: 8va for the last note in m. 137 and the first note in m. 138.⁷
- 138 Horns: the ff has been crossed out.
- 138-145 Flute I and oboe I: dynamic markings are added to the sixteenth-note passages, for example:

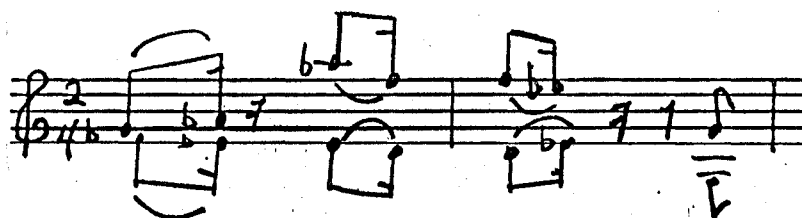


Similar markings are added to oboe I in m. 140-141 and m. 142, flute I in m. 142, and bassoon I in m. 144. In m. 143 flute I and oboe I are marked mf. In m. 145 all the woodwind parts are marked mf. Flute I is marked forte in m. 140, oboe I is forte in m. 138 and m. 140 and piano in m. 139 and m. 141. In m. 139 a top space g has been added to oboe I on the third sixteenth note of the measure.

- 139 Horns: mf on the fourth eighth note of the measure.

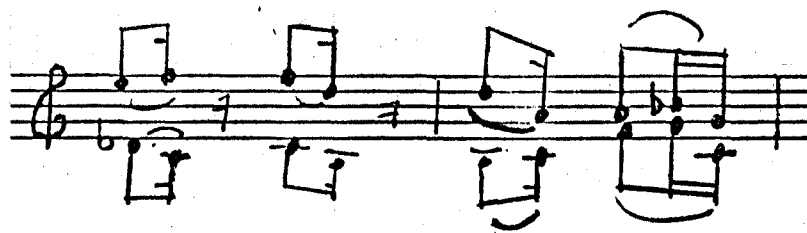
⁷Thus, oboe II plays the notes which are crossed out in the oboe I part, and the oboe I has a moment to rest before his solo begins.

- 139 Strings: forte on the fourth eighth note of the measure.
- 140-141 Horn II: col horn I 8va basso.
- 141 Horns and strings: the dynamics are altered as in m. 139.
- 143 Horns and strings: the dynamics are altered as in m. 139.
- 143 Flute I: 8va basso beginning with the second sixteenth note of the measure.
- 143 Flute II: col flute I from the a^b.
- 143-144 Bassoons: crossed out through the first sixteenth note in m. 144.
- 143-144 Horns I and II: crossed out.
- 144 Clarinet II: col clarinet I.
- 144-145 Bassoon II: col bassoon I as corrected through the first sixteenth note of m. 145.
- 145 Flute II: col flute I.
- 145 Oboe II: col oboe I beginning with the second quarter note of the measure.
- 146 Oboe II: the first two notes of the measure are marked 8va.
- 146 Horns III and IV: the first note of the measure is changed to b.
- 146-147 Clarinet I: the first two notes are col flute I. Clarinet I plays 8va from the second quarter note of m. 146.
- 146-147 Clarinet II: 8va.
- 146-147 Bassoon I: 8va basso.⁸
- 146-147 Horns I and II (in D):

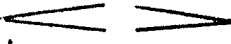


⁸The marking 8va appears under the bassoon line in the score. The part should be played 8va basso, because it is unplayable 8va alta.

146-147 Horns V and VI (in F):

147 Flute II: col flute I.148-149 Horn II: col horn I 8va basso.

158-160 Strings: the thirty-second notes are marked down-bow; the quarter notes are marked up-bow.

159 Violin II: the thirty-second-note b^b is crossed out.159-160 Oboe I and bassoon II: the last note in m. 159 and the quarter-note a in m. 160 are crossed out.178 Strings: .179 Tutti: ppp except for bassoon I and horns I and II.179-181 Bassoon I: doubled from the last note of m. 179 to the third eighth note of m. 181. The passage is marked mf. In m. 180 a  is added. The last note in m. 181 is marked pp.180-184 Horns I and II: pp.

181-183 Flute I: the doubling indications and the added dynamics match the changes in bassoon I in mm. 179-181.

181-183 Clarinet II: crossed out from the last note of m. 181 to the third eighth note of m. 183.⁹181-183 Oboe II: col clarinet II as printed from the last note of m. 181 to the third eighth note of m. 183.

183-185 Bassoon I: the doubling indications and the added dynamics match the changes in bassoon I in m. 179-181.

184 Strings, trumpets and tympani: sempre ppp. Flute, oboe II and clarinet II: ppp.

⁹This is one of the strangest changes in the score. What reason could there be for removing these notes from the clarinet part and giving them to the oboe?

- 184-185 Clarinet I and bassoon II: dynamic markings are added as in the bassoon I part in mm. 179-180.
- 185-188 Flute I: doubled beginning with the e^b of m. 185 through the first eighth note of m. 188.
- 185-188 Clarinet I: doubled from the e^b of m. 185 through the first eighth note of m. 188. Clarinet I is marked 8va, and clarinet III is marked loco.¹⁰
- 186-187 Violin I and viola: the crescendo is crossed out.
- 186-188 Oboe II:

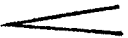
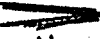
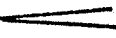
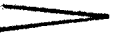


- 187 Clarinet II: col clarinet I as printed.
- 187-188 Flute II: col flute I beginning with the second note in m. 187.
- 188-189 Oboe I: 8va from the second eighth note of m. 188 through the first eighth note of m. 189.
- 188-190 Trumpets I and II: col clarinet I as printed from the second eighth note of m. 188 to the third eighth note of m. 190.
- 188-191 Horns I and II (in D):



- 188-191 Horns III and IV: col horns I and II except for the second and third eighth notes of m. 190 where horns III and IV are tacit.

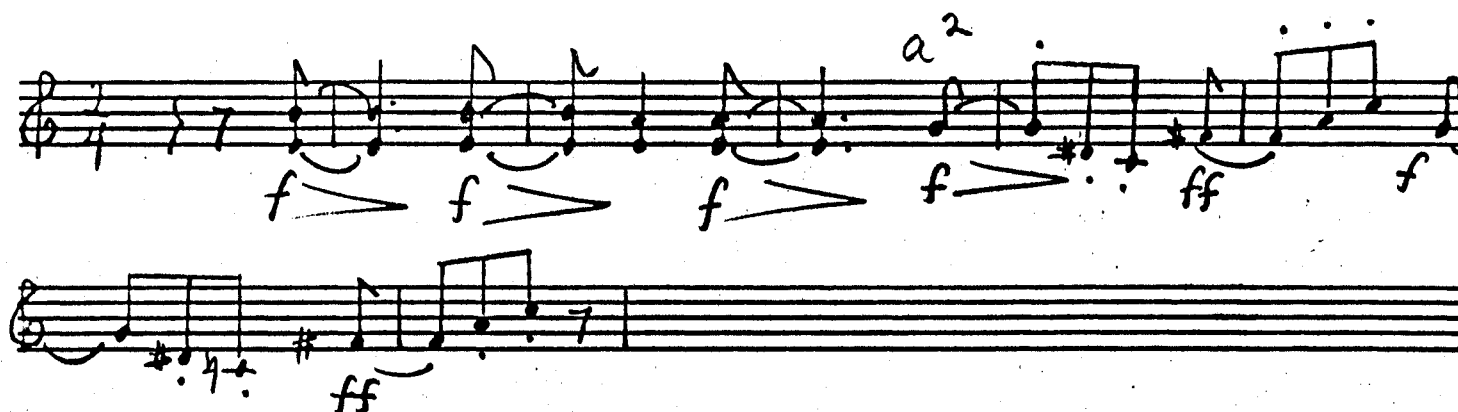
¹⁰Mahler's note is: I. 8va; II. III. loco.

- 191 Oboe I, clarinets and bassoons: the fourth eighth note of the measure is crossed out.
- 191 Oboe II: 8va.
- 192 Oboe I: a  is added on the first quarter note of the measure and a  is added on the second quarter note.
- 193 Oboe I: the added dynamic markings match m. 192.
- 194 Flute I: dynamic markings are added to match the oboe markings in mm. 192-193.
- 194 Oboe I, clarinets and bassoons: pp.
- 195 Flute I:   in the first half of the measure.
- 195 Flute I, oboe I, clarinets and bassoons: a comma is inserted after the fifth sixteenth note of the measure and the last three sixteenth notes of the measure are marked . The first note after the comma (i. e., the e^b in the flute) has an accent mark added to it.
- 196-197 Oboe I: espressivo is written in under the a in m. 196. This note, and each note in m. 197 carry the marking,  .
- 197 Violin I and viola: pp.
- 198 Violin II, cello and bass: pp.
- 198 Violin I and viola: espressivo. A  is added in the first half of m. 198 and a  is added in the last part of the measure, extending to the second note of m. 199.
- 198 Woodwinds, brass, and tympani: pp.
- 198-201 Horns I and II: crossed out through the first note in m. 201.
- 199 Violin I and viola: pp from the last two thirty-second notes in the measure.
- 199-201 Clarinet I and bassoon I: doubled from the last note in m. 199 to the third eighth note in m. 201. The dynamics match the markings in bassoon I at mm. 179-181.
- 201 Violin I: piano . . .  .
- 201 Viola:  from the second quarter note of the measure.
- 202 Violin I and viola:  .

- 203-206 Clarinet I and bassoon I: doubled from the last note of m. 203 through the first eighth note in m. 206. The last note of m. 203 is marked mf.
- 204-205 Oboe II: col oboe I beginning with the a^b in m. 204.
- 204-205 Clarinet II: col bassoon I 8va beginning with the bassoon f in m. 204. The clarinet is marked p . . . molto cresc.
- 205 Bass: the arco begins with the last two thirty-second notes in this measure.
- 205-206 Bassoon II: col bassoon I from the b in m. 205 through the first eighth note in m. 206.
- 206-207 Horns III and IV: col clarinets I and II 8va basso from the second eighth note of m. 206.
- 209 Oboes, clarinets, and bassoon I: the last eighth note of the measure is crossed out.
- 210 Oboes and clarinets: pp.
- 210-211 Bassoon I: the dynamic markings match the oboe I dynamics in mm. 192-193.¹¹
- 212-213 Woodwinds: the dynamics and phrasing markings are altered to match measures 194-195.
- 217 Violin I: mf from the last eighth note of the measure.
- 219-221 Cello and bass: down-bow on the last eighth note of each measure.
- 224 Horns and trumpets: p.
- 224 Violin I: ff.
- 224-227 Trumpets: sf marks are added to match the printed markings in the horns.
- 224-231 Flutes I and II: doubled.
- 227 Bassoons, horns, cello and bass: a sf is added on the second eighth note of the measure.
- 227 Trumpets: a sf is added on the fourth eighth note of the measure.

¹¹It is possible that the bassoons should be doubled here, but this marking is illegible.

- 231 Cello and bass: The second eighth note is marked down-bow.
- 232 Violin I: mf beginning with the last three sixteenth notes of the measure.
- 232 Violin II: ff at the beginning of the measure.
- 235 Viola: forte beginning with the last three sixteenth notes of the measure.
- 236 Clarinets, bassoons, and violin I: ff.
- 236 Horns I and II, trumpets I and II, tympani, viola, cello, and bass: mf.
- 236-248 Bassoons: doubled through the third eighth note in m. 248.
- 237 Violin I: the second and third eighth notes are marked to be played in the same bow. The last note in the measure is marked down-bow.
- 240-244 Oboes and clarinets: a  is placed under the dotted-quarter note in every measure. This marking continues in the clarinets until m. 250.
- 240-248 Flutes I and II: doubled from the last note in m. 240 through the third note of m. 248.
- 243-244 Trumpets I and II and tympani:  Forte in m. 245.
- 244-248 Oboes I and II: col flute I from the last eighth note in m. 244 to the third eighth note of m. 248.
- 244-248 Horns V and VI (in F):



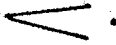
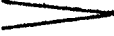
- 244-248 Violin I: fff beginning with the last eighth note of m. 244.

- 244-248 Violin II: col violin I from the last eighth note of m. 244 to the third eighth note of m. 248.
- 244-249 Clarinets I and II: 8va from the last eighth note in m. 244 to the third eighth note of m. 249.
- 248 Violin I: fff on the last eighth note of the measure.¹²
- 249 Woodwinds: fff beginning with the last eighth note of the measure.
- 249 Horns: ff.
- 249 Trumpets I and II and tympani: mf.
- 249-250 Woodwinds: doubled from the last eighth note of m. 249 through the third eighth note of m. 250.
- 249-250 Oboe I: 8va from the last eighth note in m. 249 through the third eighth note of m. 250.
- 249-250 Clarinet I: col oboe I as corrected from the last eighth note of m. 249 through the third eighth note of m. 250.
- 249-250 Clarinet II: 8va from the last eighth note of m. 249 through the third eighth note of m. 250.
- 249-250 Bassoons I and II: col clarinet II as printed from the last eighth note of m. 249 through the third eighth note of m. 250.
- 249-252 Horns V and VI: col flute I 15va basso.
- 249-253 Horns I and II (in D): beginning with the last eighth note in m. 249 these horns play:



250 Violin I: fff.

¹²Mahler has duplicated Beethoven's practice of adding repetitive markings of the same dynamic to indicate repeated stress or accent.

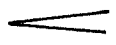
- 251-252 Woodwinds and brass: these measures have been changed to match mm. 249-250 as corrected.
- 252 Violin I: fff. The c is marked down-bow.
- 257 Clarinet I: p.
- 257-258 Oboe I: tacit. Oboe II plays the oboe I part.
- 258 Flute I and strings: ppp.
- 259 Cello: down-bow on the last eighth note of the measure.
- 261 Cello: down-bow on the last eighth note of the measure.
- 265-266 Violins I and II, viola, and cello: cresc. poco.
- 265-270 Flute I: doubled.
- 267 Strings: p.
- 268-269 Tutti:  .
- 268-270 Flute II: col flute I from the second quarter note of m. 268 through the fourth sixteenth note of m. 270.
- 270 Flute II and clarinet II:  on the first quarter note of the measure.
- 270 Flute I, oboes I and II, clarinet I, and bassoons I and II:  on the second quarter note of the measure.
- 271 Flute I: p. Pianissimo in m. 272.
- 271 Oboe I: tacit. Oboe II plays the oboe I part in this measure.
- 272 Oboe I: mf.
- 275-277 Oboe I: the marking is unclear. It is possible that Mahler wished that the part be doubled, for mm. 281-282 are marked doubled in the oboe I part.
- 281-282 Oboe I: doubled.
- 288 Violin II: espressivo.
- 288 Cello: the last eighth note of the measure is marked down-bow.
- 290 Violin I: espressivo.
- 290 Violin II: pp.

- 290 Cello: the last eighth note of the measure is marked down-bow.
- 292 Flute I: espressivo.
- 294 Oboe I: espressivo.
- 294 Flute I: pp.
- 300 Trumpets I and II: caret accents are added to the last three eighth notes in the measure.
- 300 Tympani: the last three eighth notes of the measure are marked with caret accents and tenuto lines.
- 301-302 Woodwinds: doubled.
- 301-302 Tympani: doubled.
- 301-304 Horn III: col clarinet I as corrected 8va basso.
- 302 Brass: a  is added on the second quarter note of the measure.
- 302-303 Tympani: a  is added from the end of m. 302 through m. 303.
- 302-304 Violins I and II and violas: fff. All the notes are marked with caret accents. The thirty-second notes are marked down-bow, and the quarter notes are marked up-bow. The violas play 8va.
- 304 Oboe II: col oboe I.
- 304 Clarinets I and II: "bells in the air."¹³
- 304 Brass and tympani: .
- 304 Horns I-IV: the last note of the measure is played col horns V and VI (see below).
- 304 Trumpets I and II: the last note of the measure is played col horns V and VI 8va (see below).
- 304-305 Trumpets I and II: doubled from the last note in m. 304 through m. 305.
- 304-305 Woodwinds and brass: the last note in m. 304 and the first note in m. 305 are marked with caret accents.

¹³Schalltrichter auf.

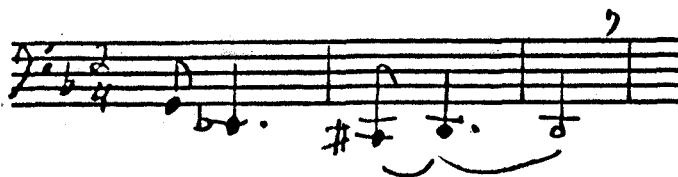
Beginning in mm. 329-330 these horns play a simplified version of the cello part which is repeated sequentially in mm. 331-338; e. g.,



- 320 Woodwinds and brass: a comma is placed at the end of the measure.
- 321 Trumpets I and II: mf on the last three sixteenth notes of the measure.
- 321-322 Clarinet II: 8va.
- 321-322 Horns III and IV: col horns I and II as corrected (below).
- 321-323 Flutes, oboes and clarinets: doubled through the first quarter note of m. 323.
- 321-323 Horn II: col horn I 8va basso.
- 321-323 Horn V: col clarinet II as printed. Horn VI: col horn V 8va basso. However, in m. 323 horns V and VI rest on the second quarter note of the measure.
- 321-324 Bassoons I and II: col cello 8va.
- 323 Violins and violas: in this measure both notes are marked with down-bows.
- 323-326 Tympani: mf. In m. 326 a  is added.
- 325-326 Violins and violas: both chords are marked down-bow in m. 325. These measures have been re-scored as follows:



326-328 Bassoons I and II: these instruments play a simplified version of the bass part; i. e.,



326-329 Trumpet II: col trumpet I 8va basso. The trumpets are marked mf . . . < in m. 326, and ff in m. 327.

327-329 Violin I: the b^b in m. 327 is marked down-bow and then up-bow, and the a^b in this measure is marked up-bow also. In measure 329 both the c[#] and the c are marked down-bow. This bowing pattern is repeated in mm. 331-333 and in m. 336.

327-331 Horns V and VI: horn V plays col oboe II as printed in mm. 327-331. Horn VI is marked col horn V in mm. 327-328 and col horn V 8va basso from mm. 329-331.

327-332 Viola: 8va from the b^b in m. 327 through the third eighth note in m. 332.

327-336 Violin II: 8va.

327-337 Tympani: doubled. The second tympanist plays different dynamics than the other player; i. e., sf > mf in mm. 327, 329, 331, 333, 335, and 337.¹⁵

328 Woodwinds, horns I, II, V and VI: a comma is written in at the end of the measure.

329-330 Oboe II: 8va.

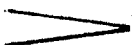
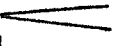
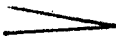
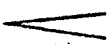
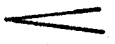
329-331 Horn I: col clarinet II as printed.

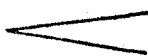
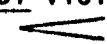
329-331 Horn II: col horn I as corrected 8va basso.

329-331 Clarinet II and bassoons I and II: 8va.

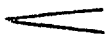
329-335 Woodwinds: doubled.

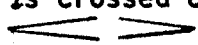
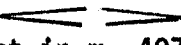
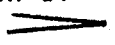
¹⁵Mahler's markings are unclear. The horizontal slashes above the tympani part in mm. 328, 330, 332, 334, 336, and 338 may indicate that the second tympanist should not play in these measures.

- 332-335 Oboe I, clarinets, and bassoons: 8va.
- 332-335 Horn I: col clarinet II as printed.
- 333-335 Horns V and VI: col horns I and II as corrected.
- 336-337 Horns III and IV:  beginning with the last eighth note in m. 336.
- 336-338 Oboe II: col flute II 8va basso.
- 336-338 Clarinets: 8va.
- 338 Horns III and IV: p.
- 342 Flute I and oboe I: p.
- 343-344 Oboe I:  on the second quarter note of m. 343;  in m. 344.
- 346-347 Oboe II: lightly crossed out from the second note of m. 346 through the downbeat of m. 347. The oboe II part is lightly and indistinctly copied into the flute II line of the score. Whether Mahler considered making this change and then abandoned it, can not be determined from the xerox copy.
- 351 Strings: pp.
- 352 Flute I and oboe I:  .
- 353 Clarinet I and bassoon I:  .
- 355-356 Oboe I: doubled.
- 355-356 Oboes I and II, clarinet I and bassoon I:  from the second eighth note of m. 355.  on the last eighth note of the measure in the oboe II part and in m. 356 in the oboe I and bassoon parts. Clarinet I is marked p in m. 356.
- 357-358 Clarinet I: doubled.
- 357-358 Flute I, oboe I, clarinets, and bassoons:  from the downbeat in flute I and clarinet I, and from the last eighth note of m. 357 in the other instruments. In m. 358 there is a diminuendo on the first two eighth notes in oboe I, clarinets I and II and bassoons I and II and on the last three eighth notes in flute I. Clarinet I is marked p on the second eighth note of m. 358.
- 359 Strings: pp. A  begins in the violins on the second quarter note of the measure and at the end of the measure in the lower strings.

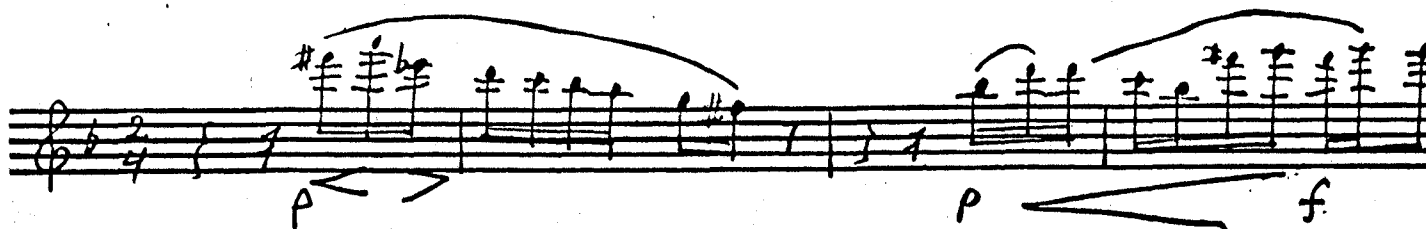
- 362 Bassoons I and II: doubled. The bassoons play col viola except for the last sixteenth note of the measure which is marked 8va basso.
- 362 Violin II and cello: col viola. The cellos play the last note of the viola part 8va basso.
- 363 Strings: pp. The crescendo is moved to the end of the measure in the second violins and the lower strings.
- 364 Clarinets and bassoons: mf . . . cresc.
- 365 Violin II and cello: p.
- 365-366 Clarinets and bassoons: doubled.
- 365-367 Horn II: col horn I 8va basso.
- 366 Woodwinds: molto cresc.
- 366 Violin I: crossed out.
- 366 Viola: p. 
- 366-368 Violin II: col violin I as printed through the first note of m. 368. A  is added in m. 366. The downbeat of m. 367 is marked p.
- 367-368 Horns III and IV (in B^b):

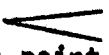


- 367-368 Violin I: 8va through the first note in m. 368.
- 367-368 Strings: p in m. 367 (in the viola the piano comes on the second sixteenth note of the measure). A  is added in the middle of m. 367.
- 371 Oboe I:  .
- 382-387 Violin II: crossed out beginning with the second eighth note in m. 382.
- 383-386 Trumpets: crossed out.
- 384 Violin I and viola: the marking "all" has been written in above these lines in the Mahler score.

- 385-386 Viola: col violin II as printed.
- 387 Horns I and II: pp.
- 387-391 Cello and bass: down-bow on the second eighth note of each measure.
- 397 Violin I: down-bow.
- 397-400 Violin II: 8va.
- 399-400. Violins, cello, and bass: the first quarter note of the measure has been marked down-bow, and the second quarter note has been marked up-bow.
- 401-402 Cello and bass: the last note in each measure has been marked down-bow.
- 401-406 Bassoons: doubled.
- 401-413 Trumpets I and II and tympani: crossed out.
- 402 Flutes: doubled.
- 404 Flutes: doubled.
- 406 Flutes: doubled.
- 407 Oboes: the espressivo marking is crossed out.
- 407-408 Flute I: the first note is crossed out and the dynamics are changed to forte. A  is added as in m. 138. In m. 408 flute I plays 8va basso.
- 407-414 Horns I-IV: all ff markings are replaced by mf.
- 409 Oboe I: doubled. A  is added to match the marking added to the flute part in m. 407.
- 409-410 Flute I: col oboe I from the last three sixteenth notes of m. 409.
- 409-410 Flute II: crossed out in m. 410. The marking "col I oboe" is faintly written (or written and erased) in the flute II line at this point.
- 411 Clarinet I and bassoon I:  on the first two notes of the measure and  on the third and fourth notes.
- 411-412 Flute II: crossed out.

411-412 Flute I:



413-414 Flutes, oboes, and clarinets:  to the second quarter note of m. 414. Forte at this point.

413-427 Oboe I: doubled.

413-427 Flute II: col flute I.

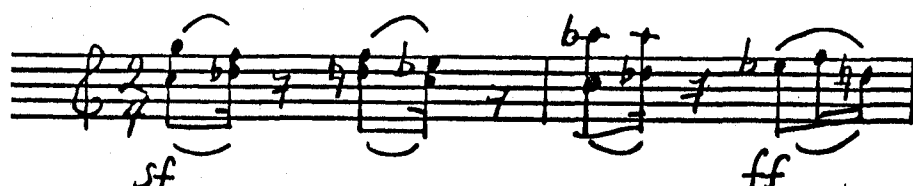
414 Bassoons: forte.

414 Horns V and VI: col bassoons I and II.

415 Clarinet I: col oboe I on the first quarter note of the measure.

415 Clarinet II: 8va.

415-416 Horns I and II (in D):



415-416 Horns III and IV: col bassoon II.

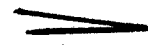
415-427 Woodwinds: doubled.

416 Oboe I and clarinet I: the second quarter note of the measure is marked 8va.

416 Clarinet II: plays the printed clarinet I part on the second quarter note of m. 416.

416-417 Violin II: 8va.

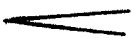
416-418 Violin I: 8va through the first quarter note of m. 418.

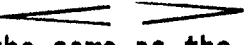
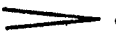
- 416-418 Violins I and II: each slurred figure is marked down-bow, continuing through the first quarter note of m. 418.
- 426 Violin I: the third, fourth, and fifth notes of the measure are crossed out.
- 426-427 Violin I: p from the last note in m. 426. This note is marked down-bow. The a and the f in m. 427 are both marked with separate up-bows and a  is added in m. 427.
- 427-428 Horns I and II: crossed out until the last thirty-second note of m. 428.
- 427 Violin II and viola: pp.
- 428-429 Violin I: the slur has been extended to include the d and f in m. 429.
- 428-430 Horns I and II: the last note in m. 428 is marked p. A  extends from here to the middle of m. 429. A  is marked in m. 430 and the last note in this measure is marked p. This note is also marked staccato.
- 430 Violin I: the slur has been extended to include the note a.
- 430 Violin I and horns I and II: the last note in the measure is marked staccato.
- 431-438 Violin I: a   is added in mm. 431, 433, 434, 435, 437, and 438.
- 432 Flute I: 8va.
- 432-434 Flute I:  in m. 432;  from the last note of m. 433 through m. 434.
- 434 Violin I: the last two notes of the measure are marked up-bow.
- 435 Bassoon I:  .
- 436-438 Clarinet I: the markings here are the same as those in the flute I in mm. 432-434.
- 438-452 Bassoon II: col bassoon I. The bassoons are marked p in m. 438, p . . . cresc in m. 442,  in m. 446, forte in m. 448, and ff in m. 450.
- 444-445 Flute I: the c-b^b is marked 8va.
- 445-452 Flute II: col flute I. Flute II is marked p . . .  beginning with the g in m. 445.

- 449-450 Clarinet I: doubled.
- 449-451 Flute I: f in m. 449; ff in m. 451.
- 450-452 Bassoons I and II: doubled.
- 451-452 Flutes I and II: doubled.
- 453-454 Flute II: 8va through the first note of m. 454.
- 453-454 Trumpets: ff  to mf in m. 454.
- 457-458 Oboe II: col oboe I.¹⁶
- 457-458 Bassoon II: col bassoon I.
- 457-460 Flute II: col flute I.
- 459 Flute I and clarinets I and II: a caret accent is added on the last eighth note of the measure.
- 459-462 Woodwinds, horns III and IV, and strings: p. The woodwinds and horns are marked crescendo from the second quarter note in m. 459. The strings remain p until m. 461.
- 459-468 Woodwinds: doubled.
- 462 Horns I and II and trumpets I and II: .
- 462-463 Viola: 8va through the first note in m. 463.
- 462-468 Violin II: 8va.
- 463-464 Horn II: col horn I 8va basso.
- 463-467 Brass and tympani: mf from the second eighth note in m. 463.
- 465-466 Horns III and IV: horn III plays col oboe I 8va basso. Horn IV plays col horn III 8va basso.
- 467-468 Horns I and II: crossed out.
- 467-468 Horns V and VI (in F):



¹⁶Did Mahler forget to mark oboe II 8va in mm. 459-460?

- 468 Trumpet II: col trumpet I 8va basso.
- 468 Horns III and IV: col horns V and VI.
- 468-469 Tutti:  .
- 469 Woodwinds, trumpets I and II, and tympani: crossed out.
- 469 Horn II: pp (faintly marked).
- 469 Strings: ppp.
- 469-476 Violin I: the a is marked to be played as a harmonic.
- 470 Oboe I, trumpets I and II, and tympani: pp.
- 477 Strings: sempre ppp.
- 478-479 Strings: the last eighth note of each measure is marked down-bow.
- 481 Bassoon I: the first note of the measure is marked 8va.
- 481-483 Horns I and II: the crescendo in m. 481 is crossed out and moved to m. 483.
- 483 Oboe II: col oboe I.
- 484 Flute II: col flute I.
- 485-489 Bassoons: doubled. Bassoon II plays col bassoon I.
- 486-490 Clarinets I and II: doubled. Clarinet II plays col clarinet I.
- 488 Oboes I and II: col flute I. The oboes are marked ff . . . cresc.
- 488-489 Trumpets I and II: p in m. 488; mf on the last note of m. 489.
- 488-492 All flutes play the first flute part. FF in m. 488.
- 489 Clarinets: col bassoon I.
- 490 Oboes: doubled. All oboes play the first oboe part. FF is added.
- 492 Clarinet II: col clarinet I. The plu p marking is crossed out and mf  is added.
- 494 Oboe II: col oboe I.

- 494 Bassoon II: col bassoon I.
- 494-496 Strings: the crescendo in m. 494 is crossed out and moved to m. 496.
- 494-498 Flute I: doubled.
- 495-497 Flute II: 8va through the first note of m. 497.
- 495-498 Flutes, oboes, and clarinets: doubled.
- 496-499 Bassoons: doubled.
- 499-501 Tutti: pp. In the lower strings the crescendo is moved to m. 500.
- 501 Strings: p . . . crescendo.
- 501-502 Violin I: divisi. Half the first violins play the printed part 8va through the second note of m. 502.
- 501-503 Flute II: col flute I. In m. 501 the flutes are marked p . . . cresc.
- 502-503 Violin II: col violin I from the last note of m. 502.
- 505-506 Oboes and clarinets:  in m. 505. The markings added in m. 506 are the same as the markings in flute I in m. 195.
- 506 Bassoons I and II: the markings added are the same as the changes in flute I in m. 195.
- 510 Oboe I and strings: an accent mark is added on the first of the last three sixteenth notes in the measure. These notes are marked .
- 513-515 Trumpets I and II: crossed out through the first quarter note of m. 515.
- 513-516 Bassoons I and II: crossed out.
- 513-519 Horns V and VI: col horns I and II.
- 523-534 Horns V and VI: horn V doubles the printed clarinet I part. Horn VI plays col clarinet II as printed through m. 533. In m. 534 these horns play col oboes I and II as printed 8va basso.
- 523-536 Clarinets I and II: 8va from the second note of m. 523. Clarinet I is marked loco beginning with the last note in m. 534. Clarinet II continues 8va until the last note in m. 538.

523-547 Flutes: doubled beginning with the second note in m. 523.

527-547 Oboes and clarinets: doubled.

530 Horns I and II: col clarinets I and II as printed through the third eighth note of the measure.

530 Trumpet III: col trumpet I.

531-534 Horns I and II: col clarinet I as printed.

531-534 Trumpet III: col oboe I.

531-547 Bassoons: doubled.

534 Horns I and II: col oboe I as printed 8va basso.

535-538 Horns I and II: horn I plays col horn V (see below). Horn II plays col horn I 8va basso.

535-538 Oboe II: col oboe I as corrected (see below).

535-538 Bassoon II: col bassoon I until the last note of m. 538.

535-538 Trumpet IV: col trumpet III. The last note in m. 538 is marked col trumpet III 8va basso.

535-539 Clarinet II: col clarinet I.

535-544 Horns V and VI (in F):



535-547 Flute II: col flute I.

535-547 Horns VII and VIII: col horns III and IV.

538 Violin I:



538-539 Trumpets I and II: caret accents are added on the last note of m. 538 and on the first note of m. 539.

539-547 Trumpets III and IV: col trumpets I and II.

545-546 Horns I, III, and V: col bassoon I 8va.

545-546 Horns II, IV, and VI: col bassoon I.

547 Tutti: an accented staccato mark is added.

The second movement

9-14 Above the top line in the score the notation "without repeats"¹⁷ has been written in and then crossed out.

17-30 Horns: crossed out.

57 Clarinet II: 8va.

57-76 Horn V: col bassoon I. Horn VI: col bassoon II.

61 Flute I: the b^b is marked 8va.

65 Flute I: the b^b is marked 8va.

68-77 Trumpets I and II (in D):



¹⁷"Ohne Reprise."

- 77 Horns V and VI: col trumpets I and II as corrected 8va basso.
- 93-108 Horns I and III: col flute I 15va basso.
- 93-108 Horns II and IV: col oboe II 8va basso. However in m. 101 these horns play with horn I on the first quarter note of the measure.
- 93-108 Horns V and VI: col horns I and II.
- 93-108 Trumpets I and II: col horns I and II 8va.
- 93-116 Woodwinds: doubled.
- 97-100 Clarinets I and II: 8va.
- 97-100 Bassoons: col clarinets I and II as printed.
- 101 Clarinets:



- 101 Bassoons:



- 105-107 Bassoons: 8va.
- 105-110 Clarinet I: col flute I 8va basso. Clarinet II: col flute II 8va basso.
- 108 Bassoon I: col oboe II 8va basso. Bassoon II: col clarinet II as corrected 8va basso.
- 109 Bassoon II: 8va.
- 109 Horns I-IV (in D):



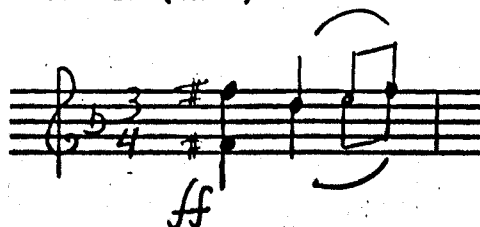
- 114-115 Flute II: 8va.
- 127-134 Flute II: 8va.
- 127-138 Woodwinds: doubled.
- 142-143 Flute I: the notes b and c are marked 8va.
- 150 The notation "without repetition"¹⁸ has been added above the top line in the score and then crossed out.
- 159 The notation "without repetition" has been added above the top line in the score.
- 166-176 Flute II: col flute I as printed.
- 171 Horns I and II: crossed out. Horns III and IV play the printed horn I and II parts.
- 172-176 Horn I: col oboe I 8va basso. Horn II: col horn I 8va basso.
Horns V and VI: col oboes I and II 8va basso.
- 172-176 Woodwinds: doubled.
- 173 Horn III: the first note of the measure is marked 8va.
- 174 Oboe II: the first note of the measure is marked 8va.
- 174-176 Flute I: 8va.
- 174-176 Clarinet I: 8va. Clarinet II: col clarinet I as corrected.
- 175 Trumpets I and II (in D):



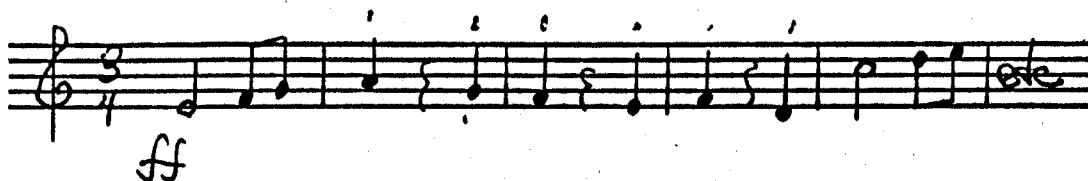
- 176 Oboe II: the first note of the measure is marked 8va.
- 176 Horns III and IV: col horns I and II as corrected.
- 196-207 Woodwinds: mf.
- 213 Woodwinds: pp.

¹⁸"Ohne Repet."

- 225 Clarinet I: an accent mark is added on the first note of the measure.
- 225-228 Oboe I: forte in m. 225. A $\rightrightarrows$ is added from m. 225 to m. 228.
- 228-230 Bassoon I: forte in m. 228. A $\rightrightarrows$ is added from m. 228 to m. 230.
- 243 Horn III: mf.
- 250 Horn I: mf.
- 268-283 Flute II: 8va.
- 272-283 Horns V and VI: col clarinet II as printed.
- 272-284 Clarinet II: 8va.
- 272-296 Woodwinds: doubled.
- 276 Flute I: the note b^b is marked 8va.
- 276-277 Violins I and II and violas: 8va through the first quarter note of m. 277.
- 280 Flute I: the note b^b is marked 8va.
- 280-281 Violins I and II and violas: 8va through the first quarter note of m. 281.
- 284 Oboe I: 8va. Clarinet I: 8va.
- 284-287 Horns V and VI: col bassoon I.
- 285 Flute I: the notes f and g are played 8va basso.
- 288-291 Clarinet II: 8va.
- 292-296 Horns V and VI: col bassoon I.
- 309-313 Flute I: doubled.
- 323-330 Flute I: doubled.
- 330 Clarinets I and II (in C):



330-334 Horn II (in D):



330-334 Horns IV and VI: col horn II.

330-338 Bassoons I and II: 8va.

330-345 Horn I: col oboe I 8va basso. Horns III and V: col horn I.

330-345 Trumpets I and II: col horns I and II as corrected 8va.

330-353 Woodwinds: doubled.

331-348 Clarinet I: col flute I as corrected 8va basso.

331-348 Clarinet II: col flute II as corrected 8va basso.

335 Flute I: the first note in the measure is marked 8va.
Flute II: the first note in the measure is marked col oboe II 8va.

335-345 Horns II, IV, and VI: col oboe II 8va basso.

342-345 Bassoon I: 8va beginning with the second quarter note in m. 342.

342-346 Bassoon II: 8va beginning with the second quarter note in m. 342.

343 Flute I: the first two quarter notes of the measure are marked 8va. Flute II: col oboe II 8va in this measure.

346 Horns I, II, V, and VI: col viola.

347-348 Flute II: 8va.

348 Flute I: 8va.

350-352 Clarinet II: 8va.

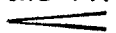
351-352 Flute II: 8va.

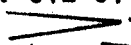
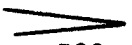
360-375 Bassoon II: doubled.

364 Flute I: the note b^b is marked 8va.

- 364-366 Flute II: 8va.
- 364-375 Woodwinds: doubled.
- 368 Flute I: the note b^b is marked 8va.
- 368-371 Flute II: 8va.
- 373 Horns III and IV: the first note of the measure is marked 8va.
- 375 Horns III and IV: the first note of the measure is marked 8va.
- 376 Tutti: pp subito.
- 388a The first ending is crossed out.
- 389-395 Flute II: col flute I.
- 395 Woodwinds: doubled.
- 395 Oboe I: col flute I.
- 395 Clarinets I and II: 8va.
- 395 Horns V and VI: col clarinets I and II as printed.
- 404-414 Flute II: 8va.
- 412 Trumpets: the written g's are marked 8va.
- 412-414 Woodwinds: doubled.
- 412-414 Horn V: col horn I.
- 412-418 At this point Mahler has added written instructions above the top margin of the score, but they can not be deciphered.¹⁹
- 413 Oboes: the last two quarter notes of the measure are crossed out.
- 413 Clarinets: the last two quarter notes of the measure are crossed out.
- 413 Horns III and IV: col horns I and II for the last two quarter notes of the measure.
- 413 Trumpets: the third quarter note of the measure is marked 8va.

¹⁹The notation concerns the doubling instruments, for it begins: "N. B., Verstärkung und . . ." that is, "N. B., doubling instruments and . . ."

- 414 Horn VI: col horn V.
- 414 Oboes and clarinets: a caret accent is added.
- 414-415 Bassoons: ff. The p marking in m. 415 is crossed out.
- 416-417 Bassoons: A  is added in m. 416, leading to p at the beginning of m. 417.
- 446 Horns I and II: pp.
- 464 The crescendo marking in m. 466 is moved into this measure.
- 479 Flute I and violins I and II: a staccato dot is added to the first half note of the measure. The second half note is marked down-bow in the violins.
- 483 Violins I and II: the second half note of the measure is marked down-bow.
- 487 Flutes, clarinets, and violins I and II: articulation and bowing indications are similar to the markings in m. 479.
- 495 Clarinets, violas, and cellos: a staccato dot has been added to the first half note in the measure.
- 495-505 Oboe II: col flute II as corrected 8va basso.
- 495-506 Flute II: col flute I beginning with the third quarter note in measure 495.
- 497-499 Flute II, oboes, and bassoon I:  .
- 497-502 Bassoon II: col bassoon I beginning with the third quarter note in m. 497.
- 498-503 Flute I: molto crescendo leading to fff in m. 503.
- 499-506 Flutes, oboes, and bassoons: doubled beginning with the third quarter note in m. 499. At this point a f marking has been added.
- 501-502 Woodwinds:  .
- 501-507 Horns V and VI: col bassoon I from the third quarter note of m. 501 through the first quarter note of m. 507. The horns enter mf, a  to ff is added at the beginning of m. 503, and a  is added in m. 505 which leads to a piano at the beginning of m. 507.
- 503 Woodwinds: fff.

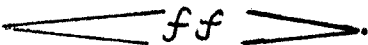
- 503-507 Clarinets: doubled. All clarinets play the bassoon I part 8va through the first quarter note in m. 507.
- 507-513 Oboe II: col oboe I.
- 511-518 Flutes, oboes, and clarinets: doubled beginning with the second half note in m. 511.
- 511-522 Horns V and VI: col cello beginning with the third quarter note in m. 511. The horns enter marked p. A crescendo is added in mm. 512-514 which leads to ff at the beginning of m. 515. A  is added in mm. 517-518 leading to mf in m. 519. Another  is added in mm. 520-521 leading to p at the beginning of m. 522.
- 515 Violas and cellos: ff.
- 515-518 Bassoons: doubled.
- 515-522 Horns III and IV: col cello. In m. 520-522 a  is added leading to p on the last quarter note of m. 522.
- 526-530 Oboes: crossed out. Flute III plays the printed oboe I part and flute IV plays the printed oboe II part.²⁰
- 530 Woodwinds: ppp.²¹
- 547-548 Woodwinds: doubled.
- 547-548 Horns III and IV: col horns I and II.
- 547-548 Trumpets: the first quarter note of m. 547 and the third quarter note of m. 548 are marked 8va.
- 547-549 Horns V and VI: corrected as in mm. 412-414.
- 549-552 Bassoons: doubled beginning with the third quarter note of m. 549.
- 549-555 Violins, violas, and cellos: divisi.
- 551-555 Tutti: A diminuendo is added. The woodwinds are marked pp in m. 553 and all instruments have pppp in m. 555.

²⁰These new parts are clearly labeled "III. FL" and "IV. FL." The additional notation "Verstärkung" /doubling instruments/ precedes this passage.

²¹The da capo of the first section of the Scherzo is written out in Mahler's Peters score. At this point Mahler added the notation "Alles wie im 1. Theil," i. e., "everything as in the exposition."

- 553-555 Violin I: the lower part is crossed out. Violin II: the upper part is crossed out.
- 553-555 Viola: the upper part is crossed out.
- 553-555 Bass: crossed out.
- 555 Oboes and bassoon II: crossed out.
- 555 Clarinets: At one time the last two eighth notes in the measure were probably crossed out. It appears that this correction was later erased.
- 557-559 Horns III and IV: col horns I and II.
- 557-559 Woodwinds: doubled.
- 557-559 Trumpets: altered as in mm. 547-549. Horns V and VI: altered as in mm. 547-549.
- 559 Tympani: col cello.

The third movement

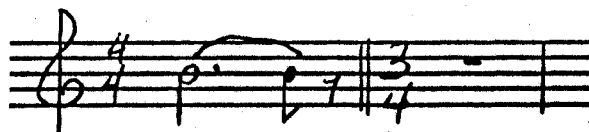
- 2 Woodwinds: .
- 3 Strings: sul tasto.²²
- 6 Woodwinds: ppp.
- 6-15 Horns: muted.²³ Horn IV is marked open in m. 15.²⁴
- 7 Clarinet II and bassoon I: the  is altered so that it begins on the third quarter note of the measure. The  now takes place on the last quarter note.
- 11 Woodwinds: ppp.
- 14 Woodwinds: ppp.
- 18 Horns I and II: open.
- 19 Strings: ppp.
- 24 Strings: ppp on the last note of the measure; i. e., the half note d in the cellos, the eighth note f# in the violas, etc..
- 24-25 Horns I and II: the d in m. 25 and the tie connecting mm. 24 and 25 are crossed out.

22"Griffbr."

23"Mit Dämpfer."

24"Offen."

24-25 Clarinet II:



- 25 Strings: the espr. marking is moved to m. 27.
- 25 Strings and bassoon II: the crescendo has been crossed out. A crescendo is added in the strings in m. 26.
- 28 Violin II and viola: an accent mark is added on the sixteenth note d.
- 33 Tutti: pp.
- 33 Violin I: sul tasto.
- 42-43 Oboe I: crossed out. The oboe I part is lightly and indistinctly written into the second flute line in the score.
- 43 Eight vertical slashes are written in above the violin I line in the score. This is a common shorthand for an indication to conduct "eight beats in the measure."
- 43 Viola: pp.
- 51 Bassoons and horns: a pp is added on the last quarter note of the measure.
- 51 Clarinets: a pp is added on the last eighth note of the measure.
- 54 Clarinets, bassoons, and horns: a pp is added on the last eighth note of the measure.
- 58 Clarinets, bassoons, and horns: a pp is added on the last quarter note of the measure.
- 59 Strings: pp.
- 60-61 Clarinet I: there are two vertical slashes in this line of the score at the bar-line between mm. 60 and 61. The meaning of this marking is unclear.
- 62-63 Clarinet I: there are two vertical slashes in this line of the score at the bar-line between these two measures.
- 65 Oboe I: pp.

- 65 Bassoon I: ppp.
- 65 Flute I, oboe I, bassoon I, cello, and bass: the cresc. has been crossed out. The cresc. marking now appears in m. 66 in the flute, cello, and bass parts and in m. 67 in the oboe and bassoon.
- 68 Flute I, oboe I, and bassoon I: a tenuto mark (-) is added to the sixteenth note g (the seventh sixteenth note in this measure).
- 75-76 Oboe I: A  is added on the last three eighth notes of m. 75. The downbeat of m. 76 is marked f.
- 77-79 Flute II: col flute I.
- 87 Clarinets, bassoon I, and horn IV: a dim. is added in the middle of the measure.
- 90 Clarinets, bassoon I, and horn IV: ppp.
- 92-93 Flute I: doubled beginning with the last three eighth notes in m. 92.
- 94 Tutti except flute I: pp.
- 99 Violin I: sul tasto.
- 99 Flute I and strings: pp.
- 99 Flute II, oboes, clarinets, bassoons, and horns: ppp.
- 99-114 Tympani: crossed out.
- 100 Flute II: col clarinet II; i. e., the last note in the measure is changed from c to eb.
- 103 Flute I, oboe I, and horn IV: pp.
- 103 Clarinets, bassoons, and horns I and II: ppp.
- 103 Flute I, oboe I, and horn IV: the printed crescendo marking is crossed out, and the dynamics are altered to read:



- 104-106 Flute I, oboe I and bassoon I: dynamics are added as follows:



- 107 Clarinets, bassoons, horns, and strings: The > ends on the fourth quarter note of the measure. At this point the marking ppp is added.

- 108 Flute I: ppp.

- 109 Flute I, oboe I, and bassoon I: dynamics are added as in m. 104.

- 110 Clarinets, bassoons, and horns I and II: A ppp is added on the last eighth note of the measure. Here horn IV is marked pp.

- 111 Violin II, viola, cello, and bass: ppp. At this point there is an illegible one word notation above the violin I line in the score.

- 111 Horn IV: The < is moved to the third dotted-quarter note of the measure. The last dotted-quarter note of the measure is marked f.

- 111-113 Flute I: doubled until the third dotted-quarter note of m. 113.

- 112 Flute I and bassoon I: < .

- 112-113 Bassoon I: doubled until the third dotted-quarter note of m. 113. Bassoon I is marked 8va until the d in m. 113.

- 112-113 Flute I: col oboe I 8va; i. e.,



- 113-114 Violins and violas: A dim. is added on the last dotted-quarter note of m. 113. In m. 114 all the strings have a > which ends in ppp in the middle of the measure.

- 114 Woodwinds and horns: a ppp is added in the last half of the measure; i. e., on the last five eighth notes.

- 114-116 Oboe I: crossed out until the last eighth note of m. 116. Flute II plays the printed oboe I part through the third dotted-quarter note of m. 116 and then plays col flute I (see below).
- 116-118 Flute I: col clarinet I 8va. Flute II: col flute I from the last dotted-quarter note of m. 115 until the note f in m. 118. The flutes are doubled from the last dotted-quarter note of m. 116 until the note f in m. 118.
- 118 Woodwinds and horn IV: f.
- 119-120 Oboe I: crossed out from the second dotted-quarter note in m. 119 until the b^b in m. 120. In m. 119 the oboe I plays:



- 119-120 Flute II: the notes removed from the oboe I part are written into the flute II line in the score.
- 120-122 Trumpet II: col trumpet I 8va basso.
- 121-122 Horn II: col horn I 8va basso through the first dotted-quarter note of m. 122.
- 122-123 Horn IV: col horn III 8va basso beginning with the third dotted-quarter note of m. 122.
- 125 Cello and bass: ppp. All other instruments: pp. Violin I: sul tasto.
- 128 Violin I: There is an illegible one word notation under this line in the score at this point.
- 129-130 Woodwinds and horns I and II:  from the second dotted-quarter note of m. 129 to the middle of m. 130.
- 129-132 Flute I: doubled.
- 130-132 Trumpet II: col trumpet I 8va basso.
- 131-132 Horn II: col horn I 8va basso through the first quarter note of m. 132.
- 133 Violin II: mf.
- 133 Cello and Bass: ppp on the last note of the measure.

- 133 Woodwinds, horns, violin I and viola: a pp is added at the end of the measure.
- 133 Violin I: There is an illegible one word notation under this line in the score at this point.
- 134 Violin II: a mp is added after the downbeat.
- 134 Oboe I: a ppp is added at the end of the measure.
- 134 Clarinets, bassoons, horns, and violin I: a pp is added at the end of the measure.
- 135 Tutti except violin II: dynamics are added as in m. 133.
- 137 Strings, flute, clarinet I, and bassoon I: pp.
- 137 Clarinet I and bassoon I: a < is added on the third dotted-quarter note of the measure and a > is added on the last dotted-quarter note.
- 137 Violin II: the upper note of the double stop (b^b) is crossed out. Viola: marked a² in this measure.
- 142-143 Violin I:



- 147 Bassoon II:



- 148-? Violin I: marked sul g for the last three eighth notes in m. 148.²⁵ It is likely that the violins would continue to play on the g string through the downbeat of m. 150.

- 150-151 Violin I: bowed as follows in m. 150.



25"G-Saite."

In m. 151 the violin I part has been re-phrased, but these markings are illegible.

- 151 Flutes: pp.
- 151 Oboes and clarinet I: the first note of the measure is crossed out.
- 151 Horns I and II: the first note (c-c) is crossed out.
- 151 Clarinets and bassoon I: $\langle \quad \rangle$ on the last note of the measure.
- 152 Clarinets and bassoon I: $\langle \quad \rangle$ on the last note of the measure.
- 155 Flute I: doubled. The part has been corrected to read:



- 156 Violin I:

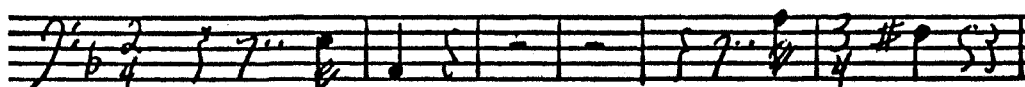


- 156 Woodwinds and horns: ppp on the last four eighth notes of the measure.
- 156-157 Oboe I: crossed out beginning with the last dotted-quarter note of m. 156. The oboe I part is written into the flute II line of the score.
- 157 Strings, except violin I: ppp on the downbeat. All the strings play pp on the last note of the movement.
- 157 Oboe II: the last four notes of the measure have been crossed out.

The fourth movement

- 1-29 This section of Mahler's score is reproduced in the body of this paper in a xerox copy of the original (see pp. 61-63 above).

- 30-37 Bassoon I: crossed out. In mm. 33-38 the bassoon now plays:



The bassoon I part is doubled.

- 38-76 The parts of this section of Mahler's score which contain revisions are reproduced in the body of this paper in a xerox copy of the original (see pp. 64-66 above).
- 77 Oboe I, clarinet I, and bassoons: f.
- 79 Oboe II and clarinet II: mf.
- 81-91 Woodwinds (except contrabassoon): doubled.
- 81-91 The parts of this section of the score which contain revisions are reproduced in the body of this paper in a xerox copy of the original (see p. 66 above).
- 95-96 Cello and bass: a comma is inserted at the bar-line between these two measures.
- 139 Violin II: pp.
- 140 Strings: pp.
- 172 Trumpets: mf.
- 172-180 Horns III and IV: col horns I and II as corrected. Horns III and IV are marked p . . . cresc. poco a poco.
- 174-179 Horn I: col oboe I 8va basso. Horn II: col oboe II 8va basso beginning with the third quarter note of m. 174.
- 174-179 Trumpet I: col oboe I. Trumpet II: col oboe II beginning with the third quarter note of m. 174.
- 180 Strings: mf. A cresc. poco a poco is added beginning in the middle of the measure. It extends to m. 186.
- 180-187 Horns III and IV: col horns I and II as corrected through the third quarter note of m. 187.
- 180-187 Horns VII and VIII: col horns I and II as corrected through the third quarter note of m. 187.

- 180-187 Trumpets III and IV: col trumpets I and II as corrected through the third quarter note of m. 187.
- 180-187 Woodwinds (except contrabassoon): doubled through the third quarter note of m. 187. The notation "doubling instruments p . . . cresc. poco a poco" appears above mm. 180-181.
- 181-187 Tutti: the marking cresc. poco a poco is added. FFF in m. 187.
- 182-183 Horn I: col oboe I 8va basso. Horn II: col oboe II 8va basso beginning with the third quarter note of m. 182.
- 182-183 Trumpets I and II: col horns I and II as corrected 8va.
- 186 Woodwinds and brass: fff at the end of the measure.
- 187 Woodwinds: f beginning with the last quarter note in the measure.
- 187 Horns: ff beginning with the last quarter note in the measure.
- 187 Strings: the fff continues.
- 187-191 Clarinet II: 8va from the last quarter note in m. 187 through m. 191.
- 187-198 Horns I-VI and trumpets:

Handwritten musical score for Horns I-VI and Trumpets I-II, measures 187-198. The score is written on four staves. The first staff is for Horns I+II in D, the second for Horns III+IV in B^b, the third for Horns V+VI in F, and the fourth for Trumpets I+II in D. Each staff begins with a *ff* dynamic marking. The music is in common time (C) and features various melodic lines with slurs and ties. The fourth staff has a *p* dynamic marking at the beginning and an *f* dynamic marking later.

Handwritten musical score for Horns and Trombones, page 134. The score is divided into two systems, each with four staves.

System 1:

- Staff 1: **HORNS I & II in D**. Melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes.
- Staff 2: **HORNS III & IV in Bb**. Melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes.
- Staff 3: **HORNS E & F in F**. Melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes.
- Staff 4: **TROMBONES I & II in D**. Melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. Includes dynamic markings *f* and *mf*.

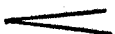
System 2:

- Staff 1: Melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. Includes dynamic marking *mf*.
- Staff 2: Melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. Includes dynamic marking *mf*.
- Staff 3: Melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. Includes dynamic markings *cresc* and *fff*.
- Staff 4: Melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. Includes dynamic marking *cresc.*

Handwritten notes include *cresc. ... poco a poco* across the staves, indicating a gradual increase in volume.

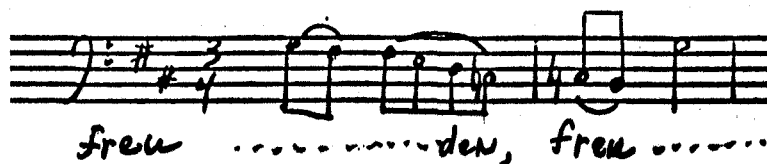
- 188-189 Clarinet I: 8va beginning with the last quarter note of m. 188 and continuing through the third quarter note of m. 189.
- 189-191 Woodwinds: a crescendo is added. In m. 192 the woodwinds are marked fff.
- 191-194 Woodwinds (except contrabassoon): doubled. The notation "doubling instruments p . . . cresc. poco a poco" appears here.
- 192-197 Strings: p . . . cresc. poco a poco. In m. 197 the strings are marked forte.
- 194-199 Horns VII and VIII: col horns V and VI beginning with the last quarter note in m. 194.
- 195 Woodwinds: p.
- 196 Woodwinds: crescendo.
- 199 Tutti: ff.
- 199-200 Horns III-VI: col bassoon I.
- 200-202 Flute II: col flute I.
- 201-202 Woodwinds (except contrabassoon): doubled.
- 201-202 Clarinet II: 8va from the second note in m. 201.
- 202 Violin I: the last sixteenth-note triplet is crossed out, and an eighth-note rest is added in its place.
- 203 Tutti: mf on the downbeat. A  is added at the beginning of the measure leading to a p on the second quarter note.
- 204-205 Violin I: ppp beginning on the last eighth note of m. 204 and extending to the printed forte in m. 205.
- 205 Trumpets: mf.
- 207 Tympani: mf .
- 208 Tympani: the ff is moved to the third beat of the measure. The crescendo of m. 207 continues to the third beat of m. 208.
- 208-215 The notation "as at the beginning"²⁶ appears above the top line of the score at this point. Thus, the revisions of mm. 1-7 apply here also.

²⁶"Wie am Anfang."

221-222 Strings:  .

223 Strings:  .

233-234 The setting of the text has been changed as follows:



238 Strings: f.

240 Strings: f.

256-268 Woodwinds: doubled.

268 Flute II: col flute I for the last two notes of the measure.

268 Horns I and II: the fourth and fifth eighth notes in the measure are crossed out.

285-290 Woodwinds: doubled.

285-290 Horns III and IV: col horns I and II as corrected.

287-288 Horns I and II: col oboes I and II 8va basso.

292-294 Clarinets: 8va from the last quarter note of m. 292 until the last quarter note of m. 294.

294 Horn II: col bassoon II for the last two eighth notes of the measure.

296-305 Horn IV: col horn II from the last quarter note of m. 296 through the downbeat of m. 305.

301 Tenor and bass soloists: p at the beginning of m. 301.

309 Woodwinds: a crescendo is added in the middle of the measure.

309-311 Flutes: col oboe I 8va from the last quarter note of m. 309.

309-311 Oboe II: col oboe I from the last quarter note of m. 309.

309-311 Clarinet II: col clarinet I from the last quarter note of m. 309.

309-311 Bassoon II: col bassoon I from the last quarter note of m. 309.

- 315-316 Horn II: col oboe II 8va basso until the third quarter note of m. 316.
- 316-320 Horns III and IV: col horns I and II as corrected from the last quarter note of m. 316 through the third quarter note of m. 320.²⁷
- 317 Flutes: col oboes 8va throughout this measure.
- 317 Bassoons: the third and fourth quarter notes of the measure are marked 8va.
- 317-319 Horn I: col oboe I 8va basso.
- 318 Flute II: col oboe II 8va for the first two quarter notes of the measure. Flute I plays the printed flute II part 8va for the first two quarter notes of the measure.
- 318 Bassoons: col oboes 8va basso.
- 320-322 Horns I and II (in D):



- 320-322 Horns V and VII: col bassoon I from the last quarter note of m. 320 through the third quarter note of m. 322.
- 320-322 Horns VI and VIII: col horns V and VII 8va basso.
- 320-322 Horns III and IV: col bassoons I and II 8va basso from the last quarter note of m. 320 through the third quarter note of m. 322.²⁸
- 320-322 Trumpets I and II: col horns I and II as corrected from the last quarter note in m. 320 through the third quarter note in m. 322.
- 320-330 Woodwinds (except contrabassoon): doubled from the last quarter note of m. 320.

²⁷It appears that these changes were crossed out and later reinstated by the insertion of the notation "col I and II" in the horn III and IV line of the score.

²⁸In mm. 320-322 Mahler added the notation "? 8va sopra" above the horn III and IV line in the score.

320-330 Clarinets: col oboes from the last quarter note of m. 320 through m. 323. From mm. 324-327 the clarinets play col flute I as corrected 8va basso. In mm. 328-330 the clarinets play col oboe I.

322-324 Horns V-VIII: col bassoon I beginning with the last quarter note of m. 322.

322-324 Violin I: col flute I from the last quarter note of m. 322.

322-324 Violin II: col violin I as corrected 8va basso from the last quarter note of m. 322.

323 Trumpets and tympani: mf in the middle of the measure.

323-324 Violas:



325 Flute I: the first three notes of the measure are marked 8va.

325-328 Horns V and VII: col oboe II. Horns VI and VIII: col horns V and VII 8va basso.

325-330 Flute II: col flute I as corrected.

325-330 Clarinets I and II: col oboe I.

326 Horns, trumpets, and tympani: ffp.²⁹

327 Horns: ff.

327 Flute I: the third eighth note of the measure (b) is marked 8va.

328 Bassoons, horns, and trumpets: ffp.

329 Horns and bassoons: ff.

329-330 Horns V-VIII: in m. 329 these horns rest. In m. 330 horns V and VI play col horns I and II and horns VII and VIII play col horns III and IV.

²⁹The changes in dynamics in mm. 326-329 are sporadic and inconsistent. It is not clear whether or not they might perhaps apply to all the instruments that have long notes in these measures (e. g., in m. 326 to the flutes, oboes, clarinets, horns, trumpets, and tympani).

- 329-330 Tutti: a comma is added at the bar-line between the two measures.
- 330 Trumpets: doubled.
- 331-344 Bassoon II: crossed out.
- 339-374 Horns III and IV: muted.
- 345-374 Oboes: marked tacit. Flutes I and II play the oboe parts as corrected.
- 347-348 Bassoon II: crossed out.
- 347-415 Trumpet II: muted.
- 351-374 Piccolo: 8va basso beginning with the last note in m. 351.
- 355-356 Bassoon II: crossed out.
- 358 Bassoon II: crossed out.
- 362-364 Oboes I and II: on the third eighth note of each measure the oboes play col clarinets I and II 8va.
- 374 Strings: pppp.
- 383 Tutti: the poco cresc. marking is crossed out.
- 391 Horns I and II: pp.
- 391-393 Woodwinds: the marking poco cresc. is added.
- 392 Tenor soloist: a cresc. is added above the voice part.
- 393-395 Horns I and II: poco cresc..
- 399-406 Flute I: col printed piccolo part (i. e., the flute sounds an octave lower than the piccolo).
- 401 Tutti: the marking poco f is crossed out.
- 405 Woodwinds and horns I and II: a mf is added on the last note of the measure.
- 406 Strings: mf.
- 407 Tutti: a p is added in the middle of the measure.
- 407-421 Flutes: col printed piccolo part.
- 407-431 Horns V and VI: col horns III and IV.

- 410-412 Oboes: altered as in mm. 362-364.
- 410-412 Woodwinds and horns III and IV: .
- 411 Woodwinds and horns III and IV: the piu forte is crossed out.
- 411 Chorus altos, tenors, and basses: p.
- 413 Woodwinds and horns III and IV: mf.
- 413-414 Chorus tenors and basses: cresc..
- 414 Woodwinds and horns III and IV: .
- 415 Woodwinds and horns III and IV: a forte mark is added in the middle of the measure.
- 415 Trumpet II: mf.
- 417 Woodwinds and horns III and IV: cresc..
- 419 Woodwinds and horns III and IV: ff. The piu f mark is crossed out.
- 422-425 Horns I and II: col clarinets 8va basso from the third eighth note of m. 422.
- 422-425 Horns III and IV: col horns I and II as corrected.
- 422-431 Woodwinds (except contrabassoon): doubled beginning with the third eighth note in m. 422.
- 422-431 Flutes: col clarinets as printed, but 8va until the last eighth note of m. 426 and loco from there to m. 431. The flutes play with the clarinets beginning with the third eighth note of m. 422.
- 425-427 Horns I and II (in D):



- 425-427 Horns III and IV: col horns I and II as corrected.
- 428-431 Horns I and II: col horns III and IV.
- 433 Horns III and IV: col clarinets.
- 438-440 Horn IV: col horn III 8va basso.

- 443-444 Clarinets: col oboes. The notation sempre ff is added to the clarinet part.
- 445-448 Flutes, oboes, and clarinets: doubled beginning with the third eighth note of m. 445.
- 446 Clarinets: col oboes.
- 446 Horns I and II: col viola.
- 447-448 Horns I and II: crossed out.
- 447-448 Bassoons: col clarinets through the downbeat of m. 448. The bassoons are doubled in these measures.
- 448-449 Horns III and IV: col bassoons beginning with the third eighth note of m. 448.
- 452-453 Horns I and II: col bassoons through the downbeat of m. 453.
- 453 Flutes: col oboes 8va.
- 453-455 Flutes and oboes: doubled through the first note of m. 455.
- 454-455 Clarinets: doubled from the third eighth note of m. 454 through the downbeat of m. 455.
- 457-458 Flutes: 8va.
- 458-460 Horns I and II: col viola from the third eighth note of m. 458 through the downbeat of m. 460.
- 460-461 Clarinets: doubled from the third eighth note of m. 460 through the first note in m. 461.
- 461-462 Oboe I: col oboe II 8va.
- 465-466 Flutes: 8va.
- 467-477 Flutes: doubled.
- 469-477 Oboes and clarinets: doubled beginning with the third eighth note in m. 469.
- 469-474 Flute II: col flute I.
- 471 Bassoon II: col bassoon I 8va basso.
- 474 Flutes: the b^b is marked 8va.
- 475 Flutes: the first two notes of the measure are marked 8va.

- 477-478 Bassoons: doubled. Bassoon II: col bassoon I.
- 480-490 Flute II: col flute I through the first three eighth notes of m. 490.
- 491-492 Oboes and clarinets: doubled beginning with the third eighth note of m. 491.
- 493-501 Clarinets and bassoons (except contrabassoon): doubled beginning with the third eighth note of m. 493.
- 498 Flutes: col violin I 8va throughout the measure.
- 500-501 Horns I and II: col oboes 8va basso through the first note of m. 501.
- 503-525 Flutes, oboes, and bassoons (except contrabassoon): doubled beginning with the third eighth note of m. 503.
- 505-525 Clarinets: doubled.
- 517-528 Horns III and IV: col horns I and II.
- 525 Horns: the diminuendo is crossed out.
- 529 Oboes and bassoons: mf.
- 541-542 Flutes and clarinets: col oboes.
- 542 Oboes: doubled.
- 543-594 Horns III and IV: col horns I and II.
- 543-594 Clarinets: col oboes.
- 590-594 Woodwinds: doubled beginning with the second note in m. 590.
- 590-594 Trumpets III and IV: col bassoon I 8va beginning with the second note in m. 590.³⁰
- 590-594 Horns V and VII: col oboe I 8va basso from the second note in m. 590.
- 590-594 Horns VI and VIII: col oboe II 8va basso from the second note in m. 590.
- 593-594 Flutes: col oboes 8va.

³⁰These markings are very faint in the xerox copy of the manuscript.

594-602 Cello: the following bowing indications are added:



602-610 Woodwinds (except contrabassoon): doubled.

604 Flutes, oboes, clarinets, bassoons, and trombones: a comma is inserted between the second and third notes in the measure.

606 Flutes, oboes, clarinets, bassoons, and trombones: a comma is added as in m. 604.

614 Tutti: a comma is inserted after the first note in the measure.

618-619 Clarinets: 8va.

618-619 Horns V and VI: col oboes 8va basso.

618-626 Oboes, clarinets, and bassoons: doubled through the second note in m. 626.

620-623 Horn V: col chorus tenor part.

620-626 Horn VI: col chorus bass part, loco through m. 625 and 8va in m. 626.

620-626 Flutes: doubled through the second note in m. 626.

620-626 Clarinet II: col clarinet I through the second note in m. 626.

623-626 Horn V: col chorus alto part.

628 Tutti: a comma is inserted between the second and third half notes in the measure. The marking pp is added on the third half note of the measure.

630 Tutti: added phrasing and dynamic markings parallel those in m. 628.

630 Viola: the first two notes in the measure are marked down-bow, and the last note in the measure is marked up-bow.

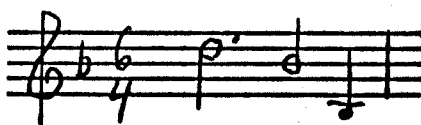
631 Tutti: a comma is added before the last quarter note in the measure.

632 Tutti: a comma is added as in m. 630.

- 632 Viola: bowing markings are added as in m. 630.
- 632 Cello: the first two notes of the measure are marked with down-bows.
- 633 Viola and cello: the last note in the measure is marked up-bow.
- 634 Tutti: a comma is added as in m. 630.
- 634 Viola and cello: bowing markings are added as in m. 632.
- 635 Viola and cello: the last note in the measure is marked up-bow.
- 637 Tutti: a comma is added as in m. 630.
- 637 Viola and cello: the last note of the measure is marked down-bow.
- 637-638 Woodwinds: doubled from the last note in m. 637 through the first note of m. 638.
- 638 Tutti: a comma is added between the second and third half notes of the measure.
- 638 Viola and cello: the last note of the measure is marked down-bow.
- 639 Viola and cello: the last note of the measure is marked up-bow.
- 643-646 Woodwinds: doubled.
- 643-646 Trumpets: col bassoons 8va.
- 643-646 Horns V and VII: col clarinet I 8va basso.
- 643-646 Horns VI and VIII: col bassoon I.
- 643-646 Cello: down-bow markings are added to all the cello notes except for the last note in m. 646.
- 647-654 Viola: divisi.
- 648 Tutti: a comma is inserted between the second and third half notes of the measure.
- 649 Strings: a comma is inserted between the first and second half notes of the measure.
- 650-654 Violins I and II: divisi.
- 654-662 Trumpets: col chorus alto part beginning with the last note in m. 654.
- 654-662 Clarinets: the last note in m. 654 is crossed out. From mm. 655-662 the clarinets play col oboes.

656-662 Trombone I: crossed out through the first half note in m. 662.

662-675 Clarinets: col oboes as printed through the downbeat of m. 675.
In m. 675 the clarinets (in A) play:



664 Horns I and II: col trombone II.

664 Oboe I: col flute I.

671-677 Horns V and VI: col trombone II as corrected.

675-677 Horns I and II: col horns V and VI (see below).

676 Trombone II: col bassoon I.

678-692 Trumpet I: col chorus soprano part. Trumpet II: col trumpet I.

678-700 Horns V and VI: col bassoon I.

679-686 Trumpets III and IV: col chorus alto part.

679-686 Trombone I: crossed out.

680 Horn II: col horn I 8va basso.

682 Horn II: col horn I 8va basso.

686-688 Horn II: col bassoon II.

692-700 Trumpets III and IV: col chorus alto part.

692-700 Clarinets: crossed out in m. 692. From mm. 693-699 the clarinets play col oboes. In m. 700 the clarinets are crossed out.

698-701 Horns I and II: col chorus tenor part.

699-700 Trombone II: col chorus tenor part.

701-704 Horns V and VI: col chorus alto part.

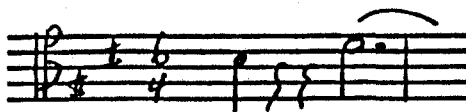
702-711 Horns I and II: col chorus tenor part.

704-708 Trumpets I and II: col chorus soprano part.

705 Trombone I: crossed out.

705-712 Trumpets III and IV: col chorus alto part through the first note in m. 712.

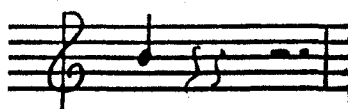
708 Trombone II:



709-716 Trumpet I: col chorus soprano part 8va basso.

712-713 Trumpet II: col horn I.

712-714 Horns V and VI: col chorus alto part through the downbeat of m. 714. In m. 714 these horns play:



714 Trombone II: col chorus tenor part.

715-716 Trumpets I and II:



716 Violin II:



716-729 Flutes and oboes: doubled beginning with the second note in m. 716.

716-729 Trumpet III: col trumpet I beginning with the second note in m. 716.

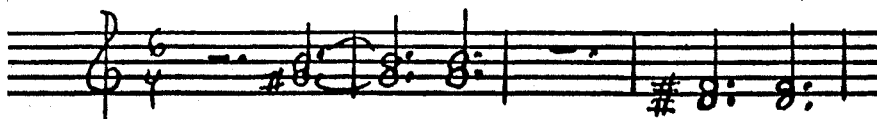
717-729 Violin II: col violin I.

718-729 Bassoons: doubled.

- 718-729 Clarinets: doubled and col oboes.
- 718-729 Trumpet IV: col trumpet II as corrected.
- 720-729 Horns V and VI: col chorus alto part.
- 720-729 Viola: col printed violin II part.
- 721 Horn II: col chorus bass part.
- 722-729 Horns I and II: col chorus tenor part.
- 724-725 Trombone I:



- 724-725 Trombone II: col chorus tenor part.
- 724-729 Trumpet II: col chorus alto part. The first note of m. 724 is marked col altos 8va. The rest of the passage is played loco.
- 726 Trombone I: col chorus alto part.
- 727-729 Trombone I: col chorus tenor part.
- 745 Trumpets I and II: the first note of the measure is crossed out.
- 745-746 Horns V and VI: col bassoons I and II beginning with the second note in m. 745.
- 745-748 Woodwinds (except contrabassoon): doubled beginning with the second note in m. 745.
- 745-748 Clarinets: additional notes have been written above the clarinet line in the score, but the markings are illegible.
- 745-748 Trumpets III and IV (in F):



- 748 Trumpet II: col trumpet I 8va basso.

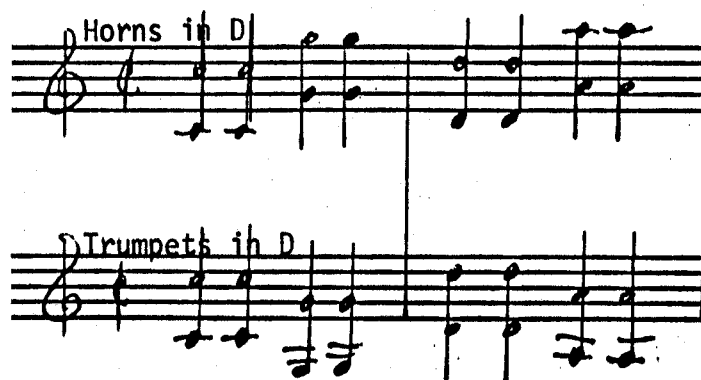
- 751 Woodwinds: f.
- 751-753 Flutes, oboes, and bassoons: doubled.
- 751-753 Bassoon II: col bassoon I.
- 753-754 Horns I and II: col clarinets.
- 755 Flutes and clarinets: ff. Bassoons: f.
- 759 Strings: pp. Violin II and viola: divisi.
- 759 Woodwinds: the markings p and piu p are crossed out.
- 761 Woodwinds: a  is added.
- 762 Tutti: ppp on the last note of the measure.
- 763-767 Strings: In m. 763 the violin and viola lines in the score are enclosed in a bracket. A short notation above the violin I line in the score is illegible. In m. 767 the word "all" is written in above the viola line in the score. Perhaps Mahler wished to use a reduced number of strings in these four measures.
- 767 Violas: mf.
- 792 Flutes, oboes, and clarinets: f on the last quarter note of the measure.
- 795-800 Flute II: col flute I beginning with the second quarter note in m. 795.
- 803-805 Horns V and VII: col bassoon I from the last quarter note of m. 803 through the second quarter note of m. 805. These horns play the first note in m. 805 8va higher than bassoon I.
- 803-805 Horns VI and VIII: col bassoon II from the last quarter note of m. 803 through the second quarter note of m. 805.
- 803-805 Horns V-VIII: fff.
- 803-805 Flutes, oboes, clarinets, and bassoons: doubled from the last quarter note of m. 803 through the second quarter note of m. 805.
- 805 Flute II: the first two quarter notes of the measure are marked col flute I.
- 806-809 Flutes, oboes, clarinets, and bassoons: doubled from the second quarter note of m. 806 through the second quarter note of m. 809.
- 807-809 Flute II: col flute I through the second quarter note of m. 809.

- 807-809 Clarinets: 8va from the third note in m. 807 through the second quarter note in m. 809.
- 807-809 Horn I: col clarinet I as printed 8va basso. Horn II: col bassoon I.
- 807-809 Horns III and IV: col horns I and II as corrected.
- 808-810 Horns V and VI: col horns I and II beginning with the third note in m. 808. However, in m. 810 these horns play an eighth note on the downbeat and rest for the balance of the measure.
- 808-810 Horns VI and VIII: col horns V and VII 8va basso through the second quarter note of m. 809. For the balance of the passage horns VI and VIII play col horns V and VII loco.
- 813 Woodwinds and horns: the last note in the measure is crossed out.
- 813-814 Strings:

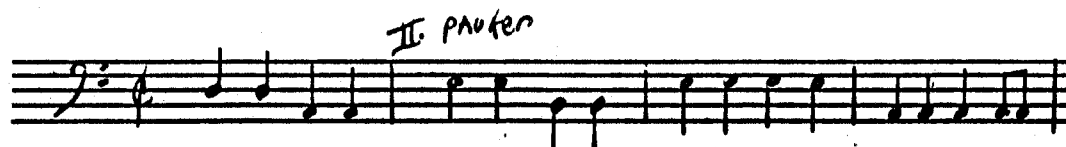
The image shows a musical score for five string instruments: Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Cello, and Bass. The score is written in D major (two sharps) and 4/4 time. A vertical line separates measure 813 from measure 814. In measure 814, the final note of each string part is crossed out.

814 Woodwinds: ppp.

- 824-826 Horns V-VIII: col bassoons as in measures 803-805.
- 824-826 Woodwinds: doubled from the last quarter note in m. 824 through the second quarter note in m. 826.
- 827-831 Woodwinds: doubled beginning with the second note in m. 827.
- 828-830 Horns I-IV: col woodwinds as in measures 807-809. After the first quarter note in m. 830 these horns play as printed.
- 828-830 Clarinets: 8va from the third note in m. 828 through the second quarter note of m. 830.
- 830-831 Horns V and VII: col clarinet I beginning with the third quarter note in m. 830.
- 830-831 Horns VI and VIII: the third quarter note of m. 830 is played col bassoon I. These horns play col clarinet II in m. 831.
- 850 Tympani: the last two notes in the measure are crossed out.
- 851 Horns and trumpets: mf.
- 851-852 Horns I and II and trumpets I and II:



- 851-852 Horns III and IV: col horns I and II.
- 851-854 Tympani: at first the tympani part was corrected as follows:³¹



³¹"II. Pauker;" i. e., second tympanist.

At a later time both the printed part and the corrections were crossed out.

851-855 Horns V and VII: col clarinet II. Horns VI and VIII: col horns V and VII 8va basso.

851-860 Cymbals and bass drum: crossed out.

851-916 Woodwinds (except contrabassoon): doubled.

853-855 Horns II and IV: col horns I and III 8va basso.

855 Tympani: forte.

856 Flutes: col oboe I 8va.

856 Horns I-IV and trumpets I and II: corrected as in m. 852.

856 Flutes: the b's are marked 8va.

856-857 Tympani:



856-858 Horns V-VIII (in F):



856-858 Piccolo: 8va through the third quarter note of m. 858.

857 Horns II and IV: col horns I and III 8va basso.

857-858 Oboes and clarinets: the last quarter note in m. 857 and the first quarter note in m. 858 are marked 8va.

861-864 Bass drum: crossed out.

861-868 Horns V and VI: col horns I and II.

861-868 Horns VII and VIII: col horns III and IV.

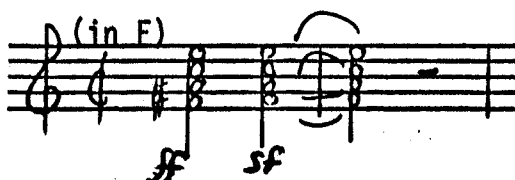
861-868 Viola: col violin II as corrected.

- 865-868 Flutes: col piccolo as corrected; i. e., sounding an octave lower than the piccolo as corrected (see below).
- 865-868 Clarinets: col piccolo as printed; i. e., sounding an octave lower than the piccolo as printed.
- 865-868 Trumpets III and IV: col oboes.
- 865-868 Violin I: 8va beginning with the second eighth note in m. 865.
- 865-868 Violin II: col violin I as corrected 8va basso.
- 865-869 Piccolo: 8va.
- 869 Bassoon I: the first note of the measure is marked 8va.
- 869-871 Viola: divisi. In m. 871 the printed viola f[#] is crossed out. The divided violas now play as follows:



- 869-974 Bass drum and cymbals: crossed out.
- 869-875 Violin I: divisi. The new part for half the first violins is col the printed part 8va.
- 870-875 Violin II: the marking is unclear. Evidently these violins also play 8va at this point, but it is possible that Mahler wished the second violins to play divisi in the same manner as the firsts.
- 872 Piccolo: the first two notes of the measure are marked 8va.
- 872 Trumpets III and IV: col oboe I.
- 872 Flutes: the first note of the measure is marked 8va.
- 872 Horns V and VII: col bassoon I as corrected. Horns VI and VIII: col bassoon I as corrected 8va basso.
- 872-873 Bassoon I: col oboe I 8va basso.
- 875 Bass drum: crossed out.
- 876 Cymbals: crossed out.
- 876 Bassoon I: col oboe II.

- 877 Cymbals: the second and third quarter notes of the measure are crossed out.
- 878 Cymbals: crossed out.
- 878 Flutes: col clarinet I 8va.
- 878 Bassoon I: col oboe II.
- 878-885 Piccolo: 8va through the first note in m. 885.
- 879 Cymbals: the second and third quarter notes are crossed out.
- 879-886 Flute II: col flute I beginning with the last quarter note in m. 879.
- 887-888 Trumpets III and IV: col oboes I and II through the first note in m. 888.
- 887-888 Horns V-VIII:



- 887-902 Trombones: evidently the trombone parts were crossed out at one time. However, in mm. 887-894 the notation to omit these measures is almost completely erased. In mm. 895-902 the notation remains, but in mm. 895 and 899 Mahler has inserted the words "third remains."³² In addition the third trombone is marked col chorus basses in mm. 896-897 and 900-901.
- 894-896 Piccolo: 8va from the second half note in m. 894 through the first note in m. 896.
- 895 Cymbals: crossed out.
- 895 Trumpets III and IV: col chorus soprano part.
- 895 Horns V-VIII: col chorus soprano part 8va basso.
- 896-898 Tympani: crossed out. In m. 898 the notation "remains"³³ is added to the tympani line of the score.
- 899 Trumpets III and IV: col chorus soprano part.

³²"3. bleibt."

³³"bleibt."

899 Horns V-VIII: col chorus soprano part 8va basso.

899-900 Cymbals: crossed out.

900-902 Tympani: markings are added to the tympani part as in mm. 896-898.

902 Cymbals: faintly crossed out.

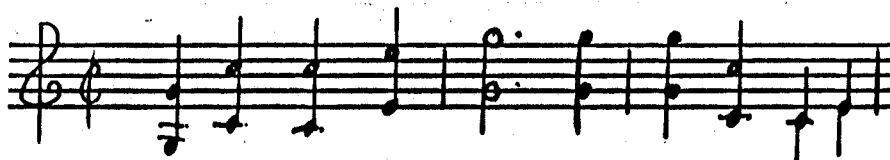
903-904 Flutes: 8va from the third quarter note of m. 903 through the first note of m. 904.

904 Piccolo: the note b is marked 8va.

907 Cymbals: crossed out.

907-909 Trumpets and horns: doubled from the third quarter note of m. 907 through the second quarter note of m. 909.

907-909 Trumpets I and II (in D):



909 Cymbals: crossed out.³⁴

911-912 Trumpets I and II: crossed out through the second quarter note of m. 912.

912-916 Trumpets and horns: doubled from the third quarter note of m. 912 through the first note of m. 916.

913-914 Trombones: crossed out beginning with the second note in m. 913.

917, Strings: ff.

919 Trumpets I and II: col horns I and II 8va.

919 Cymbals: the second quarter note of the measure is crossed out.

920-940 Woodwinds (except contrabassoon), horns, and trumpets: doubled.

³⁴It is possible that the cymbals are also crossed out in measure 912 and in measure 915 (first beat), but those markings are indistinct.

APPENDIX B

An Interpretative Analysis of Selected Recorded
Performances of the Ninth Symphony

The recordings

The following recordings of the Beethoven Ninth Symphony were compared with selected markings from Mahler's score to determine whether the Mahler markings might have influenced these performances:

- (1) Leonard Bernstein, conductor, The New York Philharmonic Orchestra, (Columbia M2S 794), ca. 1965.
- (2) Oskar Fried, conductor, The Berlin State Opera Orchestra, (Polydor 66657-66663), ca. 1925. The first three movements of the symphony are missing.
- (3) Wilhelm Furtwängler, conductor, The Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, (Everest stereo 3241), 1958.
- (4) Erich Kleiber, conductor, The Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, (London LL 623-633), ca. 1952.
- (5) Otto Klemperer, conductor, The Philharmonia Orchestra of London, (Angel 3577), 1958.
- (6) Willem Mengelberg, conductor, The Amsterdam Concertgebouw, (New York Public Library tape 724), ? . This is a tape of a broadcast performance on the Dutch radio.
- (7) Eugene Ormandy, conductor, The Philadelphia Orchestra, (Columbia ML 6416), 1947.
- (8) Leopold Stokowski, conductor, The Philadelphia Orchestra, (RCA Victor M236), ca. 1946.
- (9) Arturo Toscanini, conductor, The NBC Symphony Orchestra, (RCA Victor LM 6009), ca. 1952.
- (10) Bruno Walter, conductor, The New York Philharmonic Orchestra, (Columbia ML 5200), ca. 1957.
- (11) Felix Weingartner, conductor, The Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, (Columbia SL 165), 1952. This is a reissue of a recording made in 1935.

Method

In the list which follows, a short description of each passage which is used for comparison precedes a list of the sources in which the indicated revisions are found. The letters (M), (W), and (B), refer to the Mahler changes, the Wagner recommendations, and the Bülow revisions in turn. The absence of any letters or record numbers from the list following a given passage indicates either that this change did not appear in the sources studied or that it was not possible to determine if the change was made. An effort was made to be circumspect in this investigation and not ascribe to a given recording changes which might not be present in it. The arabic numerals refer to the recordings listed on page 156; e. g., (1) is the Bernstein recording, (2) is the Fried recording, etc..

The data

First movement

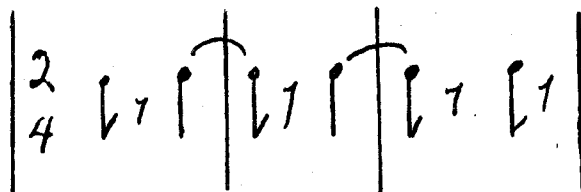
16 The woodwinds and brass rest before the last thirty-second note of the measure: (M, B, 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11).

24-26 The horn parts are altered to add a high b^b ; i. e.,



(M, 1, 6, 10).

31-33 The rhythm is changed to read:



(M, 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10).

- 56-58 The horns play col clarinet II: (M, 6, 10).
- 74-76 A $\text{A} \text{---} \text{B}$ is added: (B, 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 11).
- 80-87 Strings: the third eighth note of each measure is marked staccato: (M, 1, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11).
- 98-100 Strings: the crescendo is postponed to m. 100: (M, W, 3, 4, 6, 8, 10, 11).
- 107 The tympani plays in this measure: (6, 9).
- 116-119 Horns I and II: crossed out: (M).
- 120-127 Violins: a $\text{A} \text{---} \text{B}$ is added in each measure: (B, 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11).
- 120-132 Tympani: crossed out: (M).
- 143 Flute I plays 8va basso beginning with the second sixteenth note of the measure: (M, W, 1, 4, 11). Toscanini (9) changes the flute part so that it doubles the oboe I 8va beginning in m. 142.
- 195 Woodwinds: a comma is added after the fifth sixteenth note of the measure (M, B).
- 195 Woodwinds: an accent is added on the sixth sixteenth note of the measure and is followed by a diminuendo. (M, 3, 6, 9, 10, 11).
- 198-202 Violin I: espressivo. A $\text{A} \text{---} \text{B}$ is added in m. 198 and in mm. 201-202: (M, B, 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11).
- 302-304 Brass and tympani: $\text{A} \text{---} \text{B}$ in m. 302; $\text{A} \text{---} \text{B}$ in m. 304: (M, 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11).
- 304 Rests are added in the tympani part; e. g.,



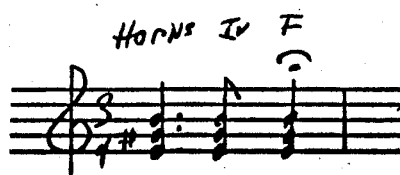
(B, 1, 3, 6). Mahler adds a second set of tympani to the part in a manner which gives a similar effect (see appendix A). It is possible that Walter (10) has added extra tympani also, but this was not clear from the recording.

- 319-338 Horns: col cello: (M).

- 329-335 Horns: col woodwind melody: (M). This change may appear in (6) and (10) also, but this was not clear from the recordings.
- 416-419 Violins: 8va through the first quarter-note beat of m. 419: (M, 4, 7, 9, 10).
- 459 Strings: a piano marking is added: (M, W, 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11).
- 501-502 Violin I: 8va through the second sixteenth note of m. 502: (M, 1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11).
- 523-526 Horns: col woodwind melody: (M).
- 531-538 Horns: col woodwind melody: (M, 3, 9, 10).
- 531-538 Trumpets: col woodwind melody: (M, 10). Wagner did suggest that if the horns did not strengthen the woodwind melody sufficiently here, trumpets could be added also.
- 545-547 Horns: col woodwind melody: (M, 3, 6, 10).

Second movement

- 93-108 Horns: col woodwind melody: (M, B, W, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11).
- 93-108 Trumpets: col woodwind melody: (M).
- 93-108 Strings: less than ff: (W, B, 5).
- 142-143 Flute I: 8va beginning with the last note in m. 142: (M, 3, 6, 7, 10, 11).
- 276-277 Violin I: 8va through the downbeat of m. 277: (M, B, W, 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11).
- 395 Horns:



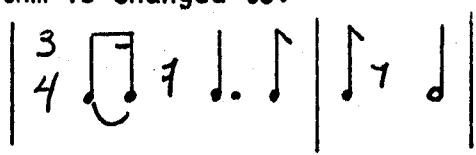
(M).

- 527-530 The oboe parts are played by flutes: (M).
- 557-559 Tympani are added: (6, 8, 9, 11). In (M) the tympani plays the note d on the downbeat of m. 559.

Third movement

- 6-16 Horns: muted: (M).
- 23 Woodwinds: a comma is added between the third and fourth quarter notes of the measure: (B, 1, 5, 7).
- 42 The fermata is interpreted as a general ritard on the last four sixteenth notes of the measure: (B, W, 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11).
- 110-112 Tympani: crossed out: (M).
- 148-149 Violin I: the crescendo is moved from m. 149 to the middle of m. 148. The passage is played molto espressivo (Mahler adds the notation sul g in the middle of m. 148): (M, 3, 6, 7, 10).

Fourth movement

- 1-7 Tuba added: (M).
- 1-7 Trumpets: col woodwind melody: (M, B, W, 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11).
- 8 The quarter note up-beat is performed quasi staccato: (M, 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10).
- 8-16 The instrumental recitative is performed according to Beethoven's direction, "selon le caractère d'un Récitatif, mais in tempo:" (W, 3, 9, 11).
- 8-16 The instrumental recitative is performed slower than in tempo and with rubato: (1, 6, 7, 8, 10).
- 8-16 The tempo changes in the recitative parallel the markings in (M): (1, 6, 10).
- 13-14 The rhythm is changed to:
- 

The notation consists of two measures separated by a bar line. The first measure has a 3/4 time signature and contains a quarter note, a half note, and a quarter note. The second measure contains a quarter note, a half note, and a quarter note.
- (M, 5, 6, 10).
- 14 The rhythm is changed only in this measure: (1, 7, 8, 9).
- 38-47 The tempo changes in the recitative parallel markings in (M): (1, 6, 10).

- 38-47 The phrasing markings in the recitative generally parallel the markings in (M): (1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11).
- 56-62 The phrasing markings in the recitative generally parallel the markings in (M): (1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10).
- 65-75 The dynamic markings in the recitative generally parallel markings in (M): (1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10).
- 65-75 The phrasing and accent markings in the recitative generally parallel markings in (M): (1, 6, 7, 10).
- 81-90 The phrasing markings generally parallel the markings in (M): (6, 10).
- 329-330 A comma is inserted between these two measures: (M, 1, 3, 11).
- 330 The fermata is performed molto tenuto: (B, W, 1, 3, 6, 10).
- 340-375 The horns and trumpets are muted: (M).
- 596 The second half note in the measure is changed to a quarter note followed by a quarter rest: (B, 6). Mahler's bowing marking in this measure (each note in a separate down-bow) suggests a similar interpretation.
- 600 The first half note in the measure ("Kuss") is changed to a quarter note followed by a quarter rest: (2, 3, 4, 5, 10).
- 610 A fermata is added in this measure: (B, 1, 6).
- 655-729 The horn and trumpet parts are altered to include missing melody tones not possible on Beethoven's natural brass instruments: (M, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11). This revision is implied in (W) and (B) by their remarks about the use of chromatic brass instruments in the performance of Beethoven.
- 851-864 The cymbals and bass drum are crossed out: (M).
- 936-940 In (M) the markings suggest that the strings double the woodwind melody at this point, and in mm. 938-940 the horns play with the woodwinds also. (B) suggests that the trumpets double the woodwind melody in mm. 938-940. Toscanini (9) has the horns double the woodwind melody in mm. 938-940.

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