The Doubtful Authenticity of Mozart's Horn Concerto K 412[1]

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Debates on authenticity have been frequent among Mozart scholars in the last century, as many of Mozart's works have come down to us only in copies, orchestral parts, or printed versions. The absence of an authenticated autograph score invites speculation as to a work's authenticity, and once the question is raised, any circumstantial, stylistic, or philological considerations are pertinent to the argument. In some cases, even when an autograph exists and has been authenticated as Mozart's handwriting, there is room for doubt, as has been formulated convincingly by Wolfgang Plath:[2] the work may be a copy by Mozart of a work by another composer, or a kind of collaboration, Mozart improving someone else's rudimentary version. Many such examples may be found in the sixth edition of Köchel (Anhang A). In the following I will demonstrate that the Concerto K 412 may be another such case.

I have approached this research with awe and even some hesitation: the autographs of the Horn Concerto K 412 (i.e., its first movement and the fragmentary Rondo K 514) exist in the Biblioteka Jagiellońska in Krakow and there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the handwriting. There is indeed a different, completed version of the Rondo, which is not in Mozart's hand. This will be discussed in detail below, but as it was in all probability written later than the fragment in Mozart's hand, its existence does not invalidate the authenticity of the fragmentary version. The concerto has been examined by leading Mozart scholars over the last 150 years,[3] yet no one has ever questioned its authenticity. The very first time I listened to it, however, I had serious doubts that Mozart was its author, considering its peculiar style, as if a coarser hand than Mozart's had been at work in its creation. These doubts were reinforced by Alan Tyson's discovery that the concerto was written late in Mozart's career, most probably in the last year of his life. Its curious style might be acceptable to a certain degree in an "early" work, but it seemed altogether incompatible with Mozart's late works. While I cannot offer irrefutable proof, I believe the combined weight of the evidence I have uncovered is sufficient to warrant serious doubt regarding Mozart's authorship of this concerto. In support of my conclusion that Mozart was involved in the composition of the concerto, but was not its original author, I shall consider the concerto from the following five points of view:

a) A stylistic analysis of certain aspects of the concerto that seem to be incompatible with Mozart's writing in his horn concertos, in his concertos in general, and to a certain extent in his entire output.
b) The unique two-movement structure of the concerto.
c) The uncommon layout of the systems and the abundance of corrections in the autograph.

d) A comparison of the two versions of the Rondo, which suggests the existence of a third, earlier version, on which both were based.
e) The correspondence of Constanze Mozart with the publisher Johann André regarding the Rondo fragment, which may shed some light on the true identity of its original author. Indeed, my hypothesis as to this identification forms the concluding section of this article.

Before turning to our first concern, the style of this concerto, let us review the sources and chronology of this concerto. The Concerto K 412 is incomplete: we have an autograph of the entire first movement and a fragmentary autograph version of a Rondo, which, according to Tyson's findings, was written in immediate succession to the first movement.[4] The other—complete—version of the Rondo is certainly spurious, and Wolfgang Plath, after some hesitation, attributed it rather convincingly to Mozart's pupil and posthumous collaborator Franz Xaver Süssmayr.[5] There is no trace of a slow movement, nor any hint that a slow movement was intended at all (this issue will be considered below). Mozart did not date the concerto, it does not appear in his catalog (being incomplete), and there are no surviving documents to shed light on its dating. On the first page of the autograph we find the date "1782" in the hand of Johann André, who acquired this manuscript from Constanze Mozart. This dating may be based on some information that is no longer available to us or on an error or misunderstanding on the part of André. Köchel, nevertheless, accepted it, and assigned to it the number "412" in his catalog. Thus the concerto traditionally has been called "No. 1," i.e., it was considered to have been written earlier than the concertos K 417, 447, and 495. The spurious Rondo was thought to be an authentic work of Mozart. It was published in the first complete edition of Mozart's works together with the first movement[6] and has been performed so ever since. The *Neue Mozart Ausgabe* (hereafter NMA) includes this mixed two-movement version as the *traditionelle Fassung* (traditional version).[7]

No one challenged the authenticity of the work until the appearance of Alan Tyson's 1987 article on Mozart's D-Major Horn Concerto.[8] Tyson discovered that most of the first movement of the D-Major Concerto was written on a type of paper that Mozart did not use before 1786 (it appears in *Le nozze di Figaro,* among other works), and that the end of the first movement and the Rondo fragment were written consecutively on three different types of paper, all of which were used by Mozart only from 1789 to 1791. Thus he concludes that the first movement was begun no earlier than 1786 and completed, with the addition of the Rondo fragment, in the last months of Mozart's life.

Stylistic analysis

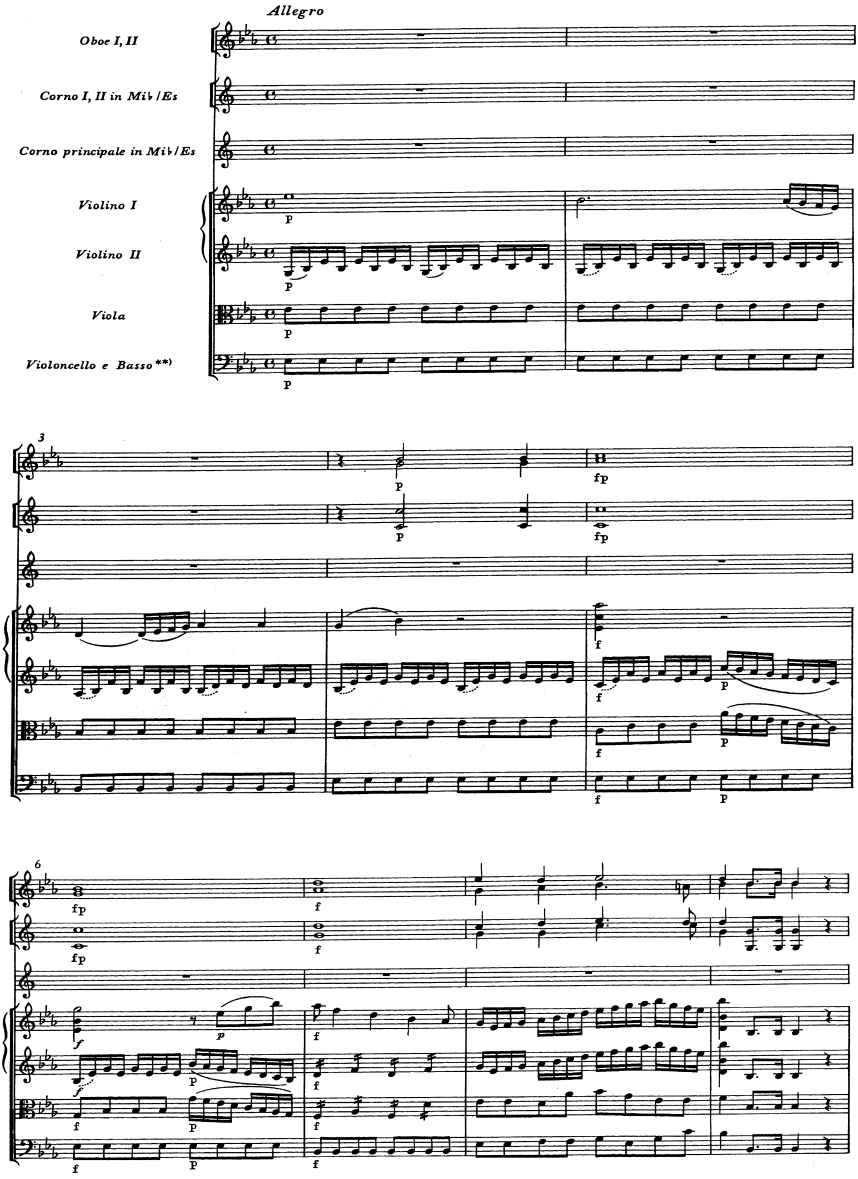
We turn now to stylistic analysis, and we shall consider the Concerto K 412 primarily in the context of the other Mozart horn concertos, with some references to his practice in other concertos as well. The three horn concertos in E♭ major (K 417, 447, and 495) are very similar stylistically, and seem to have been written according to one definite model.[9] Not

only are they all in the same key: their first movements are similarly constructed, they all have moderate-tempo second movements (two of which—those of K 447 and K 495—are entitled "Romance"), and in particular the 6/8 rondo themes of all three concertos seem to be variants of one and the same theme. K 412 has no slow movement and its incomplete Rondo gives only a partial notion of its intended final shape; thus only the first movement, being complete, will serve for comparison with the other concertos.

The orchestral expositions to all four concertos are very compact, compared to the piano concertos from the same period, probably because of the relatively modest scope of these compositions. But K 412 has the shortest exposition of all (21 measures, compared to 24 in K 417, 28 in K 447, and 42 in K 495). The first subjects of the three E♭-major concertos are either energetic in character, or have a contrasting structure, where one of the components is energetic and the other more lyrical (as in K 447, mm. 1-4 versus 5-9). The first subject of K 412 (mm. 1-8), on the contrary, is lyrical throughout, and most remarkably, it lacks rhythmic contrast in its first six measures, while the seventh measure is completely different, sounding rather unrelated to the preceding measures (see Examples 1a, 1b, 1c, 1d). Thus this theme stands apart, not only from the other horn concertos, but from practically all other concerto subjects of the mature Mozart.[10]

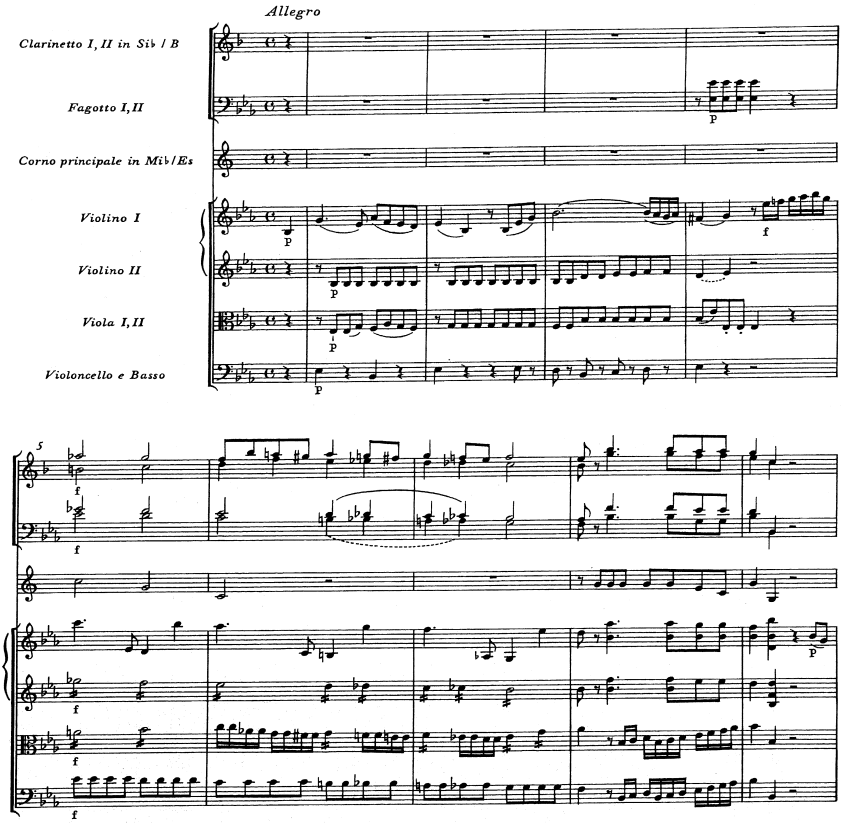
In fact, this first subject of K 412 combines two traits, both of which are rare in first-movement subjects of concertos (or symphonies, for that matter) by Mozart, and never appear in combination in such a work—an upbeat[11] and a sequence. (The second motive, mm. 3-4, is not an exact sequence of 1-2, but, mm. 1 and 3 being sequential, there is an impression of a sequence.) The third motive seems to bring something new: a higher pitch (a^2) and a change in direction, the melody moving now downward. But the rhythmic pattern remains similar to the foregoing two motives: an upbeat (now two eighth notes instead of a quarter note) leading to a long note on the downbeat (now a half note instead of a dotted quarter note) and four eighth notes concluding the measure. The rhythmic variation of m. 6 is not sufficient to create a feeling of change. Two consecutive motives related sequentially are indeed not uncommon in first themes of Mozart's concertos (see, for example, Piano Concertos K 414, 415, 453, 456, and 467),[12] but in all these cases the third motive contrasts notably with the preceding two sequentially related motives. The nearest approach to the procedure in K 412 is the first theme of the "Coronation" Piano Concerto K 537, in which the third motive (mm. 6ff) hardly contrasts with the two preceding ones. Yet the first motive in itself is more dynamic, presenting an internal contrast between the rhythmic pattern of mm. 1 and 2. To this we may add the cumulative effect of the addition of violin II to the first in m. 3, and the change of harmony from I to IV in m. 6. Such enriching factors are not to be found in the theme of K 412: on the contrary, the opening motive (mm. 1-2) contains in itself a quasi-repetition of the rhythmic pattern, so that we have very similar rhythm in mm. 1, 2, 3, and 5.

Actually, this theme is exceptionally static and uneventful (except, as stated, for the peculiar seventh measure) as compared to other Mozart themes. It may be fruitful to compare this theme to the first theme of K 447: the latter begins with the same rhythmic



Example 1a

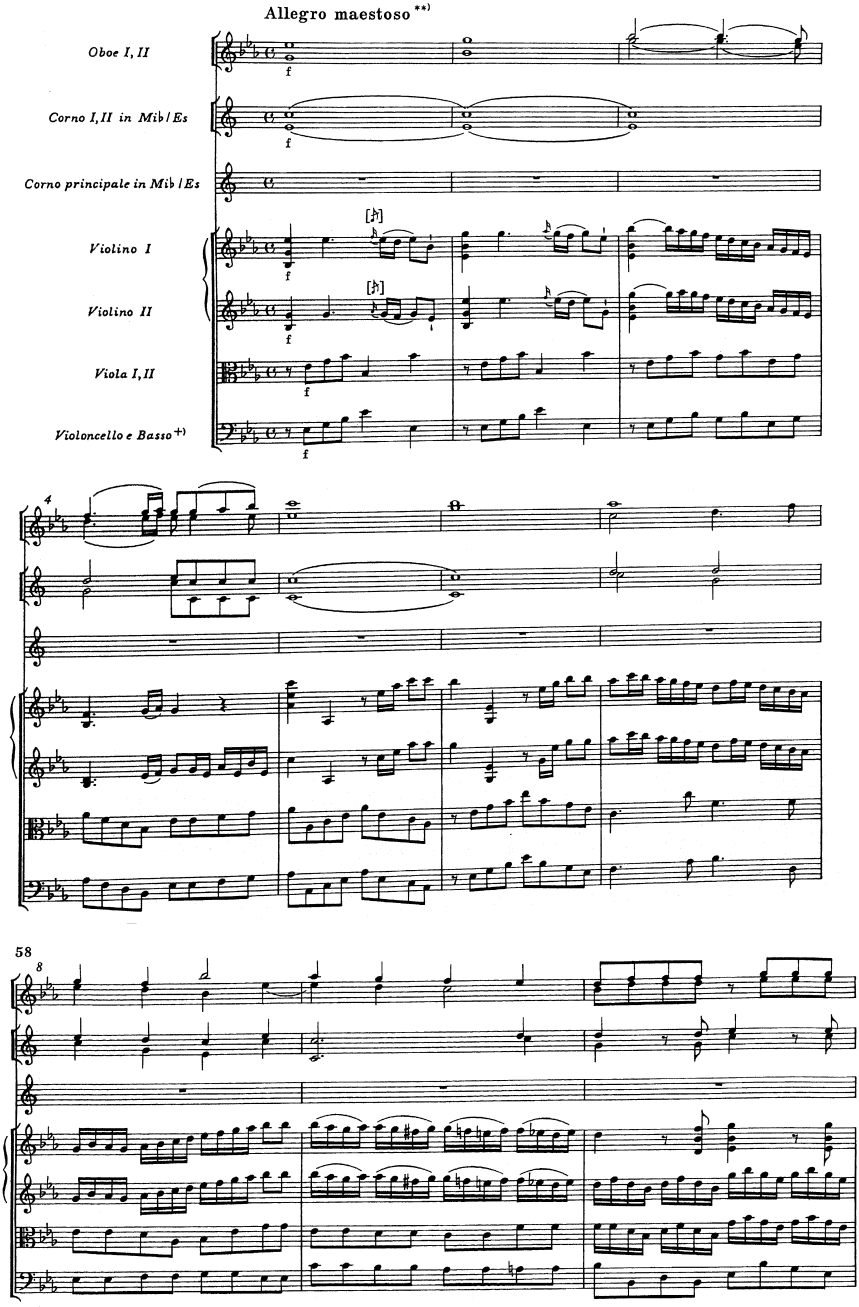
Mozart, Concerto for Horn and Orchestra in E♭ Major, K 417, mvt. 1, first subject.

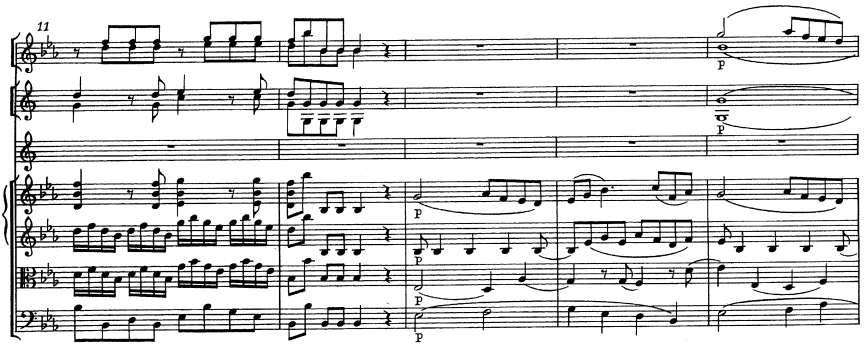


Example 1b
Mozart, Concerto for Horn and Orchestra in E♭ Major, K 447, mvt. 1, first subject.

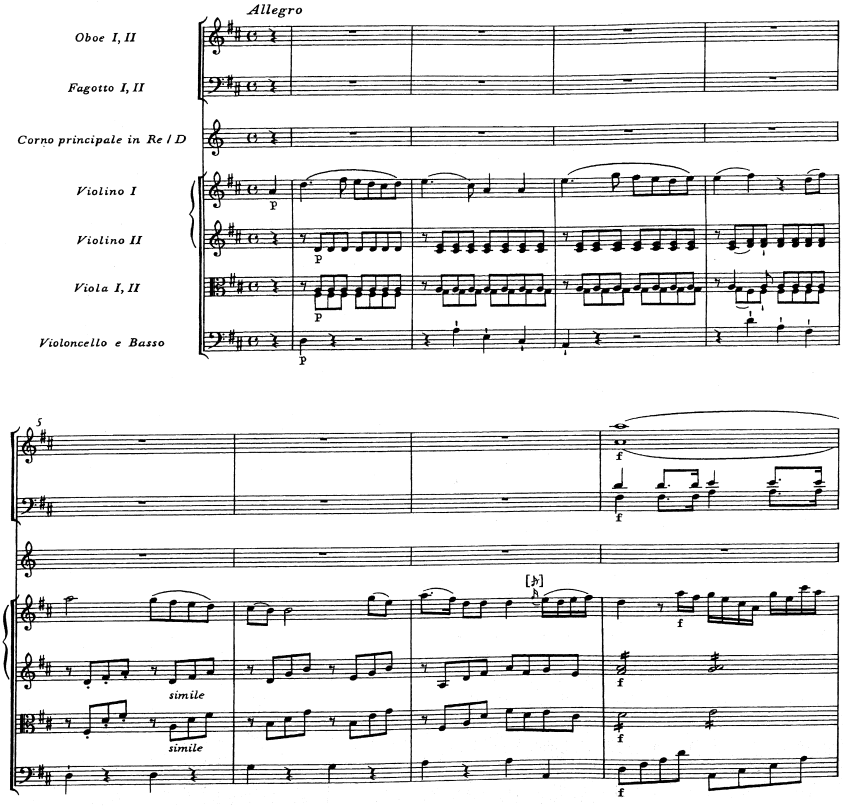
pattern, but the second motive (mm. 3-4) brings drastic change, the prolonged $b\flat^1$ at the beginning of m. 3 discharging into the rushed conclusion of sixteenth notes leading to m. 4.

The melodic outline is also rather dull: it centers around the neighboring notes d^2 and e^2, which are the first accented notes of mm. 1-4 (m.1 – d^2, m. 2 – e^2, m. 3 – e^2, m. 4 – e^2, and again e^2- d^2 as the concluding notes in mm. 7-8). Another disadvantage is the twofold appearance of the highest pitch, a^2, as an accented note at the beginnings of mm. 5 and 7, which weakens its function as the peak of the melody. The resulting melodic curve is remarkably uninspired in comparison with a typical Mozart curve (compare Examples 2a and 2b). The reader may compare this pattern to the more livelier curves of the melodic ideas of the first themes in the other three horn concertos, either in their tutti or solo versions.

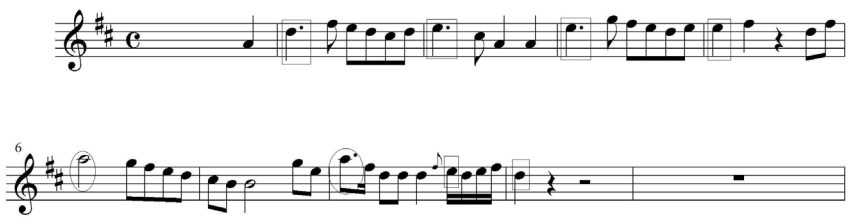

Allegro maestoso **)
Oboe I, II
Corno I,II in Mib/Es
Corno principale in Mib/Es
Violino I
Violino II
Viola I,II
Violoncello e Basso +)
f
4
58
8



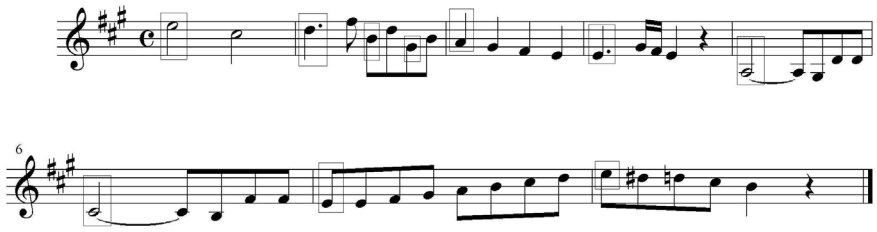
Example 1c
Mozart, Concerto for Horn and Orchestra in E♭ Major, K 495, mvt. 1, first subject.



Example 1d
Mozart, Concerto for Horn and Orchestra in D Major, K 412, mvt. 1, first subject.



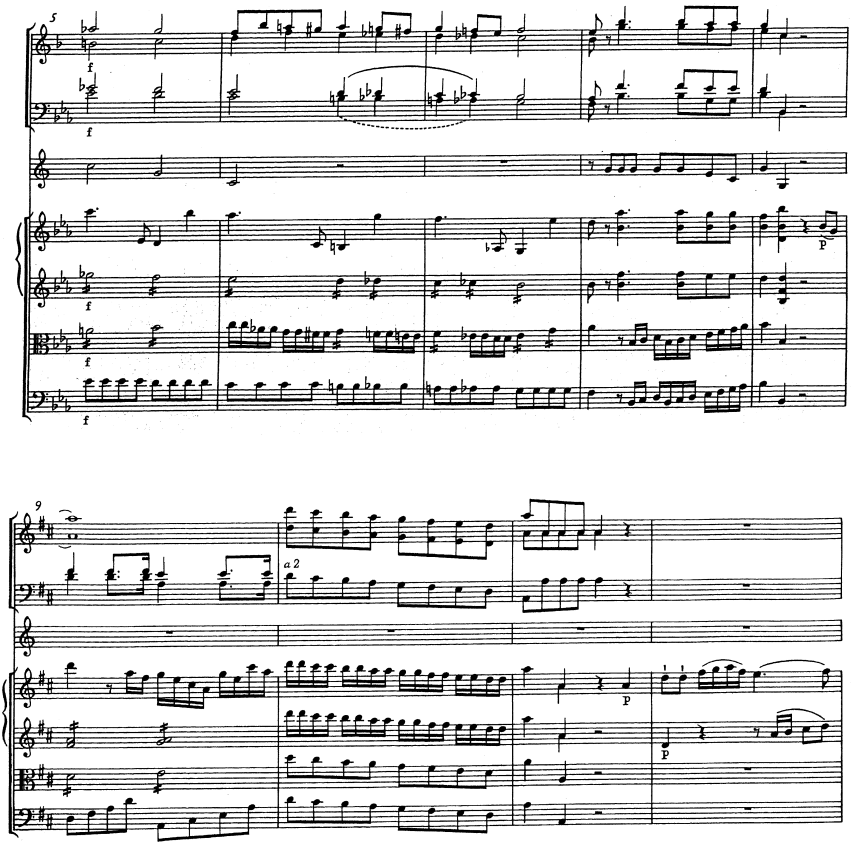
Example 2a
Mozart, Concerto K 412, mvt. 1, first theme.



Example 2b
Mozart, Concerto for Piano and Orchestra in A Major, K 488, mvt. 1, first theme.

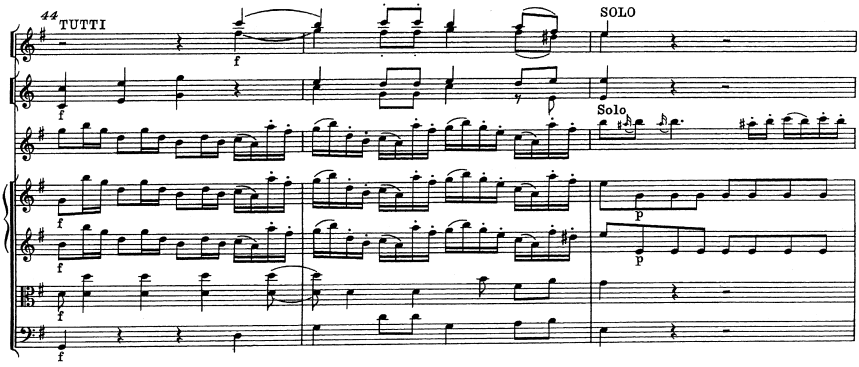
The first theme of K 412, presented *piano* by the strings alone, has appended to it a short *tutti* section (see Example 3) which, after the lack of contrast in the opening measures, introduces an abundance of contrasting features: *forte*, *tremolo* in the middle voices, addition of woodwinds with an independent dotted rhythm, and foremost a rather unmelodic, angular line in the first violins (this motive appears later in the movement in telescoped form, in mm. 29 and 31, which highlights even more its unmelodic features). This sharp contrast disrupts the continuity between the two sections. It is true that a similar melodic line may be found in the first violin part of the Flute Concerto K 313, mm. 27-29 (Example 4), but there it concludes the entire orchestral exposition, and refers to earlier motives (mm. 12-14) so that its appearance does not sound so abrupt.

The second melodic idea of the orchestral exposition of K 412 (mm. 12-15) is presented initially in an archaic-sounding two-voice texture, which is again, to my knowledge, without parallel in such a context in a Mozart composition. The melody once more stresses primarily the notes d^2 and e^2, so prominent in the first theme. This idea is repeated in *tutti* (mm. 16-19), the main line given now to the second violin, its line being obscured by the alternating a^2-a^1 of the first violins. This weakness of orchestration, too, is most atypical of Mozart.



Example 3
Mozart, Concerto K 412, mvt. 1, mm. 5-11. © Bärenreiter-Verlag, edition of Mozart's Concertos, BA 4602. Reprinted with kind permission.

These are some of the peculiarities that make this theme sound so different, not only from the themes of the other horn concertos, but also from any other Mozart theme (or at least first subjects of his sonata-form or concerto-sonata-form movements);[13] indeed, we may say it sounds most "un-Mozartean." Below we shall examine briefly some further atypical traits in this movement. Let us look next at the presentation of the first subject by the soloist in Mozart's horn concertos. In K 417 the horn presents a completely new melody



Example 4
Mozart, Concerto for Flute and Orchestra in G Major, K 313, mvt. 1, mm. 27-29.

based on the same harmonic outline as the orchestral presentation (mm. 1-9 vs. 25-33); in K 447 the soloist gives us the first four measures of the orchestral version unchanged, but proceeds from there in a different direction (mm. 1-9 vs. 29-40); in K 495 the procedure is similar to K 417: a new melody based on the same harmony. K 412, again, is the exception: the solo theme is identical to the orchestral presentation, without any alteration or enrichment whatsoever. In this, too, it occupies a unique position, not only among the horn concertos, but among all of Mozart's concertos, for whatever instrument.[14]

Let us observe now how the first subjects are treated in the development sections of the horn concertos. In none of the three E♭-major concertos is the first subject cited literally in the development section. These sections are based either on new material (as in K 447 and K 495) or on a transformation of the expositional themes, as in K 417. In K 412 we find a procedure that seems to be unique, not only among the horn concertos, but in all of Mozart's sonata- or concerto-sonata-form movements: the first phrase of the first theme is transposed literally three times (respectively to A major, G major, and E minor) and subsequently undergoes no development. In many of Mozart's piano concertos of the 1780s the development section is actually based on the first subject of the exposition, but always in varied or fragmented forms: never is a theme cited wholly and literally.

A similar picture emerges if we compare the harmonic language of these movements. Chromaticism seems to be a hallmark of Mozart's mature style: its use is abundant in almost every composition from the 1780s onward (excluding the German Dances and other "light music" genres). It is prominent in the three E♭-major horn concertos too, particularly K 447, though it was hard to produce on the valveless instrument of Mozart's age; the newly

discovered stopped notes made chromaticism possible on the horn, and it became a common feature of virtuoso horn music of the period. K 412, nevertheless, creates on the whole an impression of pure diatonicism; there are, indeed, very few chromatic progressions.[15]

Lastly, I would like to point out the uncommonly limited use of the woodwinds in this concerto. The prominent use of woodwinds in the Mozart piano concertos in the 1780s, including solo wind sections competing with the piano part, have been commented upon by most scholars dealing with these works. In the E♭-major horn concertos the role of the woodwinds is more limited, but nevertheless they have their solos in the orchestral sections (K 417: mm. 11-12 and 16-17; K 495: mm. 36-40), or a dialogue with the soloist (K 447, mm. 104-111). In K 412 the woodwinds have no solos; their role is limited to thickening the orchestral texture in the *tuttis*.

These features may be sufficient to characterize the first movement of the Concerto K 412 as representing a style less mature, less elaborate, less sophisticated not only in relation to the three other horn concertos, but to practically all of Mozart's compositions from the last decade of his life. Tyson's dating places this concerto in the proximity of the Clarinet Concerto K 622, the only concerto for a wind instrument Mozart wrote after 1780, apart from the horn concertos. A comparison of the D-major Horn Concerto with such a refined and sublime composition as the Clarinet Concerto further supports the improbability that Mozart in his last year should have conceived the Concerto K 412.

Christoph Wolff discerns in the compositions of Mozart's last three years a certain simplicity "in the sense of a more marked cantabile quality of the rhythmic-melodic profile in the Quintets in D major K 593 and E♭ major K 614, the last Piano Concerto in B♭ Major, K 595 and the Clarinet Concerto in A Major, K 622,"[16] but these traits are accompanied by "a clear increase in the manifold exploitation of musical possibilities.... [and] the condensation of thematic-motivic elaboration."[17] "Cantabile quality" may be an accurate description of the character of the theme of K 412, but its comparison with the themes of any of the works mentioned by Wolff may easily reveal its inferiority. The last-mentioned qualities—"manifold exploitation of musical possibilities" and "a condensation of thematic-motivic elaboration"—are remarkably absent from this theme, and from the movement as a whole.

Thus this movement cannot be interpreted as representing a certain "new simplicity," a specimen of Mozart's *Spätstil*. Moreover, there is not much in it to suggest an attribution to Mozart at all, in any period of his life, except for the undeniable fact that we have an autograph, which has been authenticated as being in Mozart's hand, and has been attributed by experts to his mature period.[18]

In recent decades an attempt has been made to find a formula for authenticating Mozart's compositions, based on formal proportions—the theory developed by Robert Levin and Daniel Leeson in their attempt to disentangle the riddle of the genesis of the Symphonia Concertante K. Anh. C 14.01 (297b).[19] Levin and Leeson claim to have discovered a set of ratios between formal sections in a concerto that are to be found exclusively in Mozart's compositions in this genre, and thus enable us to distinguish between authentic and spurious works. It has been tempting to invoke this theory as further evidence

for my claim: the Concerto K 412 has been included in the Leeson-Levin statistics as a specimen of an authentic concerto, but actually (as may be seen in their chart 2, p. 88) it presents some very exceptional ratios, which could have induced the authors to present it as inauthentic: the ratios between the development section and the solo exposition and between the development and the recapitulation are exceptionally high. In other words, the development section is exceptionally long, and as I have shown above, at the same time it lacks dynamism and inventiveness. Nevertheless, I believe that the latter point offers greater support for my thesis than does the sheer length of the development section. The issues of melody, motivic development, harmonic language, and orchestration, presented above, are more immediately observable and thus make reliance on the Leeson-Levin theory superfluous in my evaluation of the authenticity of the Concerto K 412.[20]

The concerto's two-movement structure

The Horn Concerto K412 is exceptional in another respect, which may be outlined briefly here. All extant Mozart concertos, for any instrument, are in three movements and include, as a matter of course, a second movement in a slow tempo. This holds true for concertos of the period in general. It is true that many concertos have been lost, and some of them may have been in two movements. But certainly this was not a common practice.

There actually existed a two-movement model, common particularly in the French *symphonie concertante*, and some works for keyboard solo employing this pattern were written by Johann Christian Bach, but this can hardly be considered relevant for Mozart in the 1780s.

As has been shown by Alan Tyson,[21] the first two pages of the Rondo fragment were written by Mozart on a bifolium belonging to the same sheet of paper as the last two pages of the first movement. Thus we may assume that the Rondo was intended to follow immediately after the Allegro, with no intervening slow movement. In Mozart's concertos the slow movement often serves as the expressive core of the composition and presents the soloist with a welcome opportunity to show his skill as regards beauty and expressivity of sound. Thus it seems unlikely that Mozart would have dispensed with a slow movement in a composition of his own. This, again, leads to the assumption that Mozart was working with a pre-existing composition in two movements. This composition may have originated earlier, in the orbit of the French concerto, a hypothesis I shall develop further on.

The autograph

Another argument against Mozart's authorship of this concerto concerns the unusual layout of the systems in the autograph. In his Vienna period, Mozart used twelve-stave paper exclusively. Placing a score for soloist and orchestra on such paper presents a problem: if two systems are placed on one page, some of the staves must have two parts; on the other hand, if the page contains only one system, some staves will remain empty, which is a waste of expensive paper. Mozart usually adopted the spacious solution (i.e., in all five violin

concertos, the Andante for Flute and Orchestra K 315, and the Aria K 528, "Bella mia fiamma").[22] In the Horn Concertos K 417 and K 447 he adopted the more compressed format of two systems to a page. Thus the two violin parts had to be written on a single stave, as did the two oboe parts and the two orchestral horn parts (in K 495, which uses one system to a page, the two violin and two oboe parts have separate staves). But regardless of the format, Mozart invariably decided on a particular layout from the outset, and retained it throughout the movement.

In K 412 something exceptional happens: there are two systems to a page, but on the first page there is no staff for the soloist and the layout of each system is as follows: violin I, violin II, viola, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, bass. From page 2, m. 21 (the entrance of the soloist), this layout changes drastically: there are still two systems to a page, but now they appear in the following order: Corno principale, violin I, violin II, viola, one empty staff, bass. The woodwind parts do not appear on the page at all, for lack of space; they were written separately on pages 11 and 12 of the autograph, using systems of three staves: one for the two oboes and one each for the two bassoon parts.[23] To the best of my knowledge, this practice—change of layout in the middle of a work and removal of some parts to a separate page—is unprecedented in the autographs of Mozart's instrumental compositions. It can be found, indeed, in some of the opera scores: in large ensembles or choral sections, Mozart actually did not manage to place all the parts on one twelve-staff page and had to write some of them separately. Such a necessity does not exist in our case: in all his other concerto scores, Mozart found simpler solutions.

It is difficult to explain these inconsistencies if we consider the concerto to be a genuine Mozart composition. Should we assume that Mozart, beginning to write the concerto, was not clear in his mind as to what instruments he would use?[24] We do not have to accept the myth that Mozart, before writing down a composition, 'had it all ready in his head,' to suppose that usually he determined in advance at least the makeup of his orchestra, and thus could choose an appropriate layout for his score, which he could retain throughout a movement. We should bear in mind that the autograph of K 412 is not a draft, but a fully written out score, ready for performance.

My suggestion is that in this case Mozart was not actually composing, but copying from a pre-existing source, not his own, entering revisions and additions in the process of copying. This may have been done with some haste, which did not permit planning in advance. The source may have been for horn solo and strings alone (the absence of woodwind parts in the Rondo fragment strengthens this supposition).[25] The staff for the solo horn part in this source may have been absent from the first page, where it was not needed—a practice contrary to Mozart's habit of providing this staff from the beginning, even if it remained empty for a page or more. Mozart added the staves for oboes and bassoons, which he intended to use, and only on the second page, when the solo part commenced, apparently discovered that he had left no space for it. He then re-distributed almost all the staves: violin I became corno principale, violin II became violin I, viola became violin II, the staff for the oboes was given to the viola, the bassoon staff was left empty, and only the bass staff remained unchanged.

We may add here, strengthening our impression of haste and lack of planning, the abundant and thorough corrections visible in the autograph (especially after measures 84,[26] 120, and 128, the original deleted versions reproduced in the NMA, Anhang to the horn concertos, pp. 103-04). In Mozart's output such corrections are comparable only to the autographs of some of the "Haydn" quartets or the Piano Concerto K 491, which are complex and ambitious compositions. If the rather unpretentious concerto movement K 412 were an original Mozart composition we would be at pains to explain why it needed so many corrections. Such a phenomenon is, again, much more plausible if we assume Mozart was correcting someone else's composition.

The two versions of the Rondo

So far our investigation has centered on the first movement of K 412, pointing out its stylistic strangeness, the unconventional two-movement structure of the composition, and some unusual features of the autograph. Our impression that the concerto was conceived by a composer other than Mozart may be reinforced by directing our attention now to the Rondo in its two extant versions. A comparison of these may provide us with another clue—perhaps a decisive one—in our quest for this concerto's origins.

Actually, Süssmayr's and Mozart's versions of the Rondo differ widely: the solo parts in both coincide only through m. 40 of the fragment (m. 44 of the Süssmayr version) and subsequently only in some isolated sections (the erased mm. 48 a-d in the fragment and mm. 59-62 in Süssmayr, mm. 67-75 in the fragment and 84-92 in Süssmayr; mm. 88-99 strongly resemble mm. 109-16 in Süssmayr), while whatever Mozart wrote of the accompaniment is remarkably different from Süssmayr's. On the other hand, three sections from Mozart's fragment have left no trace in the Süssmayr Rondo (mm. 41-66, 100-05, and 118-35 of the fragment), while three further sections in the Süssmayr version—including one very long passage comprising 39 measures[27]—are completely unrelated to the Mozart fragment (mm. 45-83, 116-18, and 135-41 in Süssmayr).

These divergences have been observed by many, and interpreted in different ways, none of which are very convincing. According to one assumption Süssmayr, working from Mozart's manuscript,[28] decided to make some revisions. This seems improbable, considering the great respect Süssmayr had for his master, and it contradicts his practice in the Requiem (on which he was working at the same time),[29] where he tried to preserve as much as possible from Mozart's original material. Actually, Mozart's fragment provides an almost complete melodic outline of the Rondo, and for Süssmayr it would have sufficed to add the bass and the inner voices where needed. Instead he wrote virtually a new composition, basing it partially on the pre-existing material, adding many new touches of his own. Moreover, Süssmayr's accompaniment is the weaker one, lacking Mozart's rhythmic enrichment of the texture. Thus we may, with some certainty, rule out the possibility that Süssmayr had access to Mozart's fragment of the Rondo.

Plath made practically the same observations in his 1971 article: "Comparing the two versions, one must conclude that the author of the complete Rondo did not know Mozart's

fragment, or at any rate did not use it."[30] But later he states, "The whole occurrence may possibly be reconstructed as follows: Mozart cannot find his rondo fragment any more or is prevented by some other reason from elaborating the movement intended for Leutgeb. Leutgeb, who had kept in his memory at least the principal theme of the fragment, turns then to another Viennese composer and lets him, as it were, re-compose "his" Rondo, with the Mozartean theme, at second hand."[31]

Plath's "reconstruction" makes no sense to me. As the comparison of the two versions has shown, they have much more in common than just the Rondo theme. It is hard to believe that either Leutgeb or Süssmayr remembered all the details of Mozart's fragment that were retained in Süssmayr's version. We have shown, on the other hand, that the discrepancies between the versions are too great for Süssmayr actually to have worked from Mozart's fragment.[32] What remains is to assume the existence of a third version (actually the first, chronologically!), now lost, which contained those elements common to both extant versions. This version may have served as a basis for Mozart's fragment and then again for Süssmayr's version. Accepting this explanation resolves some of the riddles concerning this Rondo: why the style of the Rondo (and the concerto as a whole) is incompatible with Mozart's late manner, why Süssmayr's version is different from—and in many ways inferior to—Mozart's. This lends probability to my claim that not only the music of the Rondo, but that of the first movement too, was not originally Mozart's.

A possible composer

It is time now to form our conjecture as to who may have been the author of the presumed original version of the two D-major movements we possess. To answer this question, let us call to mind the figure of Joseph Leutgeb (1732-1811), the horn player for whom the other three concertos were written,[33] and most probably this concerto as well. In fact, in this concerto his name is not mentioned in the autograph, but the series of remarks, partly jesting and partly offending, to be found in the solo part of the fragmentary Rondo seem to be addressed to him, as they match very well with Mozart's humorous style of reference to him in the Concerto K 417. Let us cite a few samples of the 41 remarks scattered above the solo horn part in the autograph of the Rondo fragment: "à lei Signor asino" ("To you, mister donkey," m. 8); "Oh, che stonatura" ("Oh, these false notes!" m. 23); "Ah, che mi fai ridere!" ("How you make me laugh," m. 57); "Respira un poco" ("Breathe a little," m. 65). The texts may be read in full in the NMA edition of the Rondo fragment.

Here are some points of Leutgeb's story—as far as we can reconstruct it[34]—that may be relevant to our research. Leutgeb was Mozart's senior by 24 years, and a friend of the Mozarts from Wolfgang's early childhood. He was a member of the Salzburg court chapel for many years, leaving it in 1777 (at age 45) to establish himself in Vienna, making his living there as a cheese merchant. From 1787 he played in the orchestra of Prince Grassalkovich.[35] He must have been one of the greatest horn virtuosi of his time, as Mozart's music written for him taxes to the highest degree this instrument, from a technical as well as an expressive point of view.

Certain elements of Leutgeb's story call for special attention. His performances as a soloist are documented only up to 1770. In that year he appeared three times in Frankfurt, and twice in the *Concert spirituel* in Paris, earning high praise from the press. In some of these concerts he played, according to reports, a concerto of his own composition.[36] For the remaining 41 years of his life, there is no record of any solo performance, neither of Mozart's concertos nor of any other works. We should further remember that Leutgeb in the 1780s was already in his fifties, an advanced age for a horn player.

My own conjecture, then, is that Leutgeb himself may have been the author of the first version of this Concerto in D, known as Mozart's K 412. My scenario is as follows: Perhaps as early as the 1770s (the only time a performance by Leutgeb of a composition of his own is known to have taken place), Leutgeb wrote a full version or a draft of this concerto, probably in two movements, a first movement and a Rondo. It may have been performed in his concerts in Paris. In the 1780s, as he was perhaps trying to revive his career as a soloist, he asked Mozart to re-write the concerto for him, possibly in order to update it stylistically, or to adapt it to his more limited technical abilities at his advanced age.[37] Mozart, as a true friend, undertook to do it. Probably the concerto was to be performed under Leutgeb's name, even though some parts of it were by Mozart. There was a precedent for this, as Mozart let Michael Haydn perform under the latter's name two duos for violin and viola written by the former.[38] At this stage, nevertheless, for some reason, the project did not come to fruition and the first movement remained a fragment. Sometime later, probably in 1791, Mozart resumed his work on the concerto, corrected and completed the first movement and wrote a draft of the Rondo, based again on Leutgeb's original. This draft, too, was abandoned and remained fragmentary, perhaps due to Mozart's untimely death. Leutgeb still did not give up, and charged Süssmayr, Mozart's pupil and close friend, with the task of completing the Rondo. Leutgeb's connection to the Süssmayr version is suggested by the twofold mention of his name in the so-called Leningrad manuscript, the source containing Süssmayr's version of the Rondo.[39] This version was completed on Holy Friday, 6 April 1792.[40]

Even if Leutgeb's involvement in the Süssmayr version cannot be proven, our inference of the existence of such a pre-existing version seems ineluctable. According to my own conjectural reconstruction of the story, then, Leutgeb actually provided Süssmayr with a written source: not Mozart's fragment, which may have been unknown or unavailable to him, but his own draft or version of the Rondo, which had served also Mozart himself, in the latter's aborted version. Süssmayr worked on the basis of Leutgeb's manuscript and brought it to completion in his own way.

Constanze Mozart's correspondence with André

Further evidence in support of my conjecture may be found in a few sentences from Constanze Mozart's correspondence with the publisher Johann André. Constanze had delivered the bulk of Mozart's autographs of completed works to André. Apparently André claimed from her all autograph fragments she possessed as well. In her letter of 31 May 1800[41] she vehemently refused to part with these. Instead, she furnished another list of

autographs, the whereabouts of which she had some knowledge. She also responded to his request to provide more information about certain completed works, the existence of which was known to him, but which were missing from the collection of Mozart's manuscripts delivered to him by Constanze.[42] In the postscript to this letter, she says, "I have been myself once to Leutgeb, who lives in the outer suburbs [of Vienna], and later I have written to him twice, and he has not yet kept his word ... maybe he has not got the piece at all."[43] This passage appears without context, and does not refer to anything mentioned earlier in the letter, so we cannot identify the piece Constanze sought from Leutgeb, nor the nature of Leutgeb's unfulfilled promise. We may guess that the piece was for horn solo. The sentence probably serves as an answer to a question in André's (lost) letter to Constanze. Nevertheless, 30 lines later, Constanze mentions, in another list of missing pieces requested by André, the following item: "6.10 Rondo for the horn with facetious heading. Leutgeb has promised me a copy of this.[44]" If we compare "has not yet kept his word" with "promised me," we may infer that Constanze refers to the same music in both passages, and this is also J.H. Eibl's interpretation in the commentary.[45] We may then guess that André had inquired explicitly about this Rondo. Here he seems to mention it as a complete work, as his questions refer only to such works. André may have heard from some source that the work had been performed sometime in the eight years that had elapsed since its completion, and inferred from this that a completed version existed.

If we combine these two passages from Constanze's letter with my conjectural reconstruction of the events concerning the composition of the Leutgeb-Süssmayr version of the Rondo, we may interpret those passages as follows: Constanze assumed, as a result of André's request, that Leutgeb had in his possession a copy of a complete version of the Rondo for horn by Mozart, of which she herself possessed only the fragmentary version (this fragment is mentioned also in her letter to another music-publisher, Härtel, from 12 May 1800).[46] This "copy" actually may have been Süssmayr's version of the D-major Rondo, K 514. Leutgeb was apparently reluctant to give it to Constanze: even her personal visit to his house, and two letters of reminder, failed to extract it from him. On the other hand, he dares not overtly refuse the delivery, and promises it time and again. This evasiveness on Leutgeb's part may perhaps be explained by his fear of revealing—once the manuscript was examined by professional eyes—his negotiations with Süssmayr, who was re-writing a composition Constanze might consider as being Mozart's, as she herself was in possession of an autograph fragment of the same music.

Actually, Constanze never received the "copy" she had requested. If it really was the completed and spurious Rondo version we know, it came into the hands of Mozart's son Carl, and from his inheritance to the Baroness Julie von Baroni-Cavalcabò,[47] who was a student and friend (and probably a lover) of his younger brother, Franz Xaver. From there it wandered by some unknown path to Russia, where it resides today in the Institute of Theatre, Music, and Cinematography in St. Petersburg.

If we accept this conjecture, some questions remain unanswered: Did Leutgeb ever perform the concerto in public—the first movement in the Leutgeb-Mozart version and the second in the Leutgeb-Süssmayr version? If it was, who was presented as its author? If

Leutgeb presented it as his own work, concealing Mozart's contribution, this would have been pardonable to a certain degree, and might even have been authorized by Mozart if he had been alive.[48] André's supposed request may support the hypothesis that it was indeed performed, but as a composition of Mozart's, and in that case it must be considered a fraud. We know that Süssmayr was not beyond such machinations: the movements he had composed to complete Mozart's Requiem were to be handed over to posterity as original Mozart.[49] As regards Leutgeb, we have insufficient grounds to convict him on fraud, but some suspicion remains.

Conclusion

This article employs stylistic, historical, and philological considerations, all of which seem to lead to the same conclusion: the autograph of the first movement and the Rondo fragment known as the "Horn Concerto K 412+514" are probably not original compositions by Mozart, but a result of brushing up an earlier work by another composer, who may well have been the horn player Joseph Leutgeb. The blatant stylistic divergences from Mozart's practice, the anomalous two-movement structure, and the curious layout of the autograph permit such an interpretation. The many dissimilarities, hitherto unexplained, between Mozart's Rondo fragment and the completed version attributed to Süssmayr suggest that the second was not an elaboration of the first, but that both were based on an earlier version, which, again, may have been Leutgeb's, his involvement having left footprints in both manuscripts. Constanze Mozart's reference to a copy of a Mozart composition being in Leutgeb's hands more than eight years after Mozart's death, and his unwillingness to part with it, are another indication of Leutgeb's possible implication in the genesis of this problematic composition.

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NOTES

[1] This article is based on a paper given at the annual meeting of the Mozart Society of America, Columbus, Ohio, November 2002. I express my thanks to Professor Neal Zaslaw, whose comments were invaluable to me as I prepared the final version.

[2] Wolfgang Plath, "Zur Echtheitsfrage bei Mozart," *Mozart-Jahrbuch* 1971-72, pp. 19-36.

[3] See, for example, Otto Jahn, *W.A. Mozart* (Leipzig, 1858), 3:292-95; Hermann Abert, *W.A. Mozart,* 7th edn. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1956), 2:40-41; G. de Saint-Foix, "Les Concertos pour cor de Mozart," *Revue de Musicologie* 10 (1929): 239-45; M.K. Ward, "Mozart and the Horn," *Music & Letters* 31 (1950): 318-32; Karl Marguerre, "Das Finale von Mozarts 'erstem Hornkonzert'," *Acta Mozartiana* 26 (1979): 34-36; Alan Tyson, "Mozart's Horn Concertos, New Datings and the Identification of Handwriting," *Mozart-Jahrbuch* 1987-88, pp. 121-37.

[4] See below, p. 12 and n. 21.
[5] See Wolfgang Plath, "Noch ein Requiembrief," in *Acta Mozartiana* 28 (1981): 96-101. The manuscript of the spurious rondo is now in the Institute for Theatre, Music, and Cinematography in St. Petersburg. See Alan Tyson, "Mozart's D-major Horn concerto: Questions of Date and Authenticity," in Alan Tyson, *Mozart: Studies of the Autograph Scores* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 250; and Dmitri Kolbin, "Ein wiedergefundenes Mozart-Autograph," *Mozart-Jahrbuch* 1967, pp. 193-204.
[6] *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's Werke*, ed. J. Brahms et al (Leipzig, 1877-1905; reprint Ann Arbor: J.W. Edwards, 1955), series XII, vol. 2.
[7] *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke* [hereafter NMA], series V, vol. 14 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987), Anhang.
[8] See n. 5.
[9] H.C. Robbins Landon (*The Symphonies of Joseph Haydn* [London: Universal Edition & Rockliff, 1956], 400) supposes that Antonio Rosetti's (1750-92) horn concertos may have served as Mozart's models for writing a horn concerto. The Rosetti concertos I have been able to examine present no unified construction, and none of them resembles notably the Mozart concertos.
[10] K 488 also has a lyrical first subject, but there is a marked rhythmic contrast between mm. 1-4 and 5-8.
[11] In all of Mozart's concertos, the themes of the first movements start on a downbeat, except K 450 and K 447. This feature is common also to the first movements of all of Mozart's symphonies.
[12] There are, of course, other types of concerto themes that have not been considered here: fanfare-like themes or other triadic constructions, as in the first themes of the Violin Concertos K 216, 218, and 219, or the Piano Concertos K 271, 482, and 503, or continuous structures as in Piano Concertos K 246 and K 466. The themes considered here have in common a definable opening motive, usually two measures long, repeated sequentially.
[13] The Horn Quintet K 407, written probably in 1782, may be considered in a certain sense a horn concerto as well, the horn figuring as soloist and the string quartet (comprising singularly one violin, two violas, and a cello) as the orchestra. The style of this work resembles the subsequent horn concertos in E♭ major, but shows no resemblance to K 412.
[14] Even in the Flute Concerto K 313 (285c), where the soloist's entrance shows the greatest resemblance to the orchestral entrance, there is a change from the eighth measure onward.
[15] There are chromatic progressions in the bass line in mm. 43-46, 68, 76, and 111; in the solo there is only one, in m. 133 (a total of eight measures with chromatic progressions), as compared with 46 measures with chromatic progressions in the first movement of K 447.
[16] Christoph Wolff, "Vollendet und fragmentarisch: Über Mozarts Schaffen der letzten Lebensjahre," *Jahrbuch alte Musik* 2 (1993): 61-87. " [I]m Sinne einer Kantabilisierung des rhythmisch-melodischen Profils in den Quintetten D-Dur KV 593 und Es-Dur KV 614, dem letzten Klavierkonzert B-Dur KV 595 oder dem Klarinettenkonzert A-Dur KV 622." English translation by the present author.
[17] Ibid., 67. " [E]ine klare Steigerung in der vielfältigen Ausschöpfung musikalischer Möglichkeiten.... der Verdichtung thematisch-motivischer Arbeit." English translation by the present author.
[18] See Franz Giegling, introduction to NMA, series V, vol. 14, *The Horn Concertos* (1987), xv.
[19] Daniel N. Leeson and Robert D. Levin, "On the Authenticity of K Anh. C14.01 (297b Symphonia Concertante for Four Winds and Orchestra)," *Mozart-Jahrbuch* 1976-77, pp. 70-96.
[20] A similar, more recent investigation by Konrad Küster (*Formale Aspekte des ersten Allegros in Mozarts Konzerten* [Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1991] shows as well some remarkable irregularities in the formal proportions of K 412, as may be seen in his chart on p. 257.

[21] Tyson, *Mozart Autograph Studies*, 251.
[22] I include here only examples of concertos for one melodic instrument, using one staff for the soloist. In piano concertos or concertos for several soloists it is evident that more staves are needed, and there remains no choice but one system to a page.
[23] This peculiarity of the layout has been commented upon by Franz Giegling in his introduction to the NMA edition of the horn concertos (p. xv), finding it, for some reason, preferable to Mozart's usual layout.
[24] A comparative case from an earlier stage in Mozart's career is the autograph of his Symphony in F, K 130 of 1772. Here Mozart wrote the first two movements for two horns only, added another two for the Minuet and the Finale, and subsequently added parts for 3rd and 4th horns in the first and second movements as well, using the blank staves between the systems for the notation. Still there is a vast difference between those cases: in K 130 Mozart's change of mind concerned retrospectively two entire movements and involved an actual addition of parts, while in K 412 the change was from one page to the next, within the same movement, the change being only in the layout, without substantial additions. We may consider too that when composing K 130 Mozart was 16 years old, and according to Tyson's chronology he was over 30 when he wrote down the concerto K 412. I am indebted to Neal Zaslaw for pointing out to me this similarity.
[25] It is conceivable, however, that, had he finished the movement, Mozart would have added these later on a separate page, as he did in the first movement.
[26] The corrected version of mm. 86-97 appears on a different kind of paper, Wz 91, according to Tyson's classification in the *Wasserzeichenkatalog* of the NMA, series X vol. 33 (suppl., 1992).
[27] Süssmayr's use in this episode of the Gregorian chant from the *Lamentationes prophetae Jeremiae,* and its various interpretations in the research need not concern us here, as they have nothing to do with Mozart's version of the Rondo. See Tyson, *Mozart Autograph Studies*, 53, 259; P. Engelbert Grau, "Ein bislang übersehener Instrumentalwitz von W.A.Mozart," *Acta Mozartiana* 8, no. 1 (1961): 8-10; and Christoph Wolff's curious interpretation in Christoph Wolff, *Mozart's Requiem: Historical and Analytical Studies, Documents and Score*, transl. Mary Whittall, with revisions and additions by the author (Berkeley, Oxford, and London: Clarendon Press, 1994).
[28] Robert Levin, "Concertos," in H.C. Robbins Landon, ed., *The Mozart Compendium: A Guide to Mozart's Life and Music* (London: Schirmer Books, 1990), 271.
[29] Süssmayr received Mozart's fragment of the Requiem from Constanze sometime early in 1792 and delivered the completed version in the summer. The Rondo of the D-major Horn Concerto was completed on 6 April 1792. See n. 40.
[30] Wolfgang Plath, "Echtheitsfrage," 27. "[M]uß man nach einem Vergleich der beiden Fassungen schließen, daß der Autor des "vollständigen" Rondos Mozarts eigenen Partiturentwurf nicht gekannt oder doch jedenfalls nicht benutzt hat." English translation by the present author.
[31] Ibid., 27. "Der ganze Vorgang darf also wohl folgendermaßen rekonstruiert werden: Mozart kann seinen Rondo-Entwurf nicht mehr finden oder wird aus irgendwelchen anderen Gründen von der Ausarbeitung des für Leutgeb bestimmten Satzes abgehalten. Leutgeb, der wenigstens noch das Hauptthema des Entwurfs im Ohr hatte, wendet sich daraufhin an einen anderen Wiener Komponisten und läßt sich "sein" Rondo mit dem Mozartschen Thema sozusagen von zweiter Hand neu komponieren." English translation by the present author.
[32] Alan Tyson, too, stumbled on these inconsistencies in his 1987 article about the D major horn concerto: "What is striking, however, about the Leningrad score [Süssmayr's version of the rondo] is that it is a rather free completion. For it deviates to quite an extent from Mozart's draft...." (Tyson, *Mozart Autograph Studies*, 253). He offers no explanation for this deviation.

[33] K 417 carries the facetious dedication, "Wolfgang Amadé Mozart has taken pity on Leitgeb the ox, donkey, and fool, Vienna, the 27th of May 1783." ("Wolfgang Amadé Mozart hat sich über den Leitgeb Esel, Ochs, und Narr, erbarmt / zu Wien den 27: May 1783"). In K 447 the name "Leitgeb" in Mozart's handwriting figures twice without any context in the manuscript of the Rondo. K 495 is described in the *Verzeichnüss* (Mozart's thematic catalogue) as "Horn concerto for Leitgeb."

[34] See Karl Maria Pisarowitz, "Mozarts Schnorrer Leutgeb," *Mitteilungen der internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 18, Heft 3/4 (1970): 21-26.

[35] Leutgeb's employment in the Grassalkovich chapel is documented in C.F.Pohl, *Denkschrift aus Anlass des hundertjährigen Bestehens der Tonkünstler-Societät* (Vienna, 1871), 107, 121 (no. 146).

[36] The *Avant coureur des spectacles* announces for 1, 11, and 16 April 1770, "Concert de cor par Leutgeb lui-même." Cited in Constant Pierre, *Histoire du concert spirituel 1725-1790* (1900; reprint, Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 1975), 151.

[37] The very limited range of the solo part in the first movement (a ninth) may indicate Mozart's effort to write easily playable music.

[38] The duos K 423 and 424. See Georg Nikolaus Nissen, *Biographie W.A.Mozarts* (Leipzig, 1828; reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1972), 476ff; cited in Dietrich Berke, Introduction to the NMA edition of Duets and Trios for Strings and Winds (series VIII, vol. 21 [1974]). Further instances include five of the six *Notturni* (K 439, 438, 436, 437, and 346 [439a]). For these no autograph survives and some of the copies name Gottfried von Jacquin as author, while others name Mozart. Constanze believed the vocal parts were by Jacquin, Mozart adding the instrumental accompaniment. André, and following him in the first editions of the Köchel catalogue, attributed the music exclusively to Mozart. The NMA editor Stellan-Mörner supposes some kind of collaboration. See introduction to NMA, series III, vol. 9 (1970), x-xii.

[39] "Leitgeb bitt um Hilf." See Giegling's introduction to the NMA edition of the horn concertos (1987), V/14, p. xvii; and the facsimile of the "Leningrad manuscript," ibid., 171.

[40] This manuscript is dated "Venerdì santo lo 6 Aprile 797." 6 April 1797 was not Holy Friday, thus this improbable date has been interpreted in various ways by different commentators. Tyson's interpretation (6 April 1792), reading the last 7 as a 2, as presented in his 1987 article on the D-major Horn Concerto (p. 253), settles the matter, in my opinion. By the way, the first to suggest this interpretation of the controversial date was Ignaz Franz Edler von Mosel in 1839, as mentioned in Plath, "Echtheitsfrage," *Mozart-Jahrbuch* 1971-72, pp. 193-204.

[41] W.A. Bauer, O.E. Deutsch, and J.H. Eibl, eds., *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen* (Kassel, Bärenreiter 1962–75), vol. 4, letter No. 1299, p. 352-53.

[42] In the heading to this part of her letter, Constanze cites André: "I miss the following in score and parts, which is all noted in the autograph catalogue, and about which I request to get further information, as to where I can eventually obtain it." ("Folgendes fehlt mir in Partitur und Stimmen, welches alles im eigenhändigen Catalog verzeichnet ist, und um welches ich mir nähere Nachricht ausbitte, wo ich es allenfals bekommen kann").

[43] Bauer et al, *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, vol. 4, p. 356, lines 159-62. "Einmal bin ich selbst bey Leitgeb, der in der äussersten Vorstadt lebt, gewesen, drauf habe ich ihm zwey Male geschrieben, und er hat noch nicht wort gehalten … nun wird er dies Stük wohl gar nicht einmal haben."

[44] Ibid., p. 357, lines 192-94. "Rondo fürs horn mit scherzhafter Ueberschrift. dieses [*sic*] hat Leitgeb mir in Copie versprochen."

[45] Ibid., vol. 6, *Kommentar III/IV 1780-1857*, 546.

[46] Ibid., vol. 4, letter No. 1297, p. 350, line 58.

[47] L. von Köchel, *Chronologisch-thematisches Verzeichnis sämtlicher Tonwerke Wolfgang Amadé Mozarts*

(Leipzig, 1862; rev. Giegling, A. Weinmann, and G. Sievers, 7th edn. (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1965), 428.

[48] See main text above, p. 82, concerning Michael Haydn, and n. 38.

[49] Only on 8 February 1800, did Süssmayr acknowledge his active participation in the composition of the Requiem, in a letter to the publisher Härtel.