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# Ringing False: Music Analysis, Forgery, and the Technologies of Truth

A dissertation presented

by

Frederick Reece

to

The Department of Music

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the subject of

Music

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Cambridge, Massachusetts

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Dissertation Advisor: Professor Alexander Rehding Frederick Reece

# Ringing False: Music Analysis, Forgery, and the Technologies of Truth

## Abstract

Forged musical compositions are surprisingly common. In this dissertation I examine key twentieth-century examples of compositional forgery in detail, asking what is at stake—historically, aesthetically, and ethically—when new musical works are created to court misattribution to figures from the past. Each chapter is situated at a moment of cultural conflict during which forgeries provoked heated debate about the morality of authorial imposture, the scope and limits of academic expertise, and music's slippery aesthetic relationship to history.

Chapter one begins in 1935, when the front page of the *New York Times* revealed that world-renowned concert violinist Fritz Kreisler had in fact composed numerous "baroque" works that had found their way into his repertory. Chapter two picks up in 1975, with the East-German musicologist Harry Goldschmidt receiving a curious letter claiming that Schubert's missing "Gmunden-Gastein" Symphony (D. 849) had been rediscovered after more than a century and a half. Finally, chapter three considers musical forgery in a more recent cultural context, examining a 1993 case in which six rediscovered "Haydn" keyboard sonatas (Hob. XVI:2a–e and 2g) turned out not to be by Haydn at all.

In each case, analysis of the stylistic content of forged compositions reveals how the works succeeded and failed by playing on the aesthetic prejudices characteristic of their own era. Ultimately, I argue that forgeries and the debates they provoked should be reappraised as sites of critical insight into our shifting attitudes towards authorship, authenticity, and the musical past.

## Table of Contents

List of Figures, Tables, and Examples....................v
Acknowledgments....................vi

**Introduction. Forgery, Authorship, and the Canon**....................1
  Forgery, Plagiarism, and other Allonyms....................3
  A Typology of Forgery....................8
  Between Style and Stylus....................10
  Musicology and *l'homme même*....................13
  Constanze and the Canon....................17
  Compositional Forgery vs. Musicology....................20

**Chapter 1. Kreislerian Fantasies**....................23
  Ugly Appellations....................28
  Organisms and Machines....................32
  Tall Tales and True Fiction....................37
  Curation and Connoisseurship....................41
  Dusty, Old, Forgotten Cloaks....................46
  Chattertons and Dossenas....................54
  The Brothers Casadesus....................60
  Musical Values....................69
  The Exploitation of Formulae....................74
  Innocence Lost....................79

**Chapter 2. Schubert's Untrue Symphony**....................86
  A Symphony on Trial....................89
  The Gastein Mythos....................96
  From Gastein to Gmunden....................100
  Copy or Original?....................103
  Fragments and the Sublime....................111
  Technologies of Truth....................115

**Chapter 3. Haydn's Missing Link**....................121
  How to Forge a Missing Link....................122
  Style, Chronology, and Piltdown Man....................130
  A Musical Joke?....................133
  Guilt and Shame....................138
  The Westphalian Manuscript....................145
  Revenge of the "Antiquarians"....................152
  As If....................157
  Double Bluff....................164
  Art and its Imponderables....................170

Bibliography....................175

## List of Figures, Tables, and Examples

**Figures**

No. 1 Detail showing Süssmayr’s forgery of Mozart’s signature on the “autograph” delivery score of the Requiem, K. 626. 2
No. 2 The young Fritz Kreisler and Arnold Schoenberg as members of a Schrammelmusik Quintet. 49
No. 3 Henry Wallis, *The Death of Chatterton*, Tate Version (1855). 60
No. 4 Postcard showing the “Société des Instruments Anciens.” 63
No. 5 Niedersächsisches Staatsorchester Concert Program, December 6 and 7, 1982. 90
No. 6 Competing Interpretations of the Musical Sources. 93
No. 7 Comparison of Schubert’s Date on D. 842 and D. 944. 102
No. 8 Summary of Goldschmidt’s Source Filiation. 106
No. 9 John Cooke, *Piltdown Gang* (1915). 132
No. 10 Westphalian Manuscript, Title Page. 148
No. 11 Westphalian Manuscript, First Page of Forged “Hob. XVI:2a.” 149
No. 12 Title Page, “Giovanni Paolo Simonetti,” *Due Sonate a tre*. 151
No. 13 Westphalian Manuscript, page 37. 168

**Tables**

No. 1 List of Fritz Kreisler’s Forgeries. 27
No. 2 List of selected Forgeries by Henri and Marius Casadesus. 65
No. 3 Grove’s Chronology (1881) of Schubert’s Symphonies. 98
No. 4 Chronologies of Haydn’s Solo Keyboard Works from Hob. XVI. 125–26

**Examples**

No. 1 Plagal Cadential Extension in Fritz Kreisler, Forged “Louis Couperin,” *La Précieuse*, mm.99–106. 75
No. 2 Voice-Leading Sketch: Fritz Kreisler, Forged “Vivaldi” Violin Concerto in C Major, ii, mm.13–34. 77
No. 3 Albert Lavignac, *Cours d’Harmonie: Théorique et Pratique* (Paris: Henry Lemoine & Co., 1909), 122. 79
No. 4 Comparison of thematic material from the Forged E-Major Symphony and Schubert’s “Great” C Major Symphony D. 944. 104
No. 5 Forged “Gmunden” Symphony Source Philology: F-sharp vs. F-natural. 109
No. 6 Forged “Gmunden” Symphony in E Major “D. 849,” i, mm.149–61 114
No. 7 Winfried Michel, Forged “Haydn” Sonata in D Minor, “Hob. XVI: 2a,” i, mm.1–11. 157
No. 8 Winfried Michel, Forged “Haydn” Sonata in D Minor, “Hob. XVI: 2a,” i, mm. 62–78. 159
No. 9 W. A. Mozart, Overture from *Idomeneo*, K.366 (1781), mm.156–64. 161
No. 10 Winfried Michel, Forged “Haydn” Sonata in B Major, “Hob. XVI:2c,” i, mm.14–24. 163
No. 11 Michel’s Completion of the Forged “Haydn” Sonata “Hob. XVI:2d.” 169

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Unlike the many forgeries discussed within it, this dissertation really was written by the person whose name is printed on its title page. Even so, in bringing the work to its close, I am reminded that authorship is never a simple matter. Any research project on this scale, no matter how personal, will inevitably be shaped by multitudinous minds and hands. Casting my memory back, I feel deeply humbled by the group of friends and colleagues who have helped make this dissertation what it is.

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**for Annie**

# Introduction

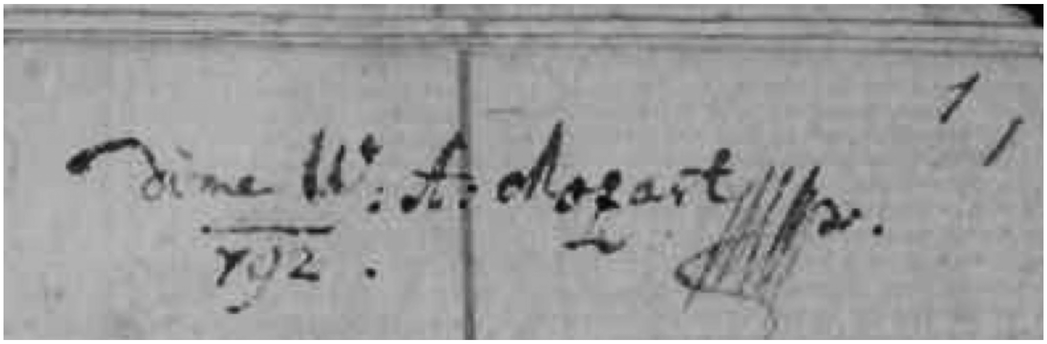
## Forgery, Authorship, and the Canon

When Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart died on 5 December 1791, his widow, Constanze, was left to face a series of grueling practical dilemmas. The exact details of the family's finances that winter are contested, yet the fact remains that—with two surviving children, no independent income, and a series of debts left by her late husband—Constanze was in dire need of funds.[1] During his final illness, the thirty-five-year-old Mozart had been at work on a setting of the requiem mass commissioned by an anonymous patron. Acting through a clerk, the unknown individual had, crucially, offered to pay a fifty-ducat fee for the score. This sum, which was the equivalent of more than one quarter of Mozart's annual eight-hundred-florin salary as court composer to Joseph II, would surely have been a substantial windfall for Constanze and her children. Yet, at the time of Mozart's passing, the Requiem remained, famously, incomplete. It need hardly be added that musical fragments were not easily marketable products in the 1790s. Thus Constanze's dilemma: how best to capitalize on the substantial musical material that her late husband had left behind?

Some two months after Mozart's death Count Franz von Walsegg of Stuppach—the anonymous aristocrat who had commissioned the requiem—received a complete copy in a two-hundred-page full score.[2] It was inscribed, on the top right-hand corner of the first folio, with the following authorial paratext (reproduced in Figure 1): “di me W. A. Mozart mppa. | 1792” [by me W. A. Mozart in my own hand | 1792].

---

[1] For a comprehensive assessment of the evidence concerning Mozart's finances, see Julia Moore, "Mozart in the Market-Place," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 114/1 (1989): 18–42.



di me W: A: Mozart mppa.
1792.

**Figure 1.** Detail showing Süssmayr’s forgery of Mozart’s signature on the “autograph” delivery score of the Requiem, K. 626. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Mus. Hs. 1756I, fol. 1r.

Each of the three factual statements asserted by this formula is a lie. Despite appearances, the requiem was not entirely by Mozart. Nor was the score written in his own hand. And, having died the previous December, he certainly did not complete the work—or anything else—in 1792. As is now widely known, the “Sanctus,” most of the “Lacrymosa,” and many of the accompanying voices were in fact composed, at Constanze’s request, by Mozart’s associate and copyist Franz Xaver Süssmayr.[3] In signing the manuscript with the deceased composer's name and consciously imitating his handwriting throughout the full score, Süssmayr—whose own musical and textual handwriting look nothing at all like Mozart's—committed what Christoph Wolff has referred to as an act of "deliberate forgery."[4]

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[2] The manuscript, sometimes referred to as the “delivery score,” is currently housed in the Austrian National Library (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek) under the shelf mark Mus. Hs. 1756I. It has recently been digitized and is now available for consultation online at http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC14016779. Accessed March 2018.

[3] Several other musicians had worked on the project before Süssmayr, including Franz Freystädtler, Maximilian Stadler, and Joseph Eybler. On the source- and style-historical evidence concerning the requiem’s multiple authorship, see Christoph Wolff, *Mozart’s Requiem: Historical and Analytical Studies, Documents, Score* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 17–28.

### ***Forgery, Plagiarism, and other Allonyms***

Given forgery's under-theorization in music, a few points of terminological clarification are in order. Throughout this dissertation, I use the word "forgery" to refer to *the act of attributing your own work to somebody else without their knowledge or consent*. In this sense forgery is the opposite of that more recognizable musical phenomenon, "plagiarism," which involves *claiming somebody else's work as your own*.[5] Consider the completed score of Mozart's requiem delivered to Count Walsegg early in 1792. In this case, Süssmayr unambiguously committed an act of forgery in that he falsely attributed his own work to Mozart, even signing the deceased composer's name to the score.

In a compelling coincidence, Count Walsegg's mysterious anonymous commission was in fact motivated by a contrasting desire to plagiarize Mozart's work. A keen aristocratic enthusiast, Walsegg employed a number of musicians to give concerts at his stately home at Stuppach each Tuesday and Thursday. He also indulged in the eccentric habit of commissioning composers, including such well-known figures as Franz Hoffmeister, to ghostwrite new works for performance at these events, where they were routinely passed off Walsegg's own original works. Even in the context of such dishonest behavior, the true story of the requiem commission is something special. On 14 February 1791 the count's wife, Anna von Walsegg, had died, quite suddenly, at the age of just twenty. Stricken with grief, Walsegg commissioned the sculptor Johann Martin Fischer to construct a magnificent marble and granite memorial for her, reportedly costing over three thousand florins.[6] In a rather less conventional expression of personal sorrow, he also engaged Mozart write a requiem mass that he could have recopied and performed under his own name each year as a kind of outsourced sounding monument.[7] The last such memorial concert was given on Saint Valentine's day, 1794 (the third anniversary of Anna von Walsegg's death) at a small pilgrimage church outside the Lower Austrian town of Semmering.[8] When compared to the historical truth behind the requiem's composition, the libelous story about poor old Salieri made famous by Pushkin's 1832 play seems rather tame.[9]

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[4] Wolff, *Mozart's Requiem*, 17.

[5] In striking contrast to compositional forgery, much scholarly writing has been devoted to issues associated with plagiarism and intellectual property in music. See for example Friedemann Kawohl, *Urheberrechte der Musik in Preußen 1820–1840* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2002). For a study addressing US IP law as it relates to plagiarism litigation in the popular music industry (itself a substantial field of inquiry), see Joanna Demers, *Steal This Music: How Intellectual Property Law Affects Musical Creativity* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2006).

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[6] Wolff, *Mozart's Requiem*, 2.

[7] Any illusion that Walsegg was the true author of the work was quickly dispelled once Breitkopf & Härtel published the first edition of the requiem under Mozart's name in 1800.

[8] The last such memorial concert was given on Saint Valentine's day, 1794—the third anniversary of Anna von Walsegg's death—at a small pilgrimage church outside the Lower Austrian town of Semmering. Anton Herzog gives an account of this performance in a manuscript suppressed by the Viennese censorship office, titled "True and detailed History of the Requiem of W. A. Mozart from its Origin in the Year 1791 to the present period in 1839." For a published reproduction in English see Wolff, *Mozart's Requiem*, 131–38, at 136.

One key difference between Walsegg's plagiarism and Süssmayr's forgery is that, while plagiarism involves taking credit for somebody else's work—what might be termed "authorial greed"—forgery is the act of giving someone else credit for your own labor. It is difficult to overstate the significance of this observation for any serious examination of the psychology, ethics, and legality of forgery when compared to other forms of authorial deception. The practice of plagiarism, for example, is widely regarded as immoral, illegal, or both in part because the associated motives and effects are so obviously analogous to those of more generic forms of theft. This association is even borne out by the word's etymology: plagiarism is derived from the Latin noun *plagiārius*, which literally translates as "plunderer" or "kidnapper."[10] For most modern commentators, it seems intuitively true that taking credit for another person's intellectual property is not so very different from plundering money from their pockets. When authorial credit flips into financial credit—a bond fundamental to the Enlightenment author concept as critiqued by Michel Foucault, Roland Barthes and others—the plagiarist and the pickpocket are, in effect, one and the same.[11]

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[9] Alexander Pushkin, "Mozart and Salieri," *Little Tragedies*, trans. Nancy K. Anderson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

[10] T. F. Hoad ed., *Oxford Concise Dictionary of English Etymology* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), s.v. "plagiary." Appropriately, the English "forgery" has a more creative origin: it is derived from the Latin noun *fabrica* meaning (as in the vernacular) both a smith's shop—where metal is literally "forged"—and skilled workmanship in general.

[11] Barthes, for example, writes: "The author is a modern figure produced by our society insofar as…it discovered the prestige of the individual, or, to put it more nobly, of the

If the classic motivation for plagiarism is greed, then what motivates forgery? There is often thought to be a puzzling kind of "authorial humility" to forgery in that, by definition, the forger must temporarily refuse to take credit for her own work. Yet it is important to note that Constanze and Süssmayr also stood to gain something by assuming the deceased Mozart's authorial identity. On a tangible financial level they took Walsegg's fifty-ducats, which clearly wasn't nothing as far as Constanze was concerned. Yet not all human motives and transgressions begin and end with financial cost and benefit. Identity theft is still rightly conceptualized as a form of theft, even if the assumed identity does not result in direct profit. As the great deceiver Iago puts it to Othello: "Who steals my purse steals trash. . . . But he that filches from me my good name robs me of that which not enriches him and makes me poor indeed."[12]

Imagine, by way of example, *an act of plagiarism in which the transfer of authorial credit is consensual* (a subcategory sometimes referred to as "ghostwriting") and offers no direct financial profit for the plagiarist. Hoffmeister was well rewarded to supply new quartets for performance under Count Walsegg's name. Modern university students are increasingly willing to pay high fees for bespoke dissertations ghostwritten by qualified strangers.[13] In such cases authorial credit is willingly transferred and no

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'human person'. Hence it is logical that with regard to literature it should be positivism, resume and the result of capitalist ideology, which has accorded the greatest importance to the author's 'person'." Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author," *Image, Music, Text* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977).

[12] William Shakespeare, *Othello*, Act 3, Scene 3.

[13] On plagiarism in modern academic contexts see Susan D. Blum, *My Word! Plagiarism and College Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009).

direct profit is made on the part of the plagiarist who, in fact, provides compensation to the true author. Yet we still accept that such acts appropriate something in an illegitimate manner, winning non-monetary capital which the plagiarist has not earned.

In a similar vein, "pseudonymy"—a form of imposture which, in subtle contrast to forgery, consists in *attributing your own work to a nonexistent figure*—has often been used to obscure elements of the author's true identity (gender, ethnic group, biographical conflict of interest, etc.) that might otherwise prejudice or even prohibit the interpretation of the text. On the one hand, few modern critics would assert that Mary Anne Evans behaved illegitimately when she adopted the *nom de plume* "George Eliot," not least because the now-familiar literary name would have evoked little to Evans's first readers beyond its generic masculinity. In music, Johannes Brahms adopted pseudonyms including "G. W. Marks," "Karl Würth," and "Johannes Kreisler" (the latter evoking E. T. A. Hoffmann's fictional character) for numerous early compositions that he did not wish to have indelibly associated with his own name.[14] Ethically speaking, there is something far more ambivalent about James Macpherson attributing his own works to "Ossian" (a quasi-mythic Scottish bard) or Thomas Chatterton to "Thomas Rowley" (an invented fifteenth-century bishop). In these instances of what might productively be dubbed "high" pseudonymy, Macpherson and Chatterton constructed elaborate fictional identities that served to grant them something far greater than the mere shield of unmarked authorship bestowed by the "low" pseudonyms George Eliot and Karl Würth.

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[14] For a compelling musical and biographical reading of Brahms's relationship to the "Kreisler" pseudonym see Roger Mosely, "Reforming Johannes: Brahms, Kreisler Junior and the Piano Trio in B, Op. 8," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 132/2 (2007): 252–305.

### ***A Typology of Forgery***

What about the tangible and intangible profits involved in acts of forgery? Despite the disproportionate attention given to extremely lucrative criminal cases in the plastic arts, the reality is that not all forgeries have the same potential to make money. In examining this question more closely as it relates to musical authorship, it is important to distinguish between three major types of forgery: referential, inventive, and editorial.

The first two of these categories—referential forgery and inventive forgery—were introduced by the philosopher Jerrold Levinson in his 2011 book *Music, Art, and Metaphysics*.[15] For Levinson, "inventive" forgeries are *newly created works falsely attributed to an existing author*. Without directly copying an existing work, inventive forgers imitate the style of another artist with the deliberate goal of being misattributed. The twentieth-century Dutch forger Han van Meegeren's infamous fake Vermeers are clear examples of inventive forgery: without reproducing any of Vermeer's extant works, van Meegeren succeeded in passing off—and selling—his own paintings as authentic works by the seventeenth-century master.[16]

"Referential" forgeries, on the other hand, are *copies of authentic artworks intended to be passed off as originals*. As Levinson explains: "In referential forgery, there always exists some genuine work which the forgery *is of* (and thus, in a loose sense,

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[15] Jerrold Levinson, *Music, Art, and Metaphysics: Essays in Philosophical Aesthetics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 103.

[16] The literature on van Meegeren is substantial. For a useful book-length summary of his career see Edward Dolnick, *The Forger's Spell: A True Story of Vermeer, Nazis, and the Greatest Art Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Harper Collins, 2008).

*refers* to).”[17] Archetypally, the “genuine work” in question tends to be a non-fungible object such as a painting which has been lost, stolen, or otherwise sequestered so that a copy—Levinson’s referential forgery—can emerge to take its place.[18] Yet this need not necessarily be the case if the mark is credible or the work obscure. Mark Landis, the modern-day American art forger, became famous after it was revealed that he had spent thirty years producing referential forgeries of existing drawings and paintings before “donating” them to art museums, at no charge.[19]

It is not obvious whether we should consider Süssmayr’s completion of Mozart’s requiem to be a referential or an inventive forgery. On the one hand, a substantial amount of the requiem already existed at the time of the composer’s death, suggesting that Süssmayr’s forgery was referential. Yet the music for the Sanctus was not copied from Mozart but rather created from scratch in a manner evocative of inventive forgery. As a solution, I would like to propose an third category, “editorial forgery,” to add to Levinson’s existing pair. In my terminology editorial forgeries are *completions or alternative versions of existing works that are falsely represented as the sole creative product of the original composer*.[20]

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[17] Levinson, *Music, Art, and Metaphysics*, 103.

[18] It is also technically possible to make referential forgeries of uniform mass-produced objects such as Albrecht Dürer prints, luxury watches, or banknotes.

[19] Landis has recently been the subject of a feature-length documentary film. See *Art and Craft*, directed by Sam Cullman (New York: Oscilloscope Laboratories, 2015), DVD.

[20] On the ethical issues associated with “speculative” completions of musical works see Robert S. Winter, “Of Realizations, Completions and Reconstructions: from Bach’s ‘The Art of Fugue’ to Beethoven’s Tenth Symphony,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 116/1 (1991): 96–126.

While they include referential and editorial elements, I consider all of the compositional forgeries dealt with in the main body of this dissertation to be, fundamentally, of the inventive type. Newly composed in anachronistic styles during the twentieth century, they were falsely attributed to historical figures, predominantly from the canonical period spanning the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Despite its limited historical purview, the project should serve to demonstrate that inventive forgeries of musical works are, in practice, a surprisingly common cultural phenomenon.[21] By contrast, it is extremely difficult, and perhaps impossible, to imagine a referential forgery of a piece of music: i.e., an inauthentic copy not of a *score*, but of a musical *work* in the abstract. This point has significant financial and ethical ramifications for compositional forgery. To fully understand why, we will need to return, briefly, to aesthetic ontology.

### ***Between Style and Stylus***

In his classic 1968 text *Languages of Art*, philosopher Nelson Goodman declared: "in music, unlike painting, there is no such thing as a forgery of a known work."[22] As far as Goodman was concerned, any accurate notation or performance of a symphony or a sonata is just that and nothing more: merely one fungible token of the work, not the work itself. Developing this idea, Goodman coined the term "allographic" (from the Greek ἄλλος, or "other") to refer art forms in which *one work can have any number of distinct*

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[21] Coincidentally, it should be noted that modern-day referential forgeries of musical scores—not least valuable autographs of known works by canonical composers—are also relatively common, though they necessarily remain beyond the scope of this dissertation, which deals explicitly with forged compositions.

[22] Nelson Goodman, *Languages of Art: An Approach to a System of Symbols* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Publishing Company, 1968), 112.

*authentic tokens*, effectively rendering it unforgeable, at least in the referential sense.[23] For Goodman, allographic art forms such as music and poetry are to be strictly distinguished from "autographic" arts (from the Greek *αὐτός*, or "self") such as painting and sculpture, in which *each work is considered to have only one true token*. The upshot of all this is that it is only possible to produce referential forgeries of autographic works, which—as Goodman's definition makes clear—qualify as autographic "if and only if even the most exact duplication…does not thereby count as genuine."[24] Inventive forgeries by contrast can be produced either in autographic media, à la van Meegeren's oil paintings, or in allographic media, as in the forged compositions discussed throughout this dissertation.

What does all this ontology mean for cultural practice? To begin with: the allographic nature of musical works removes the necessity for compositional forgers to produce fake autograph scores. As we shall discover in examining Fritz Kreisler's "Classical Manuscripts" in Chapter 1, it is possible to perform, record, and publish forged musical works on a global scale without ever forging a fake historical source with pen and paper. And when twentieth-century forgers *did* produce phony antique scores is in the attempt to provide a believable provenance for their compositions (as in the cases discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, respectively) they tended to forge copyists manuscripts, not autographs.[25] Ultimately, there is a sense in which this makes it less technically demanding to forge a musical work than to forge a painting, since in music there is no need to imitate the original author's hand or to find paper and writing materials contemporary with the act of composition.

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[23] Ibid, 113.

[24] Ibid, 112.

[25] In this sense, Constanze's and Süssmayr's forgery of Mozart's requiem is unusual in that it was created mere months—and not centuries—after the composer's death,

The financial consequence of all this is that, compared to the lucrative business of forging oil paintings, there is often relatively little financial incentive to forge compositions in the modern era. As we shall see in the discussion of Gunter Elsholz's forged "Schubert" symphony in Chapter 2, it is likely that many musical forgers struggle to break even from the cost of producing convincingly forged historical copyist's manuscripts in the first place. The allographic nature of musical works also means that musical forgers often consider convincing people of the stylistic authenticity of the abstract work—not the physical manuscript—to be their main task. As we shall see, the irony is that it is often the physical manuscript, not the sounding structure of the work, that repudiates musical forgeries.

The duality between the style-historical and source-critical plains on which musical forgeries ring true and false is reflected with curious precision in the etymology of the word style itself. As it happens, the modern English "style"—in the sense of the conventions of an individual composer or epoch—originates in the Latin *stīlus* (or "stylus") denoting a sharp instrument for writing or engraving. The gulf between style-historical and source-critical standards of evidence in musicology—in other words, between style-as-truth and stylus-as-truth—will be a key theme of this dissertation.

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enabling them to produce both an editorial forgery of the musical work and a referential forgery of the autograph score.

## *Musicology and* **l'homme même**

In 1911, Charles Hubert Parry and Guido Adler independently published substantial monographs on musical style. Beyond the issue of their remarkably similar topics and titles, Parry's *Style in Musical Art* and Adler's *Der Stil in der Musik* both open by citing the same phrase from Buffon's 1753 *Discours sur le style*: "Le style c'est l'homme même" [style is the man himself].[26] There are good reasons why two of the most important institutional figures in the early history of musicology would have so prominently referred to this enlightenment-era treatise on literary manner. Buffon's main field of interest was naturalism and, by the 1910s, the reassessment of his thirty-six-volume *Histoire Naturelle* as one of the founding documents of "evolutionism" *avant la lettre* had made him a deeply fashionable thinker.[27] The appeal was not lost on Adler and Parry, whose studies both lean on evolutionary metaphors to underpin their historical models of stylistic change. In the introduction to *Style in Musical Art*, for example, Parry explicitly cautions us against misreading Buffon's aphorism—following the tendency of "the superficial mind. . . .for misunderstanding things that are too tersely stated"—as nothing more than an *ancien-régime* suggestion that "manner counts for more than man," proceeding to outline his own agenda by invoking biology and physiognomy at length:

> Just as a great naturalist has been said to be able to reconstruct some

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[26] Charles Hubert Parry, *Style in Musical Art* (London: Macmillan, 1911), 1–2. Guido Adler, *Der Stil in der Musik* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1911), 8.

[27] For an assessment of Buffon's place in the history of evolutionism, see Ernst Mayr, *The Growth of Biological Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), 330. On the role of evolutionary ideas in musicological thinking about style, see Rachel Mundy, "Evolutionary Categories and Musical Style from Adler to America," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 76/3 (2014): 735–68.

> unknown animal from a single bone, men say a man's nature can be told by the shape of his nose or his hand, or the expression of his mouth, by his walk, by the tone of his voice. . . . [Style] serves as a very comprehensive means of estimating the genuineness either of man or of artistic work.[28]

For Parry, a composer's personal style will always ring true in musical works just as tone of voice and physical features inevitably betray the genuine identity of "the man himself." In a breakneck chain of totalizing analogies we learn that, whether in paleontology, phrenological reading of personality, or the technical analysis of works of art, it is the detail—and ideally the obscure detail—that best illuminates the true nature of the whole.

As cultural historians such as Carlo Ginzburg have explored at length, the appeal to minute details as vehicles for gaining insight into the world is typical of an early-twentieth-century episteme framed by the rise of psychoanalysis and forensic science.[29] Adler for his part made a near-identical assertion to Parry when he argued that, if confronted with pastiches or stile antico compositions that are "outwardly analogous" to a particular historical style, the trained musicologist "will notice particular features in the work which betray that…it yet does not wholly correspond to the spirit of the age to which it belongs by virtue of its structure and texture."[30] He even asserted—in striking contrast to most modern scholars and editors—that source criticism is of little use in matters of authentication when compared to the implicitly natural and internal style-historical qualities of the music itself. In "referring a work of art to its time and place, in defining its author," Adler announced, "we avail ourselves of all outward helps (among them paleography and semiography); we make use of the single criteria; we fix the limits of style periods."[31]

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[28] Parry, *Style*, 1–2.

[29] The classic essay on this topic is Carlo Ginzburg, "Morelli, Freud and Sherlock Holmes: Clues and Scientific Method," *History Workshop* 9 (1980): 5–36.

[30] Guido Adler and Erica Mugglestone, "'The Scope, Aim, and Method of Musicology' (1885): An English Translation with an Historico-Analytical Commentary," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 13 (1981): 7.

Style trumps stylus in Adler's account, establishing a highly influential disciplinary paradigm that locates authorial and historical truth not in the "outward helps" provided by physical documentation but rather in the implicitly "internal" sounding structure of the work itself. The epistemological claims that are being made here are profound. Following Parry's suggestion that style is a means of estimating "genuineness," what Adler was asserting on behalf of his nascent field of study amounted to nothing less than the ability to distinguish between works that are stylistically attuned to their historical origins—to "the spirit of the age," as he put it—and those that are not by virtue of microscopic "particular features" legible only to a new breed of academic expert: the musicologist.

There is an uncanny symmetry between the craft of the forger and that of the archetypal Adlerian musicologist. Where the musicologist attempts to decode stylistic detail in the name of historical truth, the forger adapts historical stylistic features as vehicles for musical falsehood. Today, few musicologist's would explicitly endorse Adler's and Parry's views on style in our research work. Yet, on the pedagogical front lines, many of us continue to insist that our undergraduate harmony and counterpoint classes compose in anachronistic idioms so that they can internalize the style-historical acumen that our disciplinary forebears prized so heavily. Thus it should come as no surprise that modern forgers tend to have musicological training, above all in these venerable classroom disciplines. It takes an expert to fool an expert, as the saying goes.

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[31] Guido Adler, "Style-Criticism," *Musical Quarterly* 20/2 (1934): 174.

More than a hundred years on from *Der Stil in der Musik* and *Style in Musical Art,* do we still assert the ability to read authorship and history through style when the stakes are at their highest? Can we in good conscience claim to be able to recognize "particular features" in musical works that function as tell-tale signs of the composer's identity and temporal context, or else invoke the X-ray-like powers of structuralist analytical systems to reveal the presence or absence of genius in the hidden depths that lie behind the musical surface?[32] To be sure: a great deal of important work has been done to drive "evolutionist," "organicist," and "intentionalist" patterns of thought out of the field.[33] Yet it must be acknowledged that escaping one's disciplinary history is never an easy or uncomplicated matter. Rejecting the foundational musicological idea that we can read identity and cultural context in style and style change has profound implications once forgeries are part of the picture. Such works—and the heated debates they tend to provoke—are apt to expose the ways in which our foundational epistemological principles die hard.

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[32] For a compelling example of decisions about authorship being made on the basis of Schenkerian analysis, see Ernst Oster's attempt to separate Mozart's original music in the minuet K.355 from that of Maximilian Stadler (who posthumously completed and published the work). Ernst Oster, "Schenkerian View" in Various Authors, "Analysis Symposium I: Mozart, Menuetto K.V.355," *Journal of Music Theory* 10 (1966): 32–52.

[33] Richard Taruskin has been a particularly trenchant critic of what he calls the "organic fallacy" and the "intentional fallacy" in musicological writing. Definitions of these and other historical fallacies can be found in Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, Vol. 1 (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

### ***Constanze and the Canon***

For musicologists, these issues strike close to home because, for over a century, our business was—and perhaps still is—the dutiful curation of what Lydia Goehr famously referred to as the "imaginary museum of musical works."[34] Forgery demands discussion in this context not least because it exposes the ideological framework propping up Goehr's museum with particular clarity. Consider, for example, the interwoven trio of German idealist virtues pursued explicitly by our discipline's nineteenth-century architects, and implicitly by many of their successors: truth, beauty, and goodness.[35] When an eighteenth-century masterpiece turns out to be a twentieth-century fake, can we really go on asserting that truth and beauty—or, put less poetically, aesthetics and history—are, in fact, one and the same?[36] What do we do with music that we find to be simultaneously sublime and ethically repellent? And might there not, occasionally, be good moral reason to obscure a work's relationships to its true historical and authorial contexts?

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[34] Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

[35] On the idealist trinity of truth, beauty, and goodness see [G. W. F. Hegel], "Das älteste Systemprogramm des deutschen Idealismus."

[36] Pulling apart John Keats's romantic fusion of "truth" and "beauty" has been a recurrent trope in the classic musicological literature of the last four decades. We might, for example, dissect Keats in terms Carolyn Abbate adapted from Vladimir Jankélévitch in 2004 (gnostic/drastic). Alternatively—turning back the clock to replace ineffable presence with the autonomous masterwork—one could just as well invoke the more conservative language used by Carl Dahlhaus in 1977 (historical/aesthetic). Regardless: the nagging questions that drive all such anti-Keatsian binary oppositions are never more clear or more urgent than in cases of forgery. How, precisely, does music (beauty) relate to its factual historical context (truth)? And can we, as musicologists, ever really claim to do justice to both? See Carolyn Abbate, ''Music—Drastic or Gnostic?,'' *Critical Inquiry* 30 (2004): 505–36; and Carl Dahlhaus, *Foundations of Music History*, translated by J. B.

These philosophical questions have serious practical implications for how we, as scholars, choose to maintain the musicological canon today. Consider history's often-brutal judgments of the role Constanze played in curating her own husband's musical legacy, above all when it comes to the thorny ethical and editorial issues associated with the requiem forgery. In a backhanded comment that is unfortunately typical of much literature on the topic, Heinz Gärtner writes: "it would be unfair to expect Constanze to become the devoted guardian of her late husband's immortal music" because, "From her limited perspective, his works were basically objects of material value, to be dealt with according to the laws of supply and demand."[37]

Without fully unpacking the psycho-sexual undertones of Gärtner's heavily gendered "devoted guardian" ideal, the association of the requiem forgery with a kind of editorial infidelity through economic materialism speaks volumes.[38] The implication is

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Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), chapter 2, ''The Significance of Art: Historical or Aesthetic?,'' 19–33; first published as *Grundlagen der Musikgeschichte* (Cologne: Musikverlag Hans Gerig, 1977).

[37] Gärtner, *Constanze Mozart*, 17.

[38] In Gärtner's account, Constanze's supposed "editorial" infidelity was accompanied by sensationalist speculation about sexual infidelity. With no substantial evidence, Gärtner suggests not only that Constanze may have had an affair with Süssmayr, but also that Süssmayr could be the true father of Constanze's second child, Wolfgang Xaver Mozart. The Freudian reading of this bizarre and slanderous story is obvious: in Gärtner's mind, Constanze must have adulterated her marriage because she adulterated Mozart's work, and vice versa. See ibid, 40.

that, in revealing the unspoken exchange value of the requiem, Constanze's act of forgery also adulterates the work's putative status as a bounded, single-authored, autonomous abstraction. Her conduct is so provocative not because she lacked perspective about "her late husband's immortal music"—as Gärtner puts it—but rather because she so unromantically reminds us of what any good source historian already knows. Even the most death-driven and spiritual of musical utterances attains "immortality" only though networks of material objects that can be bought, sold, and—indeed—falsified.

With all this in mind, one might well ask what a dutiful academic guardian of Mozart's music should do with K. 626 today. Do we expurgate Süssmayr's compositional insertions in publications and performances? Or else let them stand in spite of the historical, aesthetic, and ethical taint of forgery? And if we do take the bold step of deleting Süssmayr, how should we fill the yawning music-historical chasm that such an action would create?[39] The fact is that, unlike Bach's *Art of Fugue*, the requiem refuses to break off all at once to form a conveniently performable romantic fragment. And while we academics might consider a modern-day completion ethically or aesthetically superior to an eighteenth-century forgery, performers and audiences remain broadly resistant to the idea that anyone alive today could surpass Süssmayr's genuine canonical fake.

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[39] The status of Süssmayr's completion still provokes a great deal of dispute among scholars. For a recent example, see the colloquy that appeared in the *Journal of the American Musicology Society* in response to Simon Keefe's controversial 2008 article "'Die Ochsen am Berge: Franz Xaver Süssmayr and the Orchestration of Mozart's Requiem, K. 626." Robert D. Levin, Richard Maunder, Duncan Druce, David Black, Christoph Wolff, and Simon Keefe, "Finishing Mozart's Requiem," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 61/3 (2008): 583–608.

It's worth pointing out that, in the modern history of compositional forgery, Mozart's requiem is an exceptional case. As discussed above, the main body of this dissertation is devoted to twentieth-century forgeries, which tend to be composed hundreds of years after the deaths of their supposed authors, not mere weeks. Nonetheless: K. 626's editorial afterlife serves as a compelling reminder of forgery's tacit presence at the very heart of the musicological canon. To think seriously about forgery's history—and our judgments of figures such as Constanze—is to ask what sort of curators we should aspire to be in the here and now.

### ***Compositional Forgery vs. Musicology***

Forgery is as old as the author concept itself. Yet the scope of this dissertation is deliberately limited to the twentieth century, taking musicology's responses to—and participation in—the phenomenon as its focal point. This period is compelling not least because it spans the field's origins as a university discipline around 1900 to the height of the new-musicological moment during the 1990s. Each individual chapter examines a key twentieth-century example of compositional forgery situated at a historical point of conflict and change, invoking divergent romantic, modernist, and postmodernist perspectives on music and its value. As we shall see, when forged compositions emerge at such cultural moments, they tend to provoke deeply revealing debates about issues of core humanist interest, including the morality of authorial imposture, the scope and limits of academic expertise, and art's slippery relationship to history.

Chapter one begins in 1935, when the front page of the *New York Times* revealed that world-renowned concert violinist Fritz Kreisler had in fact composed numerous "baroque" works that had found their way into his repertory. While many commentators excused Kreisler's acts of forgery, a substantial minority lambasted him for his actions, including the London *Sunday Times*'s chief music critic Ernest Newman. The terms of Newman and Kreisler's public debate about the authorship of the so-called "Classical Manuscripts" serve to highlight many of tensions that existed between overlapping romantic and modernist discourses about music in the early twentieth century. In particular, the impassioned defence of Kreisler's forgeries made by the violinist and his colleague Olin Downes casts new light on the lived realities of musical pleasure and authenticity in a pre-musicological cultural environment.

Chapter two picks up in 1975, with the East-German musicologist Harry Goldschmidt receiving a curious letter claiming that Schubert's missing "Gmunden-Gastein" Symphony (D. 849) had been rediscovered after more than a century and a half. West-German institutions including the *Neue Schubert-Ausgabe* responded by using source criticism in an attempt to repudiate the composition. Despite this evidence, the town-hall debate that preceded the symphony's 1982 premiere in Hanover concluded with the majority of lay listeners siding with Goldschmidt—in favor of Schubert's authorship—when asked to vote on the matter in an unprecedented act of "public" musicological judgement. The case was only resolved two years later when the *Bundesanstalt für Materialprüfung* (BAM) in West Berlin used groundbreaking forensic technologies to test the ink and paper of the score itself. Yet the uncomfortable fact remained that it was laboratory analysis—not the work's sources or its sounding structure—that had resolved the conflict about Schubert's "Untrue" Symphony.

Chapter three considers compositional forgery in a more recent cultural context, examining a 1993 case in which six rediscovered “Haydn” keyboard sonatas (Hob. XVI:2a–e and 2g), turned out not to be by Haydn at all. The forgeries, now believed to have been produced in the early 1990s by the German composer and flutist Winfried Michel, were compelling not only because they were based on four-measure phrases recorded in Haydn’s *Entwurfkatalog* that correspond to lost works, but also because these incipits date from the crucial yet ill-documented 1767-1770 period in the composer's chronology. In light of the radical innovations posed by the Sonata Hob. XVI:20 of 1771, which have little precedent in the corpus dated prior to 1767, the discovery of lost keyboard works from this “missing-link” period became a style-historical holy grail.

In each case, analysis of the stylistic content of forged compositions reveals how the works succeeded and failed by playing on the aesthetic prejudices characteristic of their own era. On the broadest level, my study suggests that the long-overlooked phenomenon of forgery poses questions about authorship, authority, and truth itself that have an important place in our shared history as musicologists. Should our standards of evidence be rooted in historical sources, musical style, or some combination of the two? What kind of relationship do we believe exists between composers and their works? And is there any inherent reason—cultural, ethical, or otherwise—that we cannot write music like that of lauded canonical figures such as Mozart, Haydn, and Schubert today? In posing such questions, compositional forgeries provides us with a unique opportunity to reflect on the values and future of the field.

# Chapter 1

## Kreislerian Fantasies

On 8 February 1935 the *New York Times* ran an article at the top of its front page that would turn the world of music criticism on its head.[1] Telegramming from Europe between concert appearances, the sixty-year-old virtuoso violinist and composer Fritz Kreisler confessed to the *Times*'s chief music critic Olin Downes that a group of some seventeen pieces he previously claimed to have adapted from antique manuscripts were, as he put it, "in every detail my original compositions."[2]

With the exception of a single full-length concerto, these pieces are, as summarized in table 1, brief violin-and-piano miniatures that Kreisler had passed off as his arrangements and transcriptions from old sources gathered in the libraries, palaces, and monasteries of Europe.[3] In fact, Kreisler had been performing them in public under the names of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century musicians for at least a decade before B. Schott's Söhne of Mainz finally succeeded in buying the publication rights from him in 1910. That year, the firm released fourteen of the misattributed works (shaded in gray, for clarity, in table 1), giving them the suggestive collective title “Klassische Manuskripte” [Classical Manuscripts].[4] Kreisler later claimed they paid him ten dollars apiece.[5] In any case, it turned out to be a profitable deal for Schott. One year later, they proudly announced that seventy-five thousand copies of Kreisler’s sheet music had already been sold to the public.[6]

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[1] Olin Downes, "Kreisler Reveals 'Classics' as Own; Fooled Music Critics for 30 Years," *New York Times*, February 8, 1935, 1, 26.

[2] While Kreisler's telegram contains a list of just fourteen compositions, he adds that "the entire series labeled 'classical manuscripts' [in published editions]" are his own work. It is not clear why Nos. 8, 9, and 17 in the *Classical Manuscripts* series—marked with question marks in the rightmost column on table 1—were excluded from this list. See Ibid.

[3] Table 1 collates information from numerous existing catalogues of Kreisler's works. These include: Louis Lochner, *Fritz Kreisler* (St. Clair Shores, MI: Scholarly Press, 1951), "Compositions, Transcriptions, and Arrangements," 403–12; Amy Biancolli, *Fritz Kreisler: Love's Sorrow, Love's Joy* (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1998), "Appendix B," 344–53; and Edmond T. Johnson, "Revival and Antiquation: Modernism's Musical Pasts" (Ph.D. diss., UC Santa Barbara, 2011), "Figure 3.9," 132.

In the twenty-five years that would elapse between this first edition and Kreisler’s grand confession of 1935 many of the so-called “Classical Manuscripts” became staples on violin-recital programs around the world.[7] Kreisler himself featured the works on his extensive tours of Europe, the United States, and—in a bold venture for the 1923 concert season—Japan and China. In another new frontier, the *Classical Manuscripts* appeared no fewer than five times, between the 1910 and 1935, on 78s released by the prestigious RCA Victor “Red Seal” imprint known for promoting the star soloists of early sound recording, including Mischa Elman and Enrico Caruso.[8] The net result of all this publishing, touring, and recording was that—whether on newfangled commercial phonographs, in the domestic music room, or on stage—Kreisler's forgeries were all but inescapable.

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[4] The *Classical Manuscripts* series includes three works (*Liebesfreud*, *Liebesleid*, and *Schön Rosmarin*) for which Kreisler had already claimed authorship in 1910. In published editions, these three pieces are listed with the curious paratext “Alt-Wiener Tanzweisen” in place of the name of the author. Prior to 1910, Kreisler had claimed that they were adapted from waltzes by the nineteenth-century Austrian composer Joseph Lanner.

[5] Louis Biancolli, “The Great Kreisler Hoax,” *Etude* 69 (1951): 56.

[6] On the early sales figures for Kreisler’s *Classical Manuscripts*, see Biancolli, *Love’s Sorrow, Love’s Joy*, 339.

[7] For example: Heifetz biographer Galina Kopytova notes that “[the forged] ‘baroque’ miniatures…became integral to the repertoire of almost every Russian violinist” following Kreisler’s 1910 tour to St. Petersburg. See Galina Kopytova, *Jascha Heifetz: Early Years in Russia*, translated by Dario Sarlo and Alexandra Sarlo (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 68.

[8] Kreisler himself attributed the success of his 1923 tour of Japan and China to the global reach of these Victor recordings, which included, for example, the ‘78s catalogued as Victor 64142; Victor 64292; Victor 64315; Victor 74172; and Victor 64202. See Eric Wen’s comprehensive

Appropriately enough, the public confession of 1935 was prompted by one of the many recitals by younger violinists of the day featuring Kreisler's misattributions. On the evening of February 8, 1935—the day the *New York Times* story was ultimately released—the eighteen-year-old prodigy Yehudi Menuhin was scheduled to perform works including what was then known as Kreisler's arrangement, for violin and piano, of the eighteenth-century Italian composer Gaetano Pugnani's "Praeludium and Allegro" as part of a lecture-recital series Olin Downes ran at the Brooklyn Academy of Music.[9] Himself something of a celebrity on New York City's cultural scene, Downes was to supplement the young Menuhin's performance by expounding—in what was then a rather novel didactic innovation—on edifying musical and historical details connected to the day's program.

In researching his presentation for the Menuhin recital, Downes was surprised to find himself at a loss to locate any meaningful information about the original eighteenth-century sources for Kreisler's "Pugnani" arrangement. It seemed that nobody before him had put much effort into checking. After all, the historical details behind violin-recital programs were rarely subject to any serious attention during Kreisler's youth. Yet, as part of a new generation of academically-minded music critics that had risen to prominence in the 1920s and 1930s, Downes considered it his "business," as a lecturer, "to find out what the differences were between the

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discography of Kreisler's recordings, published in Biancolli, *Love's Sorrow, Love's Joy*, "Appendix C," 354–420. On Kreisler's experiences in Asia, see Lochner, *Fritz Kreisler*, 205–22.

[9] *New York Times*, "Kreisler's Secret kept my Musicians," February 9, 1935, 17.

supposedly original composition and its arrangement by Kreisler."[10] Published reference books made no reference to Pugnani ever having sketched such a work, and Downes' scholarly inquiries with colleagues at the great libraries of New York City and Washington D.C left him unable to substantiate even the most basic facts of provenance for Kreisler's sources.[11] Frustrated, he decided to tackle the issue directly by simultaneously telegramming the violinist (then on tour in his native Austria) and his American publishers, Carl Fischer, Inc., to request an explanation, point blank.

Once confirmed by Fischer, the frank confession that Kreisler wired back from across the Atlantic on February 6 provided Downes and the *Times* with a story that would continue to provoke heated debate for decades to come. It is hard to imagine that Kreisler fully comprehended the weight of his actions when he telegrammed: "Your assumption absolutely correct. The entire series labelled Classical Manuscripts are my original compositions."[12] Within forty-eight hours the contents of this message were plastered on the *New York Times*'s front page.[13] After thirty-five years in Kreisler's performances and twenty-five years of distribution in

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[10] *New York Times*, "Kreisler's 'Classics': Story of their Authorship—Some Rumors and Interpretations of his Course," March 3, 1935, X5.

[11] According to Louis Lochner, Downes engaged Harold Spivacke—then assistant chief of the music division at the Library of Congress—to do detailed research work on the Pugnani question on his behalf. Lochner, *Fritz Kreisler*, 294. For Downes's own account of his research in preparation for the Brooklyn recital, see Downes, "Kreisler's 'Classics'," X5.

[12] Ibid.

[13] There are persistent discrepancies in the published sources about whether Kreisler telegrammed his response to Downes on February 6 or February 7. Further archival work, including consultation of Olin Downes's papers—held at the Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Georgia—might clear up this point.

| ATTRIBUTION | TITLE | PUBLICATION | CONFESSION |
|---|---|---|---|
| W. F. Bach<br>(1710–84) | *Grave* | Classical Manuscripts<br>No. 17 (1910) | ? Feb. 1935 |
| Luigi Boccherini<br>(1743–1805) | *Allegretto* | Classical Manuscripts<br>No. 8 (1910) | ? Feb. 1935 |
| Jean Baptiste Cartier<br>(1765–1841) | *La Chasse (Caprice)* | Classical Manuscripts<br>No. 16 (1910) | ✓ Feb. 1935 |
| Louis Couperin<br>(1626–61) | *Aubade Provençale* | Classical Manuscripts<br>No. 15 (1910) | ✓ Feb. 1935 |
| | *Chanson Louis XIII and Pavane* | Classical Manuscripts<br>No. 1 (1910) | ✓ Feb. 1935 |
| | *La Précieuse* | Classical Manuscripts<br>No. 4 (1910) | ✓ Feb. 1935 |
| Karl D. von Dittersdorf<br>(1739–99) | *Scherzo* | Classical Manuscripts<br>No. 7 (1910) | ✓ Feb. 1935 |
| François Francoeur<br>(1698–1787) | *Sicilienne et Rigaudon* | Classical Manuscripts<br>No. 6 (1910) | ✓ Feb. 1935 |
| Joseph Lanner<br>(1801–43)<br>“Alt-Wiener Tanzweisen” | *Liebesfreud* | Classical Manuscripts<br>No. 10 (1910) | 1910 |
| | *Liebesleid* | Classical Manuscripts<br>No. 11 (1910) | 1910 |
| | *Schön Rosmarin* | Classical Manuscripts<br>No. 12 (1910) | 1910 |
| Padre [G. B.] Martini<br>(1706–84) | *Andantino* | Classical Manuscripts<br>No. 2 (1910) | ✓ Feb. 1935 |
| | *Preghiera* | Classical Manuscripts<br>No. 13 (1910) | ✓ Feb. 1935 |
| Niccolo Porpora<br>(1686–68) | *Menuet* | Classical Manuscripts<br>No. 3 (1910) | ✓ Feb. 1935 |
| | *Allegretto in G minor* | Classical Masterpieces<br>No. 15 (1913) | ✓ Feb. 1935 |
| Gaetano Pugnani<br>(1731–98) | *Praeludium et Allegro* | Classical Manuscripts<br>No. 5 (1910) | ✓ Feb. 1935 |
| | *Tempo di minuetto* | Classical Manuscripts<br>No. 14 (1910) | ✓ Feb. 1935 |
| Giuseppe Tartini<br>(1692–1770) | *Variations on a Theme by Corelli* | Classical Manuscripts<br>No. 9 (1910) | ? Feb. 1935 |
| Anton Stamitz<br>(1750–c.1800) | *Study on a Choral* | c.1930? | ✓ Feb. 1935 |
| Antonio Vivaldi<br>(1678–1741) | *Violin Concerto in C Major*<br>“RV Anh. 62” | 1927 | ✓ Feb. 1935 |

**Table 1.** List of Fritz Kreisler’s Forgeries.

print and on record, the seventeen works listed in the rightmost column of table 1 were unmasked as compositional forgeries in a single stroke.[14]

### ***Ugly Appellations***

The word "forgery" is striking in its absence from Downes's original article and most of the press coverage that followed. Since I will nonetheless continue to insist that it is the only truly appropriate word we have to described the case, a point of terminological clarification is in order. As discussed at length in the introduction to this dissertation, I define musical forgery as "the act of deliberately misattributing your own works to somebody else without their knowledge or consent"—just as Kreisler misattributed his compositions to Vivaldi, Pugnani, and the other seventeenth- and eighteenth-century composers listed in table 1.[15] Why then, give its conceptual clarity, is the admittedly rather ominous term absent from even the most critical period discussions of Kreisler's actions?

There are a number of reasons. One undeniably important factor is the longstanding and radical under-theorization of forgery in music prior to the controversy unleashed by Kreisler's disclosure. Unlike forgery in the visual arts or in literature, musical forgery simply had not been a subject of public discussion before Downes's article hit the front page of the *New York Times*. As a result, commentators around the globe struggled—and often failed—to find appropriate vocabulary with which to describe what had happened.

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[14] Carl Fischer seem to have acquired the US syndication for Kreisler's works sometime in the 1920s.

[15] For more on taxonomies of musical authorship and forgery, see the Introduction.

A second significant element that should be considered is the extraordinary cult of celebrity surrounding Fritz Kreisler in the broader cultural landscape of the 1930s. This was an era of burgeoning mass communication in which classical musicians—such as Kreisler's peers Jascha Heifetz, Enrico Caruso, and Sergei Rachmaninov—commanded a degree of global public recognition that would have been unthinkable in the nineteenth century. But even by these lofty standards, Kreisler was something special. He packed out concert halls across Europe, the Americas, and Asia. His recordings and sheet music sold tens of thousands of copies worldwide. Newspapers and magazines sought—and printed—his opinions on contemporary cultural issues well beyond the realm of music, from war to divorce.[16] He was profiled not only by highfalutin arts journals, but also in the pages of gentlemen's lifestyle periodicals; *Esquire*, for example, boldly declared that "no artist of our time—with the possible exceptions of Paderewski and Toscanini—has inspired such adoration from audiences throughout the world as Kreisler."[17] And they were not wrong. As Amy Biancolli knowingly surmised in her 1998 biography: "Had he *tried* [in the 1930s] to ruin his reputation or earn a scathing review the press and public would simply not have co-operated."[18]

While Kreisler's popularity served to expose musical forgery to the mass-media limelight for the first time, it also, ironically, prevented the phenomenon from being adequately contextualized or even named as such. Faced with a widely adored celebrity committing such an inscrutable and morally ambiguous act, the majority of contemporary writers allowed politeness to trump clarity of description, following Downes's example by settling on the word "hoax." The

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[16] For a summary of some of these interviews, see Biancolli, *Love's Sorrow, Love's Joy*, 158.

[17] David Ewen, "L'Amico Fritz," *Esquire*, August, 1935, 64, 148.

[18] Biancolli, *Love's Sorrow, Love's Joy*, 159. Emphasis Original.

*Oxford English Dictionary* defines this term as “a humorous or malicious deception.”[19] Tellingly, it was often placed in scare-quotes that bespeak a certain degree of semantic discomfort if not outright embarrassment.[20] Nonetheless, with respect to the Kreisler’s unmasked *Classical Manuscripts*, the word has stuck.[21]

This is particularly ironic given that many of Kreisler’s contemporaries—including Downes himself—were well aware that the “hoax” formulation was ultimately serving as a fig leaf with which to shield the violinist from the more troubling connotations wrapped up in forgery. An editorial by Paul Kempf in the American Magazine *The Musician* remarked: “In the sister arts—painting, sculpture, drama and literature—there are *ugly appellations* for those who profess classic authorship for their own brain children.”[22] Without daring to commit any of these ugly appellations to print, Kempf made his tacit analogy to forgery in the visual arts perfectly clear: “The case of the painter who steeps himself in the spirit and technical methods of Corot and then offers his own products as those of the French master is not unlike that of the musician who composes a concerto in C major and causes it to be published as a work of Vivaldi.”[23]

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[19] *Oxford Dictionaries Online*, s.v. “hoax.” See https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/hoax. Accessed 15 January, 2018.

[20] See for example Paul Kempf (editorial), “The Kreisler ‘Hoax’,” *The Musician*, February, 1935, 3. My Emphasis.

[21] The two major biographies of Kreisler—written at the mid- and end-points of the twentieth century, respectively—both favor this term. See Lochner, *Fritz Kreisler*, chapter 25, “Confession of an Old Hoax”; and Biancolli, *Love’s Sorrow, Love’s Joy*, chapter 7, “Hoaxes All: Pugnani, Vivaldi, Martini, and Kreisler.”

[22] Kempf, “The Kreisler ‘Hoax’,” 3. My Emphasis.

[23] Ibid.

Despite so unambiguously invoking the charge of forgery, Kempf—like most of his contemporaries—ultimately gave Kreisler a pass in the face of his extraordinary artistic achievements. He surmised: "Aside from the ethical considerations one cannot escape the conclusion that the violin literature has been precisely richened by this music which has brought unmeasured happiness to thousands of listeners."[24] While refusing to condemn his colleague, the Ukrainian-American concert violinist Mischa Elman was somewhat more critical, euphemistically remarking: "It is indeed a surprise…that one who stands so high for all that is beautiful, pure and true in art as Kreisler should have resorted to *such means*…when these composers are unable to enjoy the plaudits or endure the criticisms which these compositions may or may not evoke."[25] Meanwhile, in another tacit allusion to forgery in painting and sculpture, Downes himself defended Kreisler by asserting that, in this case, no composer of the past had "lost royalties or reputation by *a device which has again and again been employed in the history of art*, and nowhere more harmlessly than in the present instance."[26] The ominous identity of Kreisler artistic "device" (for Downes)—like the implicitly untrue and impure "means" to which he resorted (for Elman)—is left to the reader's imagination. Alongside Kempf's "ugly appellation" it remains implicitly familiar and yet, tellingly, unutterable.

Why so keen to dismiss the charge of forgery before so much as speaking its name? Admittedly ugly as the word may be, the "ethical considerations" that it raises are not so lightly brushed aside. In attempting to do so even while invoking the analogy between Kreisler's actions and inventive forgery in the visual arts Downes, Elman, and Kempf surely protested too much. If the “unmeasured happiness” of aesthetic enrichment does not excuse a forged Corot, we are well justified in questioning the grounds on which so many (if by no means all) critics insisted—often without any rational explanation—that a forged Vivaldi should be judged more leniently.

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[24] Ibid.

[25] *New York Times*, "Kreisler's Secret kept my Musicians," 17.

[26] Downes, "Kreisler's 'Classics'," *New York Times*, March 3, 1935, X5. My Emphasis.

### ***Organisms and Machines***

The apologias for Kreisler’s forgeries penned by critics such as Downes and Kempf run at crosscurrents to an ascendant modernist ethics of art that increasingly valued compositional technique and aesthetic appreciation not as ends unto themselves, but rather as functions of historical authenticity. The anxiety was that subjective experiences of aesthetic *beauty* (i.e., how art makes us feel) and socio-historical notions of artistic *truth* (i.e., how art relates to the world) could not remain fused under the harsh conditions of twentieth-century modernity. With respect to John Keats’s chiastic romantic credo that “truth is beauty, beauty truth,” this was, needless to say, a major cultural reversal that demanded serious attention. If aesthetic pleasure was no longer a sufficient ethical basis for creating and engaging with works of art, then what was the proper basis for such engagement?

In the 1930s Theodor W. Adorno, then a junior academic writing in response to the rise of fascism in his native Germany, began to articulate these new questions with striking clarity. Proceeding from the idea that musical works stand in a relationship either of immediacy or of alienation with respect to the cultures that create them, Adorno and those who followed him went on to theorize this distinction in explicitly ethical and political terms. The early-twentieth-century intellectual paradigm shift spearheaded by Adorno and other modernist cultural critics reveals a great deal about why contemporary forgeries—which so clearly exploit malfunctioning connections between style, history, beauty, and truth—became the locus of so much controversy.

In Adorno's view, "immediate" music arises organically from, and thus remains ethically attuned to, its socio-cultural circumstances precisely because it is autonomous. History and aesthetics are fused so fundamentally that it is impossible to separate musical content from cultural context, even if the causal relationships between the two remain deeply abstract and, for most people, imperceptible. As a result, when it comes to questions of authenticity, the proof will—indeed, for the expert, *must*—always be in the compositional pudding. There should have been no need for Downes to turn to libraries and reference books to determine the provenance for Kreisler's alleged "transcriptions." Elite analysts and listeners ought to be capable of discerning the historical conditions of a work's production and its degree of immediacy from the imminent aesthetic qualities of the sounding artifact.

Immediate works are strictly distinguished from their "alienated" counterparts, which stand apart from the true nature of the society that created them, both style-historically and metaphysically. Thus, in the 1930s, Adorno was particularly critical of what he considered futile attempts to overcome industrial malaise by deploying "stylistic forms of the past," and yet doing so "without seeing that such forms cannot be reconstituted within a completely changed society."[27] Under these terms, the neo-classicism and new objectivity of Stravinsky, Hindemith, and others came under particularly heavy criticism for its failed compositional "reconstitution" of historical styles, which could not hope to transcend the remoteness of eighteenth-century art from twentieth-century culture. While Schoenberg's compositions attained a new kind of immediacy by transfiguring the alienation of post-war capitalism through sheer musical technique, Hindemith, Stravinsky, and their followers were doomed—in the self-conscious indexing of anachronistic material—merely to reinforce that alienation.

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[27] Theodor W. Adorno, "On the Social Situation of Music," in *Essays on Music*, translated by Wes Blomster and revised by Richard Leppert (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 391–433, at 396.

Unlike historical styles in the abstract, immediate works of music do not decay into anachronism and irrelevance over time. But, by the very same token, modern composers themselves cannot hope to recapture techniques such as tonality and sonata form without revealing their inappropriateness to contemporary socio-cultural concerns. In this vein, Stravinsky himself would have freely confessed that composers remain, inescapably, creatures of their time. Discussing his neo-classical ballet *Pulcinella*, which draws on music then attributed—often falsely—to the eighteenth-century composer Pergolesi, Stravinsky writes: “I knew that I could not produce a ‘forgery’ of Pergolesi because my motor habits are so different; at best, I could repeat him in my own accent.”[28] The explicit reference to forgery in the context of neo-classicism is telling, as is the admission that artists cannot help but inscribe traces of themselves into everything they create, if only through subconscious “motor habits” that color technical material, like a “accent” in spoken language.

Adorno never addressed the issue of forgery directly. Nor did he comment on the Kreisler case. Yet his theorization of immediacy and alienation is closely paralleled in the field of art history, where forgery played an explicit role in re-contextualizing the relationship between cultural context and aesthetic content for a number of important critics. In his 1942 text *On Art and Connoisseurship* [Von Kunst und Kennerschaft], art historian Max Friedländer aphoristically declared that “An original resembles an organism; a copy, a machine.”[29] Thus in cases of stylistic copying and forgery: “Whoever feels the difference between growing and making is not going to be easily deceived.”[30] Crucially, this loaded binary distinction—between organically grown originals on the one hand and mechanically made copies on the other—applies not only to the artistic object itself but also to the psychological and physical processes by which it is created. In an original work, Friedländer tells us, “The creative master stakes the whole of his intellectual and spiritual forces,” while “the copyist [deploys] only memory, eye and hand.”[31] Acts of stylistic imitation and forgery thus attempt to divorce embodied technique—what Stravinsky referred to as his “motor responses”—from the mysterious “intellectual and spiritual forces” that are necessary for aesthetic immediacy. Differences between truly genuine (organic; immediate) and beautifully counterfeit (mechanical; alienated) works should thus, once again, be clearly legible to connoisseurs.

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[28] Igor Stravinsky and Robert Craft, *Expositions and Developments* (London: Faber and Faber, 1962), 112–13.

Or so we might think. Unlike Adorno, however, Friedländer cautions against excessive critical hubris, especially in the adjudication of recently rediscovered new-old paintings. “Above all things,” he writes, “I would not wish that my argument produced the impression that I feel sure of myself.…Not only I, but also my teachers—for whom I have the greatest respect—have been taken in.”[32] In the short term, a forgery produced by a contemporary artist is particularly likely to succeed—Friedländer tell us—“precisely because something in it responds to our natural habit of vision; because the forger has understood, and misunderstood, the old master in the same way as ourselves."[33] This is why forgeries—as Friedländer writes in another central maxim of art-historical authentication—"must be served hot, as they come out of the oven."[34] Since every age "acquires fresh eyes," critics are often most pleased by the very details of recently falsified paintings that seem patently and egregiously inappropriate to subsequent generations.[35] "We laugh at the mistakes of our fathers," he surmises, "as our descendants will laugh at us."[36]

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[29] Max J. Friedländer, *On Art and Connoisseurship*, translated by Tancred Borenius (Boston: Beacon Press, 1960), 236. First published as *Von Kunst und Kennerschaft* (Berlin: Bruno Cassirer, 1942).

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid., 263.

The implication running through Friedländer's texts is that there was something inalienably natural and unmediated about fresco in the age of Michelangelo or counterpoint in the age of Palestrina that cannot possibly be convincingly recaptured in an industrialized era that has dissected and embalmed those aesthetic traditions. If we did try to recapture it, the result would inevitably be revealed as a "useless, hybrid, and miserable thing" (as Friedländer wrote of unmasked forgeries).[37] But this attitude towards forgery, authenticity, and style history was by no means eternal or predetermined. Rather, it reflects a major cultural turning point characteristic of the first half of the twentieth century. Here, Kreisler—and other forgers like him—represents the other side of the coin.

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[33] Ibid., 262.

[34] Ibid., 261.

[35] Ibid., 260.

[36] Ibid., 261.

[37] Ibid.

### ***Tall Tales and True Fiction***

While there can be no doubt that Kreisler was profoundly gifted both as a violinist and as composer, the unprecedented fame he enjoyed by the 1930s and throughout the rest of his life must also in part be attributed to his worldly geniality, his charm as a raconteur, and, perhaps above all, his mastery of creative self-fiction. Fused with his antiquarian aesthetic affinity for things past ("I am a collector—a collector of everything you can imagine"[38]), Kreisler's utter indifference towards questions of historical and biographical truth fits the paradigmatic psychological profile of the art forger to a tee. As Amy Biancolli surmises, Kreisler was a man who "saw the truth not as a collection of literal details but as something more liter*ary*, lacking in accuracy but abundantly rich in meter and metaphor."[39]

Put rather less generously: Kreisler lied about himself, again and again, beautifully and unabashedly. While the fictional origins of the *Classical Manuscripts* are among the most egregious and controversial of his deceptions, they were by no means unique. Making an admirable effort to expurgate such infelicities from the biographical record established in part by Louis Lochner's authorized (and thus itself heavily Kreislerized) 1950 account, Biancolli recites a litany of the most compelling and widely-repeated anecdotes.[40] There are the typical apocryphal stories, à la Paganini, of superhuman virtuosity overcoming a self-imposed—and utterly gratuitous—technical handicap (the "I once played with a bow covered with soap" tale).[41]

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[38] *New York Times*, "How Kreisler Finds Musical Novelties," November 8, 1909, 7.

[39] Biancolli, *Love's Sorrow, Love's Joy*, 151. Emphasis in original.

[40] As Biancolli put it: "Even Kreisler's earnest (but ultimately wan) efforts at correction in Louis Lochner's *Fritz Kreisler* had little effect, mainly because he balanced those corrections with a stunning collection of fresh new yarns." Ibid., 135.

[41] Ibid., 139–41.

There are the undocumented and often perilous encounters with quasi-mythic character archetypes in far-flung corners of the globe (the “I once played for a sultan” tale; the “a cowboy held me at gunpoint” tale).[42] And then there are the shamelessly ornamented—and occasionally outright fictionalized—accounts of Kreisler’s bohemian youth and subsequent loss of innocence in the Austrian military (the “I went to art school in Paris tale”; the “My leg was seriously wounded in an attack by the Russians during World War I” tale).[43]

These autobiographical fragments are the stuff of myth-building. Bizarre as many of them sound—a recital with a bow covered in soap? a revolver-toting frontiersman demanding to hear solo Bach?—their broader point, considered in aggregate, is of crucial importance. Behind the impressive corpus of Kreislerian tall tales lies a man determined to fashion a distinctive identity for himself as an ambassador for old-world romanticism in an increasingly global and unromantic age. It was not enough to be a “great musician” in the artisanal sense in which contemporary figures such as Jascha Heifetz—widely considered the polar foil to Kreisler, both technically and personally—came to define consummate musicianship for early-twentieth-century string players. (One struggles to imagine the paradigmatically conscientious, focused, and introverted Heifetz interacting with belligerent cowboys or absentmindedly dripping soap on his bow.) While younger generations of elite concert artists chose, increasingly, to present themselves as hyper-disciplined Olympians, Kreisler deliberately cultivated an aesthetic of artful artlessness, or “sprezzatura,” even up to the point of repeatedly stating—apparently in earnest—that he did not practice much because “I have hypnotized myself into the belief that I do not need it, and therefore I do not."[44] Like all the anecdotes Kreisler concocted about himself, this biographical detail ultimately serves to suggest that Kreisler was no mere concert violinist; he was also a talented painter, a tragic war hero, a jilted lover, an intrepid adventurer, and, at the heart of it all, a teller of stories.

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[42] Ibid., 143–46.

[43] Ibid., 136–39.

If the claims he made strike us as implausible or even unhinged, that is precisely the point. As an archetypal trickster figure, Kreisler aspired to transgress otherwise impassable boundaries—between past and present, high and low culture, fiction and reality—with characteristic audacity and humor.[45] This goes a long way towards explaining why his forgeries were brushed aside as mere "hoaxes" by sympathetic commentators such as Downes and Kempf. Deriving many of his pseudo-autobiographical anecdotes from the tropes of romantic fiction, Kreisler aspired to belong as much to the Hoffmannesque dreamscapes of his literary namesake Johannes as to twentieth-century modernity. And audiences loved him for it. How was music critic in the 1930s to judge a man like that?

Let us being with the rediscovery narratives themselves. Even by the standards of the dozens of apocryphal tales Kreisler told about himself, his pre-1935 accounts of the provenance of his so-called *Classical Manuscripts* were brazen. For one thing, the violinist characteristically failed to keep his story straight, offering at least two mutually contradictory accounts of how he had come by his antique sources. In the first version, printed in an October 1909 interview for *The Musician*, Kreisler claimed that he had "discovered a collection of manuscript music in the possession of the monks who inhabit one of the oldest monasteries in Europe."[46] Without giving a name or specific location for monastery, Kreisler stated that he was so keen to have the works for himself that—in an act of flagrant archival misdemeanor—he "copied one of the pieces on his shirt cuff."[47] When the monks objected to this, he reported that he had purchased the whole collection "for a considerable sum of money."[48]

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[44] W. E. B., "Fritz Kreisler," *The Musician* 14 (1909): 453.

[45] On the significance of trickster figures in human understanding of artistic creation, see Lewis Hyde, *Trickster Makes this World: Mischief, Myth, and Art* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2010).

In November of 1909, a mere month after the publication of his interview with the *Musician*, Kreisler reported a second rediscovery narrative to the *New York Times*. This time, the setting changes from "one of the oldest monasteries in Europe" to "a certain palace" in Italy where the violinist had been invited to indulge his passion for antiques.[49] While "admiring the objets d'art," he noticed several musical manuscripts "in a glass display case," and attempted to memorize one particularly eye-catching melody (as in the first version of the narrative) "with the aid of some notes…made on my cuff."[50] But, upon returning to his hotel and trying out the little piece on his violin, Kreisler concluded that his hasty shirt-cuff transcription had failed to capture its charm. He would need another look. Yet, the next day, he discovered to his dismay that "the owner," evidently displeased by his attempts at transcription, "had put a cover over the pile of music."[51] Luckily for Kreisler—in another echo of the monastery version of the narrative—"the family who owned the collection was poor, and I finally managed to buy the manuscript." "This," he claimed, "was the beginning of my collection."[52]

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[46] W. E. B., "Fritz Kreisler," 453.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid.

[49] *New York Times*, "How Kreisler Finds Musical Novelties," 7.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid.

### *Curation and Connoisseurship*

Less than one year after telling these elaborate rediscovery narratives to *The Musician* and the *New York Times*, Kreisler published fourteen of the works (as listed in table 1) with B. Schott's Söhne under the "Classical Manuscripts" brand. Each edition containing one or more of these supposed transcriptions bore the following prefacing "notice"—printed in German and French, as well as English—on its inside cover:

> The original Manuscripts used for these transcriptions are the private property of Mr. Fritz Kreisler and are now published for the first time; they are moreover so freely treated that they constitute, in fact, original works. Further transcriptions of any of these compositions will therefore constitute an infringement of copyright. When played in public, Mr. Kreisler's name must be mentioned on the programme.[53]

As we shall see, the exact implications of this terse and rather obfuscatory paratextual statement became a subject of intense debate in 1935.[54] Its fundamental ambiguity arises from the following contradiction: in the first place, the prefacing notice does hint, heavy-handedly, that the transcriptions were "so freely treated that they constitute, in fact, original works"; yet, in a crucial turn, it also deceptively maintains that they were based on “original manuscripts” that were Kreisler’s “private property.”[55]

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[52] The second version of the story does include a nod to the first, with Kreisler stating: "Other pieces I discovered in an old convent in the South of France. (Note, however, the switch from monastery to convent, and the newly elaborated geographic detail). Ibid.

[53] [Fritz Kreisler] Luigi Boccherini, *Allegretto* (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1910). The English text used here is original to Schott's editions; their German and French versions of the notice are near identical, allowing for minor idiomatic differences in language.

[54] For an overview of the concept of ''paratext'' see Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); first published as *Seuils* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1987).

Practically speaking, this clarification served a dual purpose. In the first place, it protected Kreisler, Schott, and Carl Fischer from rival publishers who wished to produce their own arrangements of the works. (The notice itself confirmed that nobody except Kreisler had access to the supposed original manuscripts, and that the violinist’s adaptations of them were protected by copyright.) Secondly, the paratext allowed Kreisler to defend himself from the more academic accusation that he had manipulated the antique sources without due editorial transparency. Any “Kreislerisms” that were discovered in the music were to be chalked up to the arranger, not the composer; a particularly useful defense given that Kreisler himself was unwilling to give away where one ended and the other began.

Suppose, counterfactually, that Kreisler had been telling the truth. Was he still acting immorally in keeping such important historical manuscripts for himself? Charming as his rediscovery narratives undoubtedly remain, with their romantic settings and illicit shirt-cuff scrawling, from a modern academic perspective it is hard to sympathize with what effectively amounts to archival tomb-raiding. Even in the 1865, Anselm Hüttenbrenner was subjected to a great deal of criticism for sitting on the score of Schubert’s “Unfinished” Symphony, D.759, for forty-two years without informing anyone that he possessed it or allowing the work to be performed.[56] If a modern musicologist or performer claimed to have purchased a historically significant manuscript source to hoard in their personal collection, we would be well justified in responding, with Indiana Jones, that "it belongs in a museum."

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[55] [Fritz Kreisler] Luigi Boccherini, *Allegretto* (Mainz: B. Schott’s Söhne, 1910).

[56] For more information on Hüttenbrenner and Schubert’s “Unfinished” Symphony, see Chapter 2.

Yet there remain important senses in which, in the early-twentieth century, musicological standards of evidence and editorial practice were far from what we have come to expect today. The monumental thematic catalogues that can reliably be found in the reference sections of modern academic music libraries—Wolfgang Schmieder's *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der Werke Joh. Seb. Bachs* (1950), Otto Erich Deutsch's *Schubert: A Thematic Catalogue of all his Works in Chronological Order* (1951), and Anthony van Hoboken's *Joseph Haydn: Thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis* (1957), for example—would appear en masse only at the twentieth century's midpoint, bringing with them numeric references such as "BWV.," D.," and "Hob." for composers writing before the ubiquity of the Beethovenian self-assigned opus number.[57]

Crucially, these thematic catalogues served a different purpose from nineteenth-century complete works editions such as the commemorative "Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe" of 1850 and the "Ausgabe der deutschen Händelgesellschaft" of 1858. Friedrich Chrysander, the editor of the Handel complete works, claimed that such monumental editions were necessary to provide musicians with a "breadth of perspective" [Fülle der Anschauung] about their art, which Alexander Rehding has usefully characterized as a philological "search for ever new material with which to explain the position of the composers of the past."[58] In short: the nineteenth-century philologists argued that, when dealing with a truly great composer, we need the full expanse of their output—including juvenilia, marginalia, and perhaps even the works of less illustrious contemporaries—to fully understand and appreciate their musical achievement. Hence the necessity of *Gesamtausgaben*.

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[57] Wolfgang Schmieder, *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der Werke Joh. Seb. Bachs* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1950); O. E. Deutsch, *Schubert: A Thematic Catalogue of all his Works in Chronological Order* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons,1951); Anthony van Hoboken, *Joseph Haydn: Thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis* (Mainz: B Schott's Söhne, 1957). Note that Köchel's Mozart catalogue (first published 1862) is an outlier here.

By contrast, the thematic catalogue was not a comprehensive record in itself, but rather a tool for determining authenticity, chronology, and provenance at a glance—not unlike the so-called "catalogue raisonné" in art history. In an innovation so influential that it now seems completely unremarkable, Schmieder and Hoboken—in contrast to their nineteenth-century predecessor, Ludwig von Köchel—organized the works of Bach and Haydn first by instrumental forces and compositional genre, then by chronology and authentication. The result was that it was easy to see what a given composer had written, when they wrote it, and (crucially) how we known that information, all in a matter of seconds. Moreover: because the thematic catalogues provided incipits in lieu of cumbersome full-length scores, they were small-format single volumes that—unlike Chrysander's one-hundred-and-five-volume Handel edition—could reasonably end up on the shelves not only of academic reference libraries, but also of interested individuals. The historical irony is that, while Kreisler was claiming to have abducted non-existent old manuscripts from the archives, Schmieder, Deutsch, Hoboken, and their ilk were conducting decades of meticulous research to provide the general public with reliable information about who really did compose what and when.

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[58] Alexander Rehding, *Music and Monumentality: Commemoration and Wonderment in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 162–63.

This was one of the key points of ethical objection raised against the forgeries by Kreisler's most persistent and articulate antagonist in the press, the London *Sunday Times*'s long-serving music critic Ernest Newman. Like Olin Downes at the *New York Times*—in many senses his American opposite number—Newman was at the vanguard of a new generation of rigorously historical music critics characteristic of the cultural landscape of the 1930s and 1940s.[59] In addition to writing for the *Sunday Times* for the best part of forty years, he authored more than two dozen books on music, many of them drawing on extensive archival research. When Kreisler responded to Newman's harsh indictment of his *Classical Manuscripts* deception by recriminating Newman—that "venerable grumbler" and "irate public prosecutor of artists"—in a letter to the editor of the *Sunday Times*, the two men became embroiled in a protracted dispute that exposes the frictions between romantic and modernist modes of thinking about musical value with exceptional clarity.[60]

In an open letter back to Fritz Kreisler printed on March 17, 1935, Newman put it to the violinist that while "The practice hitherto has been to assume that when an 'editor' claimed to have in his possession an original manuscript of the work he was speaking the truth. . . . You [Fritz Kreisler] have unfortunately shown us that in this connection words do not always, or entirely, mean what they say."[61] Consider, once again, the publisher's preface printed in the sheet music of Kreisler's forgeries, which boldly states that "The original manuscripts used. . . . are so freely treated that they constitute, in fact, original works."[62] Kreisler insisted that his authorship was "in a measure confessed" by such words, yet Newman begged to differ, insisting that these prefaces were "simply a formula to ensure copyright."[63] "All this," he shot back at Kreisler, "has nothing whatever to do with the ethical point at issue . . . . *you* gave the public to understand that what you had done was to operate upon an *original manuscript* . . . when as a matter of fact *there was no such manuscript*."[64] Even to say "that 'they are so freely treated as to,' etc.,"—as Newman damningly concludes—"is equivalent to affirming that there *was* an original to be so treated."[65]

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[59] For a detailed account of Newman's life and criticism, see Paul Watt, *Ernest Newman: A Critical Biography* (London: Boydell & Brewer, 2017).

[60] Fritz Kreisler, "Mr. Kreisler's Defense," *Sunday Times* (London), March 10, 1935, 15.

[61] Ernest Newman, "An Open Letter to Fritz Kreisler," *Sunday Times* (London), March 17, 1935, 7.

### ***Dusty, Old, Forgotten Cloaks***

In the wake of the *New York Times* revelations, Kreisler insisted that he had adopted the names of "old masters" only because he found it "inexpedient and tactless to repeat [his] name endlessly on the programs."[66] There is an element of truth to this. When Kreisler first started incorporating the forged works into performances around 1900 he was a touring violinist in his mid-twenties who had just completed a two-year stint in the military. While not unknown, he was by no means the beloved grandfatherly authority figure that he would become by 1935. Olin Downes was probably not wrong when he defended the actions of his informant by claiming that

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[62] [Fritz Kreisler] Luigi Boccherini, *Allegretto* (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1910).

[63] Fritz Kreisler, "Kreisler Aroused by Critics Taunts," *New York Times*, February 18, 1935, 19. Newman, "An Open Letter to Fritz Kreisler," 7.

[64] Newman, Ibid.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Quoted in Downes, "Kreisler Reveals 'Classics' as Own," 1.

"Neither the public, the press, nor Mr. Kreisler's colleagues would have taken as kindly to these compositions had they been designated as being merely the creations of a living violinist."[67]

When Kreisler launched his career at the dawn of the twentieth century, the outlook for anyone wishing to be taken seriously as both a violinist and composer was becoming increasingly bleak. As the respective technical aspirations of both performance and composition became ever-more rarefied, cross specialization dwindled, leading to an increasingly stark division of labor—what Leon Botstein has called a "separation of functions"—between musical authors, on the one hand, and their instrumental and vocal agents, on the other.[68] It did not help that aspirationally serious composers were expected to forsake genres foregrounding individual virtuoso soloists as an implicitly low-brow distraction from the strictures of abstract musical structure. "The great composers of the day—Strauss, Mahler, and the others—seem to wish only to turn out big symphonies and symphonic poems," lamented Kreisler in 1909, before adding: "Beethoven probably wrote his violin concerto because he couldn't help it. . . . There is little composition of that sort going on to-day, I believe."[69]

In his unwillingness to put down the violin for the composer's pen as much as his stubbornly anti-modernist embrace of tonality, Kreisler had the appearance—like countless forgers throughout history—of a man born two centuries too late. As discussed above, his public persona was designed in no small part to complement this anachronistic image with biographical tropes echoing the heroic age of the virtuoso composer. Despite growing up in the same city as his exact contemporary and occasional collaborator Arnold Schoenberg (fig. 2), Kreisler openly rejected modernist aesthetics, maintaining a self-consciously "old-Viennese" preference for tunefulness, nostalgia, and easy-going charm reflected in every element of his image down to the elaborate three-piece suits and impeccably groomed mustache. One 1934 interview even saw him describe the ascendant "antiphonal music" sweeping Europe as nothing less than "a Pogrom in the arts."[70] In turn, many of the compositions Kreisler published under his own name would surely have been branded "kitsch" (or worse) by Schoenbergian modernist critics. Alongside dozens of picturesque violin miniatures in the manner of "Caprice Viennois" and "Tambourin Chinois," Kreisler's compositional output also included the hit Broadway musical *Apple Blossoms* (1919)—a romantic comedy which, in its original run, featured a standout dance number by Fred and Adele Astaire—and the unabashedly sentimental Viennese operetta *Sissy, Rose of Bavaria* (1932). As if in a nod to Adorno's critique of the so-called "culture industry," Kreisler's *Sissy*, which opened in Vienna in the heat of the forgery scandal, was so successful that it ended up having a brand of sickly-sweet candy named after it.[71]

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[67] Downes, "Kreisler's 'Classics'," X5.

[68] Leon Botstein, "Music of a Century: Museum Culture and the Politics of Subsidy," in *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Anthony Pople (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 50.

[69] *The New York Times*, "How Kreisler Finds Musical Novelties," 7.

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[70] *New York Times*, "Fritz Kreisler back for Concert Tour," January 10, 1934, 24.

[71] Biancolli, *Love's Sorrow, Love's Joy*, 159.

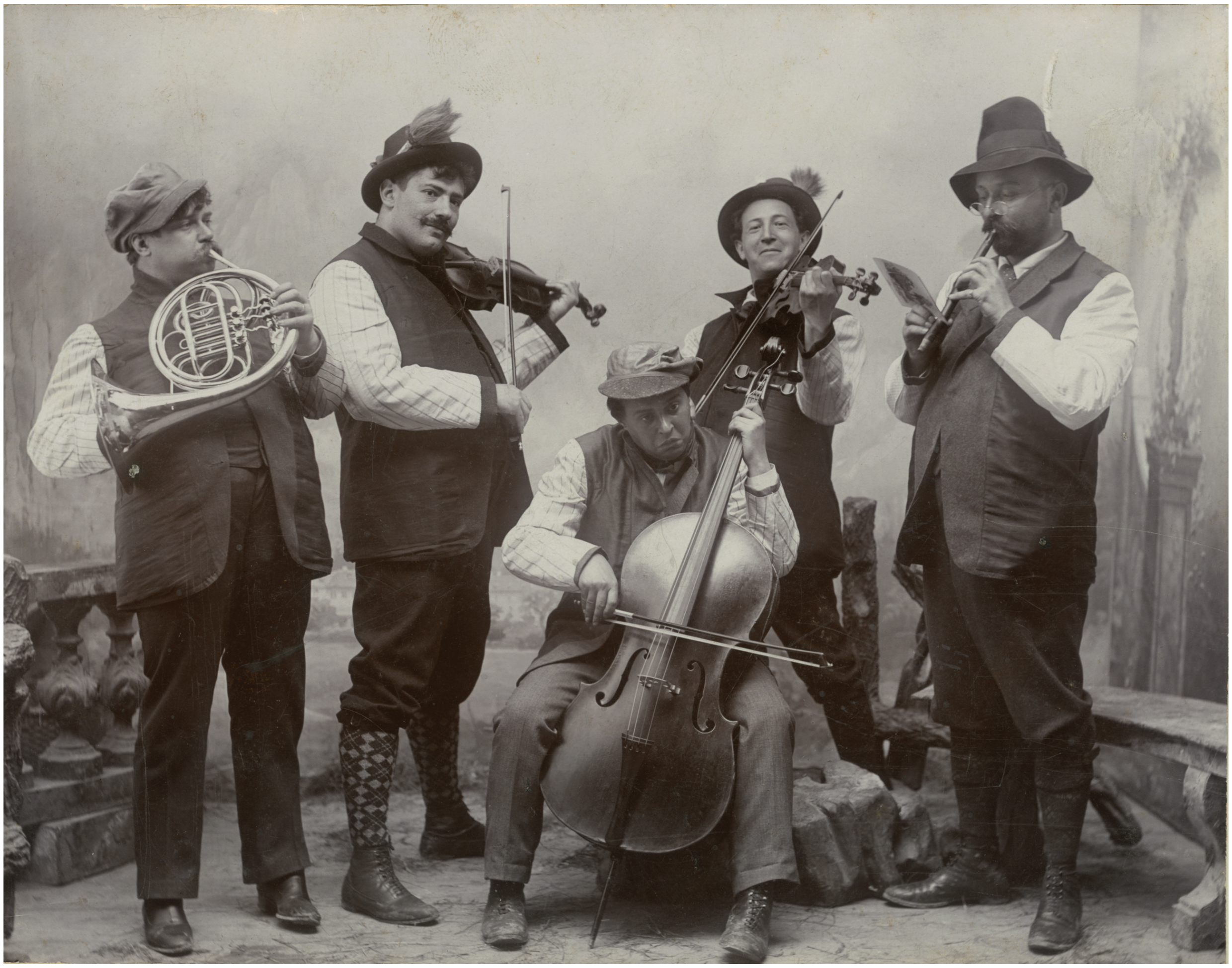

**Figure 2.** The young Fritz Kreisler (second from left) and Arnold Schoenberg (center, seated at the cello) as members of a Schrammelmusik Quintet. Group Photograph taken at Reichenau, July 8, 1900. Private Collection. Image courtesy of the Arnold Schönberg Center Bildarchiv (Arnold Schönberg Center Bildarchiv, PH1386, A5, C1).

Tellingly, when Kreisler turned to forgery, the very masks that he chose to wear—in names like Pugnani, Cartier, and Vivaldi—harkened back to a prelapsarian culture in which a virtuoso really could be considered to have written important music without the advantage of being deceased. Edmond T. Johnson has recently speculated that Kreisler may have chosen these names in part because they lay ready to hand in recently published reference books on the history of violin playing.[72] The suggestion is compelling not least because many of the names in question (with the possible exception of Vivaldi) would have been unfamiliar to all but the most academic of contemporary audiences. On this point Kreisler's own explanation of his choice of names—published in response to Newman's critiques and including an explicit reference to "musical reference books"—is worth quoting at length:

> The names I carefully selected were, for the most part, strictly unknown. Who ever had heard of a work by Pugnani, Cartier, Francoeur, Porpora, Louis Couperin, Padre Martini or Stamitz before I began to compose in their names? They lived exclusively as paragraphs in musical reference books, and their work, when existing and authenticated, lay mouldering in monasteries and old libraries. Their names were no more than empty shells, dusty, old, forgotten cloaks, which I borrowed to hide my identity.[73]

This is an astonishing metaphor. Let us leave to one side the work that has since gone into publishing serious performing editions and musicological criticism addressing the "mouldering" music that Kreisler is so keen to dismiss out of hand. His specification that he selected the names with "care" (presumably to make sure that they really were "strictly unknown") does nothing to mitigate the closing comparison of actual historical figures—Pugnani, Cartier, Francoeur, Porpora, Louis Couperin, Padre Martini, and Stamitz—to "dusty, old, forgotten cloaks."[74] This remarkably callous phrasing reduces not only objective historical truth, but also real human beings themselves to objects of use. Like items of clothing, their identities are, in Kreisler's eyes, inanimate things to be picked up and discarded at will, especially when they have the misfortune of being judged “dusty,” “old,” and “forgotten.” A more radical rejection of the modernist philological precepts of fidelity to the source and unflinching editorial transparency can hardly be imagined.[75]

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[72] Johnson suggests the following three sources by way of example: James M. Fleming, *The Fiddle Fancier's Guide* (London: Haynes, Foucher, & Co., 1892); A. Ehrlich, *Berühmte Geiger der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Leipzig: A.H. Payne, 1893); and T. L. Phipson, *Famous Violinists and Fine Violins* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1903). See Johnson, "Revival and Antiquation: Modernism's Musical Pasts," 106.

[73] Fritz Kreisler, "A Letter from Fritz Kreisler," *Sunday Times*, March 31, 1935, 7.

[74] Ibid.

In the wake of the authorship scandal, Kreisler protested that he never intended to publish the works when he began composing and performing them around the turn of the century. “In the course of years, however, I was put under pressure…by my colleagues” who, Kreisler tells us, “claimed that for selfish reasons I was monopolizing the selections.”[76] When he finally released the *Classical Manuscripts* with Schott’s Söhne in 1910 (purportedly under peer pressure), Kreisler claimed that the compositions “had meanwhile become so popular under the assumed names given them that there was no possibility of rechristening them.”[77]

Taken at face value, this is a familiar, all-too-human story. Lies beget more lies. Deception hardens and deepens through elaboration, slowly snowballing out of all proportion and control. And yet, despite Kreisler’s professed belief that it would have been impossible to correct his misattributions by 1909, the original 1910 *Classical Manuscripts* series did, in fact, take the opportunity to do just that. Three of Kreisler’s earliest forgeries—the waltzes “Liebesfreud,” “Liebesleid,” and “Schön Rosmarin” (“Love’s Joy,” “Love’s Sorrow,” and

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[75] In principle, these precepts extended as much to the works of so-called “Kleinmeister” as to central canonical figures. A contemporary example of the application of philological principles to peripheral and non-canonical figures (including Adam Krieger, Hans Leo Hassler, and Samuel Scheidt) may be found in the “Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst” series, published between 1892 and 1931, initially by Prussian royal commission. For an in-depth exploration of the nationalist cultural aspirations behind this project and their relationship to the musical canon, see Rehding, *Music and Monumentality*, chapter 5, “Collective Historia,” 141–67.

[76] Kreisler, “Kreisler Aroused by Critics’ Taunts,” 19.

[77] Ibid.

"Beautiful Rosemary")—were reattributed in publication under the ambiguous subtitle "Alt-Wiener Tanzweisen" [Old-Viennese Dance Songs] in place of an authorial name. Suggestive as "Alt-Wiener Tanzweisen" may be, the fact remains that all three pieces had originally been penned—and were explicitly performed in Kreisler's concerts—under the name of the composer-violinist Joseph Lanner (a lesser-known rival of Johann Strauss I). In all published versions of the *Classical Manuscripts*, Lanner's name is nowhere to be found.

According to a story that Kreisler repeated frequently during the authorship scandal of 1935, the violinist confessed to composing the three "Lanner" works in a 1910 confrontation with the German music critic Dr. Leopold Schmidt of the *Berliner Tageblatt*.[78] According to Kreisler, Schmidt had upbraided him for arrogantly including the "Caprice Viennois," a work of his own composition, on "the same program as the dances of Lanner [i.e., "Liebesfreud" and "Liebesleid"], these delightful genre creations filled with Schubertian melos and reflecting the Vienna of pre-March days."[79] In numerous interviews given after 1935, Kreisler gleefully recounts how he had sent a letter to Schmidt, explaining: "if the Lanner pieces were 'worthy of Schubert,' then I was Schubert, because I had written them!"[80] It was a matter of disbelief, for Kreisler, that "musical experts did not stumble upon the truth [about the *Classical Manuscripts*] immediately" given that, as he put it: "the [Schmidt] incident ought to have taught them a lesson."[81] In his biography of the violinist, Lochner supports this position, summarizing the "Alt-Wiener Tanzweisen" affair by declaring: "As a young man of thirty-five, [Kreisler] had tried in vain to set musicologists on the scent of his 'forgeries'."[82]

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[78] Ibid.

[79] Quoted in Ibid.

[80] Quoted in Louis Biancolli, "The Great Kreisler Hoax," 56. Note that neither Kreisler nor his biographers, Louis Lochner and Amy Biancolli, ever provided a concrete citation to verify the existence of Schmidt's supposed review, or Kreisler's letter to Schmidt, which the violinist claimed was "reprinted everywhere." My own searches using online databases of the *Berliner Tageblatt* (including, for example, http://www.theeuropeanlibrary.org) have yielded no positive results. While this by no means definitively falsifies the idea that Schmidt wrote such a review, it is possible that Kreisler simply invented the story.

Clearly, there is another way of looking at this. Given that Kreisler saw fit to confess of to the three "Lanner" forgeries in 1910, even striking the composer's name from the published editions in favor of the romantic subtitle "Alt-Wiener Tanzweisen," why not do the same with the other fourteen *Classical Manuscripts*? Kreisler's 1909 interview with the *New York Times* about the provenance of the works holds a clue. In this article, Kreisler is quoted as claiming: "I have altogether fifty-three manuscripts of this sort in my possession."[83] "Five of them," he added, "are more or less valueless," but "[f]orty-eight of them are gems."[84] Subtracting the "nineteen" that the violinist admitted had already found their way onto his programs by 1909 (including the seventeen "Classical Manuscripts" published in 1910), Kreisler was left with a total of twenty-nine such "gems" that he could arrange, debut, and publish at will later in his career. In other words: Kreisler harbored no genuine intention of ceasing to forge new compositions for himself after rebranding the "Lanner" works, as the three additional forgeries published after 1910 and shaded white in table 1 clearly demonstrate.

Nor did Kreisler ever entirely give up on his rediscovery narratives. In the very telegram in which he confessed his authorship to Olin Downes, the violinist continued to insist—as he would for the rest of his life—that his "Chanson Louis XIV," attributed to Louis Couperin, was in fact based on a "cantus prius factus," or pre-existing melody. In the years that followed, this piece acquired its own Kreislerian tall tale: "When I was ten a Jesuit priest who was a fine organist and owned a library of old books and manuscripts showed me the 'Chanson' on a piece of old parchment."[85] And so it goes on. (To this day, no historical melody matching the opening six bars of the "Chanson" has ever been found.)

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[81] Kreisler, "Kreisler aroused by Critics' Taunts," 19.

[82] Lochner, *Fritz Kreisler*, 292.

[83] *New York Times*, "How Kreisler Finds Musical Novelties," 7.

[84] Ibid.

### ***Chattertons and Dossenas***

Ethically speaking, forgery is more complex and ambiguous than other forms of para-authorship, including, for example, plagiarism and pseudonymity. As we learnt in the Introduction, plagiarism is widely considered to be morally objectionable above all because it involves what I call "authorial greed." This is because plagiarists are fundamentally in the business of stealing labor from others. Contrastingly, forgery is sometimes thought to involve a kind of "authorial humility" in that, by definition, the forger must temporarily refuse to take credit for his or her own work. As the *Chicago Daily Tribune*'s music columnist Edward Moore sardonically remarked in defense of Kreisler's actions, "what other composer has there ever been since the first note was written down on paper who was unwilling to take all the credit he could get?"[86]

This defense is particularly compelling in cases of inventive forgery, where an entirely new artwork is created and falsely attributed to an existing author.[87] Unlike both plagiarism and referential forgery (i.e., the act of passing off a copy as an original), inventive forgery is end-positive. This is to say that it does not appropriate the existing structure or authorship of an artwork already made, but rather adds an entirely new artwork to the world. The ethical and economic implications of this argument led Downes, for example, to assert that, because "no composer of the past…lost royalties" through Kreisler's actions, the deception was "harmless"—in other words, a victimless crime.[88] The money Kreisler made from the *Classical Manuscripts* was not stolen to the detriment of other rightful authors, but rather earned through an original act of creation. Or so the argument goes.

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[85] Quoted in Biancolli, "The Great Kreisler Hoax," 56.

[86] Moore, "Kreisler Gives His Name to Classic Music," E3.

[87] On ''referential'' and ''inventive'' categories of forgery see my Introduction to the present volume and Jerrold Levinson, *Music, Art, and Metaphysics: Essays in Philosophical Aesthetics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 103.

The logic of this defense is deeply capitalist-materialist, relying on an autonomous view of musical works as pure exchange value on which authorship and identity have no bearing. Thus Downes conceptualizes "harm done" exclusively in terms of pecuniary damages—i.e., the "loss of royalties"—with no thought to the symbolic violence involved in identity theft, historical defamation, and abuse of trust. Even economically speaking, the implication is that appropriating a name provides no undue advantage so long as the compositional labor is the forger's own. Fundamentally, this assumes that the market for musical works is—or, at least, should be—a meritocracy in which composers earn only in proportion to the inherent, objective, and immutable qualities of the sounding structure itself. Kreisler expressed such views frequently enough throughout his career, above all when he complained of the scourge of the modern artistic "snob"—a favorite term of insult with which to recriminate his critics.[89] In a *New York Times* article written to defend his actions in February of 1935, the violinist rails against those "who judge merely by name" and "draw on musician's lexicons for their enthusiasm," ultimately warning readers that “so long…as there is snobbism in us, so long will there also be Chattertons and Dossenas.”[90]

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[88] Downes, "Kreisler's 'Classics'," X5.

[89] In 1909, for example, he complained at length about how "Snobbishness in music is making it difficult for the giver of concerts." *New York Times*, "How Kreisler Finds Musical Novelties," 7.

In this last reference, Kreisler provides us with some compelling examples with which to interrogate his claims. The Italian sculptor Alceo Dossena had become a subject of public fascination as recently as 1928, when it was revealed that works that had ended up in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the Cleveland Museum, and New York City’s Metropolitan—including a fifteenth-century “Mino da Fiesole” sarcophagus and an “ancient-Greek” statue of Athena dated to the fifth century BCE—were, in fact, his own original creations.[91] Crucially, Dossena claimed that he had always believed he was inventing entirely new works in historical styles for sale as such. It was his crooked dealers, Alfredo Fasoli and Romano Palesi, who had sold his pieces as genuine antiques without his knowledge or consent. “The truth,” Dossena professed, “is that I have never made any [sic] but original things, modeling them from nature in an antique character and style.”[92]

Given that Dossena subjected many of these “original things” to elaborate acid baths and sandblasting in an apparent attempt to create the illusion of natural ageing, his pleas of innocence might sound rather farfetched. Yet there are good economic reasons to take the artist seriously. In the 1920s his dealers, Fasoli and Palesi, often made hundreds of thousands of dollars from a Dossena piece sold to a prominent museum or private collector as the work of an old master. In aggregate, their profits from the scam have been estimated at over two million dollars.[93] Yet Dossena, who claimed to have had no idea that American museums were exhibiting his works as genuine antiques, reportedly saw less than a one-percent share of this princely sum. As Jonathon Keats surmises, Fasoli and Palesi were paying one of the most technically masterful—and financially lucrative—sculptors of the early twentieth century what amounted to "a good wage for an accomplished stonemason."[94] If Dossena was in on the scam, it is difficult indeed to imagine that he was motivated by greed.

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[90] Kreisler, “Kreisler Aroused by Critics’ Taunts,” 19.

[91] The sarcophagus was purchased by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts for $100,000 while the Cleveland Museum paid $120,000 for the statue of Athena. See Jonathon Keats, *Forged: Why Fakes are the Great Art of Our Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 51 and 56.

[92] Ibid., 61.

After his forgeries were unmasked in 1928, Dossena received enough publicity to be openly exhibited under his own name in Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and London. Yet, poignantly, he failed to recapture anything resembling the economic success that Fasoli and Palesi had achieved in selling his works under false pretenses. When thirty-nine of Dossena's "authentically fake" pieces of renaissance and antique sculpture were auctioned off in the ballroom of New York City's Plaza Hotel in 1933, the highest price paid—for a marble relief of the Madonna and child in the style of Mino da Fiesole—was $675.[95] This is a paltry sum compared, for example, to the $225,000 that Helen Clary Frick had parted with less than a decade earlier for a similar "fourteenth-century" annunciation scene by Dossena.[96] Four years after the botched auction, the artist died in Rome, a poor man.

What did Kreisler gain by comparing himself to Dossena? Unlike the sculptor, he certainly could not plead ignorance of the fact that his antique-style *Classical Manuscripts* had been misattributed. Yet the mere comparison underscores Kreisler's appeal to authorial humility by aligning him with a famous forger widely regarded as a tragic outsider figure. Moreover: by intentionally disguising his works with the names of old masters, Kreisler claimed to be casting off the antiquarian shackles of authenticity, attunement, and tyrannical high-brow snobbery under which Dossena and those like him had suffered. In doing so, he not only won a kind of vicarious revenge, but also proved—as he insisted to Newman—that when "the name changes, the value remains."[97]

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[93] Ibid., 54.

[94] Ibid., 54–55.

[95] Ibid., 64.

[96] Ibid., 55.

The violinist's reference to Chatterton serves a similar purpose. Having failed to secure patronage after attempting to disguise his works as the writings of a fictional fifteenth-century monk named "Thomas Rowley," the impoverished seventeen-year-old poet Thomas Chatterton famously went on to commit suicide by poisoning himself with arsenic.[98] As Henry Wallis's classic pre-Raphaelite depiction of his death suggests (fig. 3), the cult of romanticism recast Chatterton as a hero condemned to die young and penniless on the altar of art. Kreisler's point in bringing up all this was to appeal to the idea that forgers are humble folk who conceal their identities in the face of professional adversity. The implication is that they are not so much criminals as victims of a brutally unappreciative art world too shot through with snobbery to value a living child as much as a dead poet.

Of course, there was a key ethical difference between Chatterton's poetry and Kreisler's compositions. While Chatterton invented Thomas Rowley, Kreisler took the names of real historical figures—Cartier, Pugnani, Vivaldi, and the rest—and ascribed his own works to them.

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[97] Kreisler, "Mr. Kreisler's Defense," 15.

[98] For Chatterton's poems, see [Thomas Chatterton] *Poems, supposed to have been written at Bristol, by Thomas Rowley, and others, in the Fifteenth Century* (London: T. Payne and Son, 1777).

In this sense, Chatterton's poems are acts of high-pseudonymity (the attribution of your own works to an invented, fictional figure), while Kreisler's *Classical Manuscripts* remain forgeries.[99] The distinction was not lost on contemporary observers. When Kreisler attempted to argue that he had misattributed his compositions out of the sheer "necessity" of shielding his identity, Newman responded trenchantly:

> I can understand a composer wishing certain works of his to appear under another name than his own. But what is this 'necessity'—more dire, surely, than anything ever conceived by the imagination of a Greek tragedian!—that compels [you] to choose, out of the million possible names offered…Vivaldi, Pugnani, Porpora, Martini, Couperin, Cartier, Dittersdorf, Francoeur, and Stamitz?[100]

The analogy to Chatterton, Newman proceeds, is thus "transparently false."[101] Clearly, the parallel to Kreisler's own conduct "would have been for Chatterton to have published his inventions under the names of well-known poets of the fifteenth century."[102] The *Musical Times* made a similar objection, noting that there was no reasonable necessity that could have prevented Kreisler from simply "using a *nom de guerre*" in place of the names of real historical figures.[103] The crucial ontological and ethical boundary here—between Chatterton's pseudonym and Kreisler's forgery—goes well beyond mere money. As the magazine *Musical America* argued, the grievance against Kreisler's actions was rooted in trust and historical fidelity: "A departed musician who cannot speak for himself is being made a party to a deception and is being given a false musical front before the world."[104]

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[99] For more on "high" and "low" pseudonymity, see the Introduction.

[100] Newman, "An Open Letter to Fritz Kreisler," 7.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Ibid.

[103] "Kreisleriana," *Musical Times* 76/1105 (March 1935): 251.

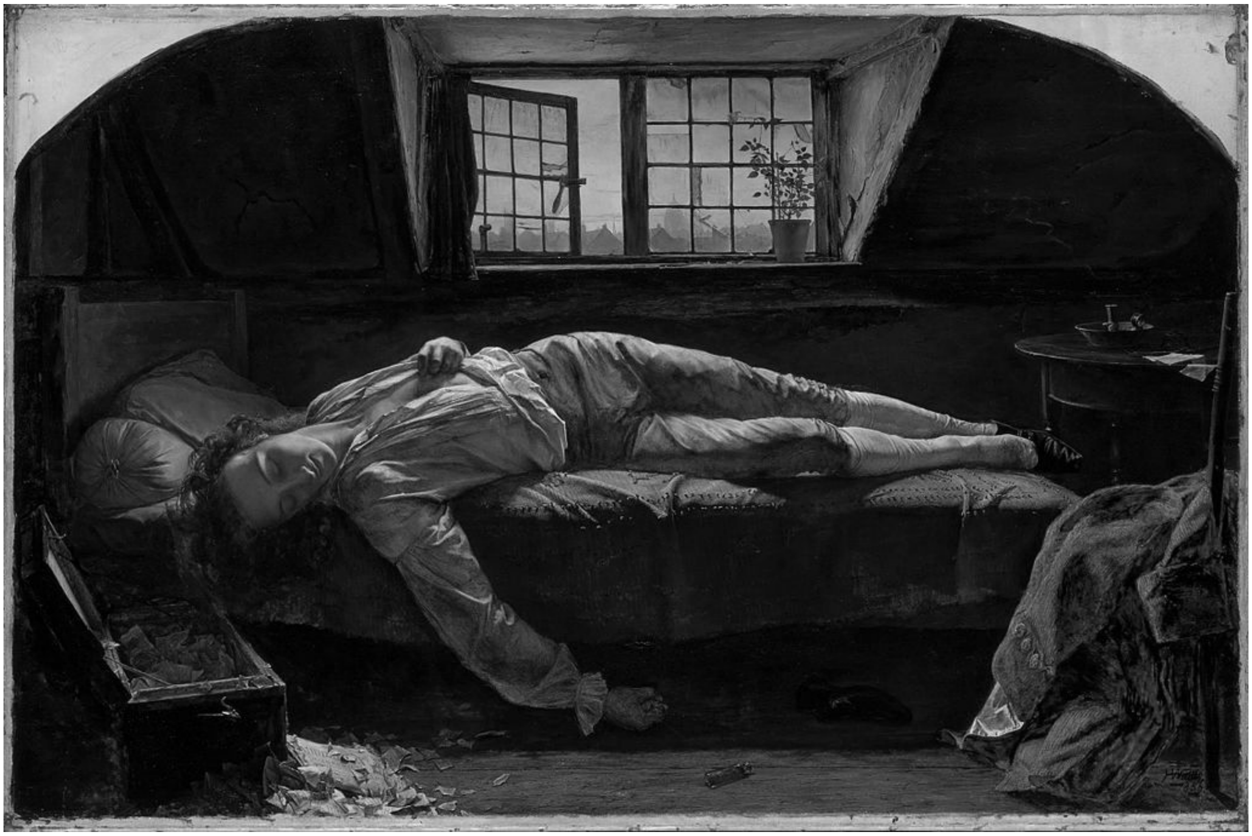

**Figure 3.** Henry Wallis, *The Death of Chatterton*, Tate Version (1855).

### *The Brothers Casadesus*

There is a sense in which Kreisler's forgeries also, paradoxically, made him a man of his time. As numerous historians of the early music movement have remarked, *fin de siècle* aesthetic culture often took considerable liberties in its pursuit of the antique.[105] In many ways, this was a hangover from prevailing editorial attitudes to pre-classical music in the nineteenth century, when, as Harry Haskell surmises, many composers and arrangers "felt no qualms about touching up another artist's work; in fact, they felt they were doing the old masters a favor by bringing their music up to date."[106]

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[104] *Musical America*, "L'Affaire Kreisler," February 25, 1935, 17.

[105] See for example Richard Taruskin, "The Pastness of the Present and the Presence of the Past," in *Authenticity and Early Music: A Symposium*, ed. Nicholas Kenyon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 137–210.

In their editions of the chaconne from J. S. Bach's d-minor partita for "solo" violin BWV. 1003, published respectively in 1847 and 1854, both Felix Mendelssohn and Robert Schumann, for example, took the liberty of adding an entirely new piano accompaniment to Bach's already contrapuntally complex solo texture. Today the majority of mainstream performers and audiences would surely consider these adaptations to be egregiously distasteful examples of editorial overreach. Yet, for much of the latter half of the nineteenth century, Mendelssohn's and Schumann's interventions into Bach's text were widely thought to be favorable compositional modernizations to the point of becoming the default performing versions of the "solo" chaconne.[107] One 1889 treatise on instrumentation argues that one should "prefer a performance of the Chaconne with the very appropriate piano accompaniment by Felix Mendelssohn" because, in the original version, "it is not possible to suppress the notion that…we miss an accompaniment by lower voices, and particularly a complementary and secure bass line."[108] As if to sum up this editorial attitude, no less a figure than Edward Hanslick was quoted as declaring—in the context of a debate about an 1869 performance of Gluck's *Armide*—that the artist who cuts, adapts, and arranges old compositions "seems more righteous in the interest of the work than those purists, who would rather sacrifice the living effect for the sake of philological faithfulness to the letter."[109]

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[106] Harry Haskell, *The Early Music Revival: A History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 86.

[107] For more information see Georg Feder, "History of the Arrangements of Bach's Chaconne," in *The Bach Chaconne for Solo Violin: A Collection of Views,* ed. Jon F. Eiche, trans Egbert M. Ennulat (Athens, GA: American String Teachers Association, 1985), 41–61. First published as "Geschichte der Bearbeitung von Bachs Chaconne," in *Bach-Interpretationen, Walter Blakenburg zum 65. Geburtstag* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), 168–89.

[108] Salomon Jadassohn, *Lehrbuch der Instrumentation* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1889), 136.

In some cases, this lack of editorial transparency extended to outright deception. Consider the Parisian *Société des instruments Anciens*, a performing group founded in 1901 by the violist Henri Casadesus and his siblings Marius Casadesus, on violin; Marcel Casadesus, on cello and viola da gamba; and Régina Patorni-Casadesus, on keyboard instruments (fig. 4).[110] With Camille Saint-Saëns as its patron, the *société* toured widely across Europe, the Middle East, and North America, where it played a key role in introducing early-twentieth-century concert audiences to instruments such as the viola d'amore, the quinton, and the harpsichord. Compellingly, the Casadesuses also claimed to be reviving historical repertory, including the works listed in table 2 alongside innumerable other rediscoveries by the likes of Giovanni Battista Borghi, Antonio Bruni, Jean-Joseph Mouret, and the evidently-not-so-dusty-and-forgotten François Francoeur.[111] Like Kreisler's *Classical Manuscripts*, the pieces listed in table 2 were not what they seemed. Hinting at this fact, the noted early-twentieth-century Italian composer and keyboard player Alfredo Casella—by no means an anti-Hanslickian "purist" when it came to the transcription of old compositions—once stated that he had ceased associating with the family and their *société* because "almost all of the music played was either apocryphal or had at least been cleverly ‘retouched’ by [Henri] that talented and sympathetic rascal of a Casadesus.”[112]

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[109] Cited in Friedrich Chrysander, "Was Herr Prof. Hanslick sich unter 'Kunstzeloten' vorstellt," *Leipziger allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 3 (1869): 387. Translation in Alexander Rehding, *Music and Monumentality*, 148.

[110] The dynasty founded by Henri, Marius, Marcel, and Régina's parents—Louis Casadesus and Mathilde Casadesus (née Sénéchal)—would remain important in French cultural circles throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first. It includes, for example, the well-known pianists Robert, Gabby, and Jean Casadesus; composers Francis and Gréco Casadesus, film actors Christian and Mathilde Casadesus; and the artist and academic Béatrice Casadesus.

[111] Harry Haskell, *The Early Music Revival: A History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 51.

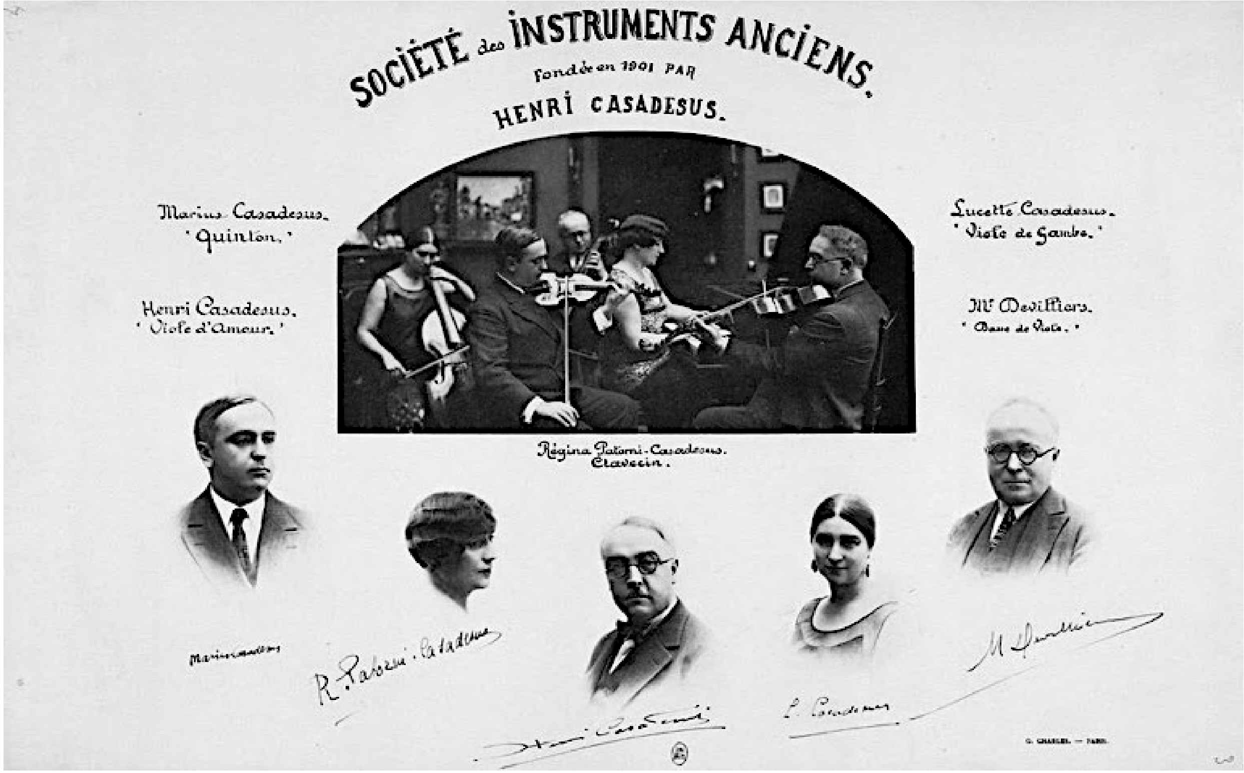
SOCIÉTÉ des INSTRUMENTS ANCIENS.
fondée en 1901 PAR
HENRI CASADESUS.
Marius Casadesus. 'Quinton.'
Henri Casadesus. 'Viole d'Amour.'
Lucette Casadesus. 'Viole de Gambe.'
Mr Devilliers. 'Basse de Viole.'
Régina Patorni-Casadesus. Clavecin.
R. Patorni-Casadesus

**Figure 4.** Postcard showing the musicians of the “Société des Instruments Anciens.” Bibliothèque Nationale de France, FRBNF39603151

Casella didn’t know the half of it. The “rascal” Henri was, in reality, the composer of works including two forged viola concertos listed in table 2 and given out under the names of J. C. Bach and George Frederic Handel (as his widow ultimately revealed to the German musicologist Walter Lebermann in 1963).[113] Henri’s brother Marius, meanwhile, authored the D-Major concerto for violin supposedly written by the ten-year-old Mozart in dedication to Louis XV's eldest daughter, princess Adélaïde of France. As if to pin down a biographical provenance for the concerto's existence, Marius's published edition of the work—released with Schott in 1933, two years after the violinist had premiered the work in concert—even included an invented letter of dedication from Mozart to Adélaïde dated 1766.[114] The English version of this preface, translated from "Mozart's" original French, is reproduced in full, below:

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[112] Alfredo Casella, *Music in My Time*, trans. Spencer Norton (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955), 226.

[113] Walter Lebermann, “Apokryph, Plagiat, Korruptel oder Falsifikat?,” *Die Musikforschung* 20 (1967): 413–25, at 422.

> Madame,
>
> In accepting the homage which my poor strains render to your great talent, you overwhelm me once more with your favour. If your august eyes have watched over my work, your indulgence and your goodness have greatly facilitated it. And if the name of Adelaide will grace these modest efforts, it will remain to all eternity graven on my heart.
>
> With the most profound respects, I remain your most humble, most obedient and very small servant,
>
> J. G. Wolfgang Mozart,
> Versailles, May 26th 1766[115]

The editorial preface goes on to state that the work was likely composed before Adélaïde's eyes and in a controlled span of time as a means for the child Mozart to demonstrate his precocious compositional abilities for potential aristocratic patrons. Eighteenth-century audiences, it claims, "often doubted the astonishing talent of the young artist and therefore set him a task that had to be performed in the presence of those giving the commission."[116] The original manuscript, now housed "in a private collection in France…which was not unknown to experts," was reportedly written in short score, with "the upper [staff] containing the solo violin part as well as the tutti and the lower the bass part."[117] While the lower staff of the original manuscript was in E Major, the upper staff—including the solo part—was written down in D, reflecting the princess's apparent preference for playing a pochette (or "lady's violin," as Marius calls it) tuned a whole step up. The implication of this elaborate narrative was that—like Kreisler's "freely treated" *Classical Manuscripts*—the performing version of the "Adélaïde" concerto for soloist and orchestra was the result of a considerable amount of editorial retouching on Marius Casadesus's part. Crucially, this ensured that his copyright for the arrangement could be maintained.

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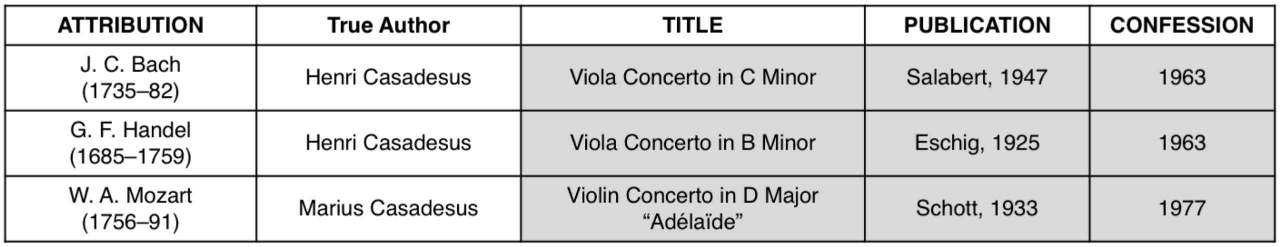
[114] [Marius Casadesus] Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Violinkonzert in D* (Adelaide-Konzert), edited and arranged by Marius Casadesus (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1933).

[115] The "original" French text attributed to Mozart reads: "En agréant l'hommage de mon faible savoir à Votre grand talent, Vous me comblez une fois de plus de Vos bienfaits. Si Vos yeux augustes ont présidé à mon travail, Votre indulgence et Votre bonté l'ont singulièrement facilité, et si le nom d'Adélaïde veut bien étendre sa protection sur ces modestes essais il restera à tout jamais gravé dans mon cœur. Je suis, avec le plus profond respect, Madame, Votre très humble, très obéissant et très petit serviteur."



| ATTRIBUTION | True Author | TITLE | PUBLICATION | CONFESSION |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| J. C. Bach (1735–82) | Henri Casadesus | Viola Concerto in C Minor | Salabert, 1947 | 1963 |
| G. F. Handel (1685–1759) | Henri Casadesus | Viola Concerto in B Minor | Eschig, 1925 | 1963 |
| W. A. Mozart (1756–91) | Marius Casadesus | Violin Concerto in D Major "Adélaïde" | Schott, 1933 | 1977 |

**Table 2.** List of selected Forgeries by Henri and Marius Casadesus

On the 3 November 1934, one year after Schott's publication of the work, the Hungarian violinist Jelly d'Arányi gave Casadesus's "Adélaïde" its British premiere. In response, the Mozart scholar and critic Alfred Einstein—having fled Nazi Germany for London the previous year—published an article in the *Daily Telegraph* provocatively subtitled "A Question or Two for Marius Casadesus."[118] Einstein protested that, according to Leopold Mozart's travel diaries, the family had not been in Versailles on May 26, 1766; in fact, they arrived two days later, on May 28. The "Adélaïde" concerto was, moreover, excluded from Leopold's 1768 *Verzeichnis* of his son's works, which catalogues even the smallest of the young Wolfgang's compositions to that date in meticulous detail, right down to the informal sketchbooks. Could the pedant Leopold Mozart really have neglected to make any formal record of such a substantial work dedicated to a royal patron of the arts? Given that eighteenth-century dedications were customarily appended only to published works, would it not moreover have been a grievous faux-pas for little Wolfgang to write a letter of dedication to accompany an unpublished manuscript of a concerto in short score?

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[116] Ibid.

[117] Ibid.

There was little hope of Camille Saint-Saëns or Jean-Baptiste Weckerlin—the two musical experts who supposedly knew the original source manuscript—speaking up on these points, since they were both deceased by the time Schott published the "Adélaïde" concerto in 1933.[119] Einstein's article ends with an open challenge, effectively inviting Marius to prove his case by delivering the source-critical goods: "Mr. Casadesus is in a position to satisfy all these doubts if he will only circulate a photostat of the manuscript. By doing so he can dispel our apprehensions and turn a doubting Thomas into the most faithful of all Mozart disciples."[120]

Of course, Marius never provided Einstein with the requested photographic evidence. Nor did he take the opportunity to respond with a confession which, in 1934, might have beaten

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[118] Alfred Einstein, "The 'Adelaide' Concerto — A Question or Two for Marius Casadesus," *Daily Telegraph* (London), November 8, 1934.

[119] Alfred Einstein, "Mozart's 'Adelaide' Concerto," in *Essays on Music* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1956), 233–36 at 234.

[120] Ibid., 236.

Kreisler to the international headlines by a year. The story was that the owner of the manuscript source wished to remain anonymous at all costs, refusing any request for photography or for public viewing.[121] (As we shall see in Chapters 2 and 3, the invention of an uncooperative owner who wishes to remain anonymous while refusing access to original manuscripts is a consistent stalling tactic used by musical forgers who wish to avoid producing a "historical" document that will be subjected to expert scrutiny.) When Einstein's monumental revision of the Köchel catalogue was published in 1937, the "Adélaïde" concerto was thus filed as K. Anh. 294a, under the *Anhang* or "appendix" reserved for doubtful and misattributed works. Einstein's editorial comments for the revised Köchel conclude that, given the extensive list of problems with the concerto's provenance, "proceeding to analyze the work's 'inner evidence' would be superfluous."[122] Writing more bluntly in 1944, he referred to "the so-called 'Adelaide' concerto" as nothing more than "a piece of mystification à la Kreisler."[123]

With a little help from new media, the "Adélaïde" concerto was popular enough to maintain a life of its own despite Einstein's best efforts to repudiate the work. In 1934, the teenage prodigy Yehudi Menuhin—whose Brooklyn recital would put Olin Downes on Kreisler's scent the following year—made a recording of the concerto for HMV that would soon prove immensely commercially successful. (Paul Webster, for example, would later call it "one of the world's best selling classical records."[124]) As a result, HMV's growing market of home-listeners were reassured that they were hearing a concerto by W. A Mozart, "edited and arranged by Marius Casadesus." In sheer breadth of reach, no scholarly reclassification in a thematic catalogue could compete with an LP cover. It is particularly ironic, then that the unprecedented success of Menuhin's recording would ultimately prove the forged concerto's undoing.

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[121] *Der Spiegel*, "Schwindel in D," 1977, 139–140, at 139.

[122] Ludwig Ritter von Köchel, *Chronologisch-thematisches Verzeichnis sämtlicher Tonwerke Wolfgang Amade Mozarts*, edited by Alfred Einstein (Michigan: J. W. Edwards, 1947), 908.

[123] Einstein, "Mozart's 'Adelaide' Concerto," 233–36.

[124] Paul Webster, "Mozart's First Concerto was a Fiddle," *Guardian* (London and Manchester), July 16, 1977, 1.

The problem came in 1976, when Pathé-Marconi, the French arm of EMI, absorbed HMV's old catalogues. As a result of the merger, Marius Casadesus's royalties for Menuhin's recording—owed to him as the "Adélaïde" concerto's registered editor and arranger—were stopped.[125] As if adding insult to injury, Pathé then reissued the Menuhin LP with a redesigned front cover that failed to mention anything about an "arranger" or "editor," implicitly attributing the work to Mozart alone. Marius, now aged eighty-four, responded the following July by beginning a curious legal action against Pathé which cast the forger not as defendant, but as plaintiff. His goal was not only to recover lost royalties to the tune of 50,000 francs (or about $10,000 US in 1977), but also, more fundamentally, to assert his authorial rights as the sole composer of the "Adélaïde" concerto, setting the record straight after some forty-six years of deception.[126]

On July 22, 1977, the head of the Paris tribunal that heard the case ruled that, while he was unable to transfer the concerto's registered authorship, Pathé would have to refund Marius's royalties for every copy of the Menuhin LP that had been sold without crediting his orchestration and harmonization.[127] A substantial payout followed. Yet, in the subsequent press fallout, Marius—like Kreisler before him—was keen to represent himself as a tragic Faustian figure who had, in old age, become the victim of his youthful success. "I was a young man back then, 37 or 38 years old," he wrote.[128] "Everybody was playing the concerto and I was receiving credit as the man who orchestrated it. After a certain point, it was too serious an affair to disabuse my friends and colleagues."[129] Of course, the violinist makes scant reference to the question of the 50,000 franc indemnity or of his decades of royalties earned from Menuhin's recording and Schott's sheet music. Nor does he mention the missed opportunity to confess to Einstein following his London *Daily Telegraph* rebuke of 1934. At the trial itself, the question of how much extra revenue Marius gained by falsely associating his concerto with Mozart for forty-six years seems not to have come up for discussion.

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[125] Ibid.

[126] *Le Monde*, "Qui a conçu 'Adélaïde'?," July 23, 1977. *New York Times*, "Marius Casadesus Suing over Concerto 'by Mozart'," August 16, 1977, 40.

### ***Musical Values***

In his dealings with Kreisler, Ernest Newman was not so forgiving. The article that set the public dispute between the two men in motion closes with Newman wondering what would happen "if someone were to claim damages from Kreisler and his publishers."[130] "Presumably," he quips, such a person "would at least be entitled to have his money back."[131] Two years into Roosevelt's "New Deal," with UK and US unemployment levels still well above fifteen percent, it is appropriate enough that the linchpin of Newman's critique was that greatest of all romantic taboos: the question of profit.[132] His article's secondary headline, "Debit and Credit," exposes the deeply unromantic bond between the latter word's financial and authorial meanings in a sharp bit of wordplay. Put simply: Kreisler may have refused to take composerly credit for the *Classical Manuscripts*, but as a self-declared arranger he certainly enjoyed no shortage of credit when it came to the matter of royalties, just like Marius and Henri Casadesus.

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[127] *Le Monde*, "La paternité d'Adelaïde," July 25, 1977. The issue of the attribution would have to be taken up with SACEM, the French "Society of Musical Authors, Composers, and Editors" [Société des auteurs, compositeurs, et éditeurs de musique] where Marius himself had registered the concerto as his edition and orchestration of a work by Mozart in 1931.

[128] *New York Times*, "Marius Casadesus Suing over Concerto 'by Mozart'," August 16, 1977, 40.

[129] Ibid.

[130] Ernest Newman, "The Kreisler Revelations: Debit and Credit," *Sunday Times* (London), February 24, 1935, 5.

To Edward Moore's facetious aforementioned defense of Kreisler's forgeries—"what other composer has there ever been…who was unwilling to take all the credit he could get?"—Newman might well have responded that it depends what sort credit is meant.[133] Even when their works are distributed under false authorial names, forgers such as Fritz Kreisler and Marius Casadesus are ultimately still in a position to receive a substantial amount of *financial* credit so long as they are *credited* as arrangers and editors. Thus Marius's litigious response when his paratexts—and royalties—for the "Adélaïde" concerto were unceremoniously stripped by Pathé-Marconi. Yehudi Menuhin's father, Moshe, may not have appreciated the double-meaning when he told the *New York Times*: "There is no question that this is one of the most *creditable* things that Kreisler has done."[134] In defending himself from Newman, the Kreisler himself insisted that while "the name changes, the value remains."[135] Where that value accumulates is another matter.

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[131] Ibid.

[132] Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Historical Statistics of the United States from Colonial Times to the 1970,* Part I (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975), Series D 85-86 Unemployment: 1890-1970, 135. James Denman and Paul McDonald, "Unemployment Statistics from 1881 to the Present Day," *Labour Market Trends* (1996): 6.

[133] See Moore, "Kreisler Gives His Name to Classic Music," E3.

Like Moore's and Newman's "credit," Kreisler's "value" is a slippery ethical concept with deep economic roots. The violinist may simply have wished to imply that the purely musical use-value of his compositions—i.e., the inherent beauty of the sounding structure itself—persisted independently of authorial attribution. Yet it is naïve in the extreme to imply that the aesthetic and historical value of a musical composition can be so neatly separated. For modernist critics such as Adorno, the idea of artistic beauty divorced from history was anathema not least because the very assertion to operate outside of socio-historical processes was itself a product of alienation. And what of exchange value? Doesn't the price paid for a work of art depend substantially on the resource scarcity associated with its historical authenticity, as Dossena's botched 1933 attempt to auction his genuine fakes so clearly demonstrated? If the abstract use value of his sandblasted and acid-bleached sculptural pastiches remained, it certainly did not help Dossena pay his debts when he returned to Rome.

Back in New York, Olin Downes was keen to rebuff the charges of false advertising levelled by Newman. For one thing: Kreisler's US publisher, Carl Fischer, had in fact offered a refund to anyone who wanted it. But Newman's unsatisfied customers never appeared; to the contrary, Fischer was experiencing "an extra demand for printings of the old editions as souvenirs."[136] Historical ignorance is aesthetic bliss, a sentiment that Downes echoed by asking Kreisler's critics whether "the man who has kissed the wrong girl in the dark [should] condemn the practice of kissing."[137] Dated as this 1930s take on illicit eroticism may sound, Downes's philosophical point is dead serious. Unlike conventional compositions, forgeries put as at liberty to experience music as pure sensuous pleasure—a kiss in the dark, signifying nothing, no strings attached.

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[134] *New York Times*, "Kreisler's Secret Kept by Musicians," 17.

[135] Kreisler, "Mr. Kreisler's Defense," 15.

[136] Olin Downes, "Kreisler's 'Classics'," X5

As such, forged works of art can be seen to serve a useful didactic purpose by driving out the aesthetic prejudices bound up with authorship and history. If only on this single issue, Newman was in total agreement with Downes and Kreisler. The difference was that, for Newman, the forgeries were not a means to elevate Kreisler to the status of his historical predecessors, but rather a way of making the public recognize the crushing mediocrity of most authentically old music. If Kreisler's forgeries had succeeded, Newman claimed it was only because a vast amount of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century music was "merely the exploitation of formulae" in the first place.[138] "In so far as Bach and Handel…sat down in perfectly cold blood and ground out their morning's ration of music-according-to-the-recipe," he writes, they produced well-sounding stuff that anyone of any intelligence to-day could turn out by the handful."[139]

From "formulae" and "exploitation" to the insipid grinding out of a "morning's ration," Newman's language maps a host of depression-era Fordist anxieties about mass production onto the act of musical composition. The comparison to his near contemporary Max Friedländer, for whom "[a]n original resembles an organism; a copy, a machine," is obvious.[140] Yet crucially, for

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[137] Ibid.

[138] Newman, "The Kreisler Revelations," 5.

[139] Ibid.

[140] Friedländer, *On Art and Connoisseurship*, 236.

Newman, it is not only the copy that is machine-like. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century pastiche is so often successful, he claims, because much of the authentic material from that era was already mechanical in its reliance on stock formulae and patterns. Significantly, organic masterworks were exempt from Newman's iconoclastic assault. While he argued that it was perfectly possible to imitate the workaday mechanics of a Bach chorale or a Mozart minuet, one does not simply "grind out" the spirit and texture of a *Matthew Passion* or a *Don Giovanni*. "The first-rate work of the first-rank classics" remains, he assures us, "inimitable."[141]

Newman's insistence on cultivating connoisseurship may strike many modern readers as willfully elitist. Yet the critic envisioned his task as a form of demystification and democratization in service of ordinary music lovers. In the first half of the twentieth century, when more and more musical works were being published and revived in performance, the power to make informed value judgements—separating the wheat from the chaff—should not be the exclusive property of academics, but rather a basic duty of good musical citizenship. "It has long been my contention," writes Newman, impatiently "that the musical public is too much influenced in its judgements by names: it will accept admiringly the most ordinary composition if only it bears the name of a classical composer."[142] The scandal of the Kreisler forgeries was of such fascination because it provided an ideal opportunity to promote vigilance about aesthetic quality by lifting the scales from the eyes of the laity.

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[141] Newman, "The Kreisler Revelations," 5.

[142] Ibid.

### ***The Exploitation of Formulae***

For his part, Kreisler vigorously denied having followed compositional formulae, insisting—in the *New York Times*—that he had "made no endeavor whatever to stick closely to the style of the period from which [the *Classical Manuscripts*] were alleged to date."[143] This was in stark contradiction to a rather ham-fisted statement made by a representative of one of Kreisler's US publishers, Carl Fischer, who not ten days earlier had written that the *Classical Manuscripts* were in fact "faithful to the style of these masters."[144]

Does the music itself bear out Newman's, Kreisler's, or Fischer's positions? In general, the melodic profile and overall form *Classical Manuscripts* conforms to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century precedents, with each miniature typically adhering to a small ternary structure totaling around 46–120 measures in length. Having said this: some of the harmonies, particularly in the piano accompaniments, flirt with late romantic techniques that are wholly out of style for the earlier period. This assessment is consistent with Kreisler's 1909 pre-confession explanation that, it transcribing and arranging the works that became the *Classical Manuscripts*, he had "made a few minor changes in the melodies, and…modernized the accompaniments to some extent" while trying to "retain the spirit of the original compositions."[145]

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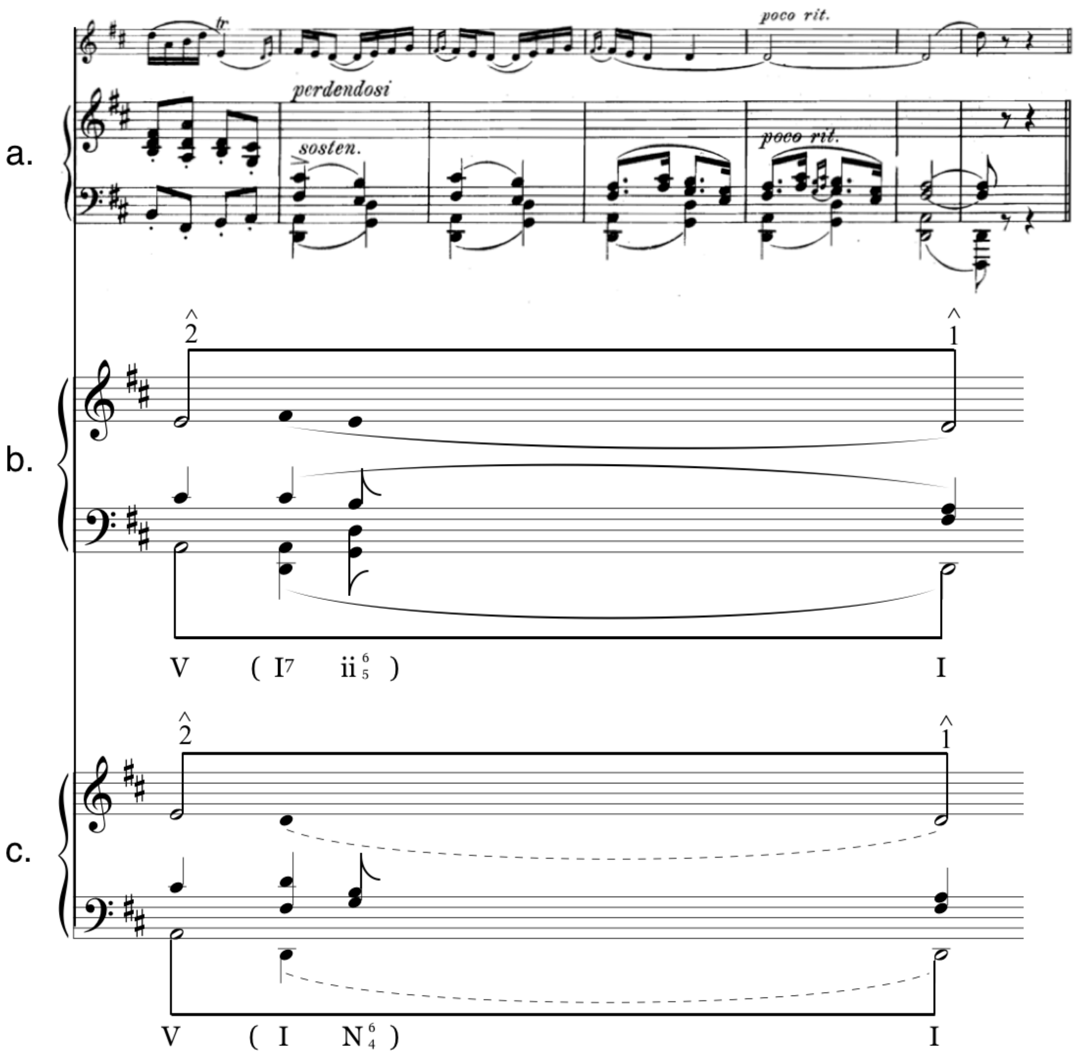
[143] Kreisler, "Kreisler Aroused by Critics Taunts," 19.

[144] *New York Herald Tribune*, "Publisher Tells why Kreisler hoaxed Public," February 9, 1935, 9.

[145] *New York Times*, "How Kreisler Finds Musical Novelties," 7.



**Example 1.** Plagal Cadential Extension in Fritz Kreisler, Forged “Louis Couperin,” *La Précieuse*, mm.99–106

Consider the closing measures of *La Précieuse*—a work originally attributed to Louis Couperin—reproduced in example 1a. The piece’s final dominant chord resolves to the tonic on the downbeat of measure 100, as the voice-leading reduction in example 1b clarifies. Yet Kreisler neglects to resolve ^7 (i.e., C-sharp) in the piano part, producing a major seventh chord that substitutes for the expected tonic triad. The hazy, slightly pungent effect of the unresolved major seventh evokes the sound world of the late nineteenth century: while the chord functions as a tonic, the dissonant extension marks it as open and unstable at a structural moment where maximal closure and stability are expected.

Example 1c shows one Baroque codetta "formula" that may conceivably have served as the basis for this section. If we were to replace the major-seventh chord on the downbeat of measure 100 with a pure tonic triad, and the neighboring $\text{ii}^{6/5}$ of measures 100–104 with a more idiomatic neighboring 6/4 sonority, we are left with a harmonic pattern consistent with seventeenth-century practice. Neighboring 6/4 motions ornamenting the tonic triad were common in post-cadential codettas by Louis Couperin and his contemporaries. Besides the overlapping parallel fifths in measures 100 and 101, what defines Kreisler's version—shown in example 1a and 1b—as romantic is the dissonant extension disrupting the moment of cadential arrival itself, followed by the minor-tinged plagal pull of $\text{ii}^{6/5}$.

At any rate, it is difficult to reconcile such a passage with Carl Fischer's claim that Kreisler was "faithful to the style" of Louis Couperin, much less with Edmond Johnson's inexplicable assertion that the violinist's forgeries are "ultra-conservative in their harmonic conception, with a nearly obsessive avoidance of anything more than a passing dissonance."[146] Such comments appear especially ill-considered when examined in light of the forged "Vivaldi" violin concerto, which—by its very nature as a large-scale multi-movement work—admittedly remains the exception among Kreisler's forgeries. As we shall see, despite early reviews stating that "a century and a half of neglect ha[d] scarcely staled" Kreisler's supposedly rediscovered Vivaldi, the work is also exceptional in the depth of its compositional anachronisms.[147]

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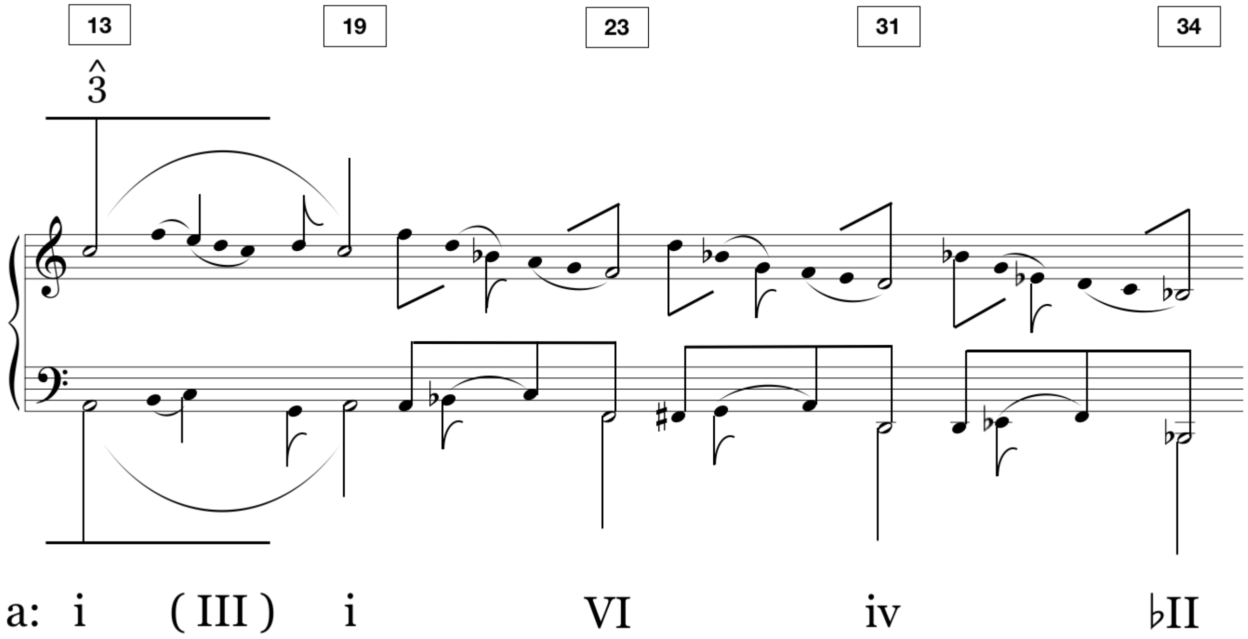
[146] Johnson, "Revival and Antiquation," 122.

[147] *New York Times*, "Kreisler Soloist at Philharmonic," January 5, 1908, 11.



**Example 2.** Voice-Leading Sketch: Fritz Kreisler, Forged "Vivaldi" Violin Concerto in C Major, ii, mm.13–34

Consider example 2, which shows a voice-leading sketch of measures 13–34 from the concerto's slow movement. By way of context: authentic Vivaldi slow movements tend to be either simple or rounded binaries. When they modulate, it is to the dominant or—in minor-mode works such as this—the mediant. At first, Kreisler's forgery seems to be following this script. The mediant, C Major, is tonicized in the passage from bars thirteen through eighteen. Yet things go awry in measure 19 when the local dominant that might otherwise have cemented C Major into place as the subordinate key collapses in a deceptive progression back to the global tonic, A minor. Where we might have expected a second attempt at this modulation, Kreisler gives up on the mediant entirely, continuing to downshift sequentially by third to VI (F Major), iv (D minor), and finally the non-diatonic bII (B-flat Major).

Attending to this passage, it is easy to see what Kreisler meant when he claimed that, while other features of the concerto may have been "Vivaldian," the slow movement's “harmonic changes” were “strictly Schubertian and Berliozian.”[148] A neo-Riemannian might even point out the symmetrical pattern of alternating minor and major thirds in Kreisler’s root motion, which, fully extended, would cycle seamlessly through all twenty-four keys in the tonal system.

Yet, for all this, Newman was not entirely incorrect. Anachronistic as they may sound to our ears, Kreisler’s forgeries are nothing if not formulaic. As example 3—taken from Albert Lavignac’s *Cours d’Harmonie* of 1909—will confirm, sequences based on root motion by third have been haunting the dreams of harmony students for centuries. This treatise is particularly relevant here because Lavignac happened to be the Paris Conservatoire’s professor of harmony in the 1880s and ‘90s when the school’s students included Henri Casadesus, Marius Casadesus, and Fritz Kreisler. Like many late-nineteenth-century French pedagogues, Lavignac puts a heavy emphasis on the realization and ornamentation of literally hundreds of stock sequences and thoroughbass patterns modelled on the eighteenth-century classics. Indulging in a little historical speculation, it is not hard to picture an errant student of this system fantasizing a “baroque” style by expanding these faux-antique formulae to industrial proportions. In composing out Lavignac’s sequence No. 102 as a series of tonicizations—for example—such a student would need only to flatten the B-natural in bar five to avoid prolonging a dissonant diminished triad. The result would be the “Schubertian” or “Berliozian” tonal structure Kreisler described.[149]

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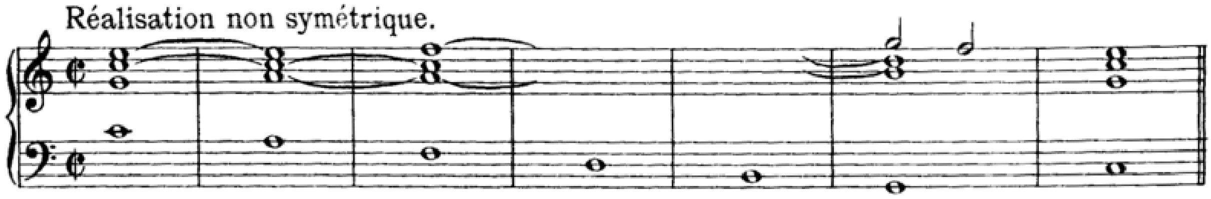
[148] Biancolli, “The Great Kreisler Hoax,” 56.

[149] Of course, this might be seen as confirmation bias. Schenkerian analysis is designed to reveal simple—and, in particular, historically old—contrapuntal formulae governing the deep structure of much more modern music.

102.

Réalisation non symétrique.



**Example 3.** Albert Lavignac, *Cours d'Harmonie: Théorique et Pratique* (Paris: Henry Lemoine & Co., 1909), 122

Assessing the fake Vermeers that the forger Han van Meegeren famously sold to the Rembrandt Society for a handsome sum in 1938, philosopher Dennis Dutton remarked: "The sentimental eyes and awkward anatomy are more reminiscent of German expressionist works of the 1920s and 30s than they are of the age of Vermeer. . . .Yet these very characteristics that stamp them to our eyes as so obviously works of their time, rather than Vermeer's, also made them immediately appealing to the eyes of the 30s."[150] With Max Friedländer's dictum that "forgeries must be served hot" in mind, it is easy enough to see Kreisler's forgeries as the natural products of an age that heard baroque music as an assemblage of sequences blown out on an industrial, almost neo-Gothic scale.

### *Innocence Lost*

Fritz Kreisler and Marius Casadesus represent the first generation of forgers who had to contend—in figures like Ernest Newman and Alfred Einstein—with what we might begin to call musicologists in the modern sense of the word. Yet their forgeries were by no means the last that the discipline has had to confront. In a prescient 1935 reflection on the *Classical Manuscripts* scandal, the *Musical Times* expressed concern that impressionable young musicians of the future might “follow Kreisler’s example” by “making capital (in the most solid sense of the term) out of the names and reputations of composers beyond the protection of the law.”[151] Concrete instances of copycat forgeries imitating the *Classical Manuscripts* are impossible to substantiate. Yet Einstein’s subsequent use of the phrase “mystification à la Kreisler” to describe the “Adélaïde” concerto illustrates the extent to which the Kreisler affair continued to define conversations about musical authorship well into the mid-twentieth century.[152] In an ironic twist of fate, the violinist’s name had itself come to function as yet another polite euphemism for the “ugly appellation” of musical forgery, even standing in synecdoche for the phenomenon writ large.[153]

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[150] Gordon Stein ed., *The Encyclopedia of Hoaxes* (Michigan: Gale, 1993), s.v. Dennis Dutton, "Han van Meegeren"

What did all of this mean for the developing field of musicology? On one level, the mere idea that works deliberately designed to deceive experts could—and in point of fact, did—exist had a profound impact on how scholars of music came to think about their standards of evidence. Churlish as Kreisler may have been in characterizing Newman as a “meritorious compiler of data from musical reference works,” some of the mud flung at academic experts during the affair seems to have stuck.[154] As Olin Downes suggested, the *Classical Manuscripts* debacle might ultimately be seen as “a commentary…on the manner in which all sorts of facts which should be promptly questioned are allowed to pass in this field.”[155] “Outside of a very few leading figures,” wrote Downes, “musicographers the world over are open to criticism for lack of scientific method and accurate classification of data.”[156]

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[151] “Kreisleriana,” *Musical Times* 76/1105 (1935): 251.

[152] Einstein, “Mozart’s ‘Adelaide’ Concerto,” 233–36.

[153] Downes, “Kreisler’s ‘Classics’,” X5.

[154] Newman, “An Open Letter to Fritz Kreisler,” 7.

[155] Downes, “Kreisler’s ‘Classics’,” X5.

Of course Newman’s response was that, in the world of musical performance and publishing, the strictures of the scientific method had not widely been considered necessary until Kreisler demonstrated otherwise. These were the days before digital databases and wide-scale university-funded archival research. Could a class of nameless musicological gatekeepers really be expected—as Newman put it—to “take the trouble…to spend months of his time trying to trace the source” every time a new edition claimed to bear some relationship to an unpublished antique manuscript?[157] The fact is that pragmatic decisions about authenticity are often made as much on the basis of mutual trust established among a community of scholars and publishers as on strictly verified evidence. By claiming to have based his “transcriptions” on original manuscripts when in fact nothing of the sort existed, Kreisler had—according to Newman’s argument—shattered the existing moral contract such that it could never be fully repaired.[158]

If the willingness to locate truth in a loosely established community of trust strikes us as naïve today, then that is precisely the point. Modern academic culture is built on principles of profound skepticism instantiated in seemingly endless chains of footnoting, fact-checking, copyediting, and peer-reviewing in no small part because of the fear of forgery and other forms of deception. For better or for worse, scholars and musicians were increasingly coming to see inauthentic musical works, editions, and performative interpretations as a contagion that had to be actively fought off. In his lectures as 1949–50 Charles Eliot Norton Professor of Poetry at

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[156] Ibid.

[157] Ernest Newman, “An Open Letter to Fritz Kreisler,” 7.

[158] Ibid.

Harvard, Paul Hindemith—for example—moralized at some length about badly arranged or otherwise editorially incompetent editions of old music, memorably proclaiming: “You are not permitted to sell unsanitary macaroni or mustard, but nobody objects to your undermining the public’s mental health by feeding it musical forgeries.”[159]

In his August 1935 *Esquire* profile of Fritz Kreisler, David Ewen contemplates the sixty-year-old violinist’s legacy some six months on from the *Classical Manuscripts* scandal. Taking a reflective and melancholy tone after an otherwise glowing appraisal of the man’s artistic achievements, Ewen admits that “it is not beyond the realm of possibility that the name of Fritz Kreisler will be descended to posterity for a reason other than he is the greatest violinist of our age.”[160] Clearly, Ewen found this idea to be a depressing prospect. “One can,” he continues, “well imagine a musical dictionary of the twenty-first century referring to Kreisler in the following fashion: ‘…He is remembered today only because of a hoax which he perpetrated upon the entire world of music in his time’.”[161]

All this raises the question: how, precisely, should Kreisler and his forgeries be remembered today? The *Classical Manuscripts* themselves seem to be in no danger of falling out of the standard violin repertory, even if (or perhaps precisely because) the stories behind them are no longer widely known. It would be an act of hubris to suggest that musicological discourse will, or should, change the regularity with which Kreisler’s forgeries still appear on recital programs, recordings, and conservatory syllabi. Anyone who remains concerned that the present study amounts to a grim fulfillment of Ewen's prophecy should consider it but a mild corrective to the hagiographic tradition that has enveloped Kreisler for the five decades since his death. The violinist's first authorized biographer, Louis Lochner, for example, had little hesitation in letting Kreisler off the hook for the fact that "it took thirty-odd years for the proper occasion for unburdening his mind to present itself."[162] And despite her otherwise admirable efforts at revising Lochner's account, Amy Biancolli went to even more bizarre lengths to demonstrate Kreisler's innocence when it came to the issue of the *Classical Manuscripts*. In her 1998 biography, she protests that Kreisler: "did so very little to perpetuate the hoax beyond getting it started. He lit the fire and then walked away, clearly expecting someone to discover the flames and douse them before they turned into a genuine blaze."[163] By any reasonable legal or ethical standard this analogy is astonishing. Is an arsonist who starts a fire and simply walks away to be exonerated because—we charitably assume—he *must* have expected someone else to come along and put it out for him? To ask this question seriously and expect an affirmative answer is to cast aside basic human notions of personal accountability.

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[159] Paul Hindemith, *A Composer’s World: Horizons and Limitations* (Mainz: B. Schott’s Söhne, 1952), 108.

[160] Ewen, “L’Amico Fritz,” 148.

[161] Ibid.

Perhaps more disturbingly, both Biancolli and Lochner uncritically repeat as fact Kreisler's and Carl Fischer's spurious reports that, three months before the *New York Times* broke its story, they had already agreed to list the *Classical Manuscripts* as original compositions in all future published editions.[164] To be sure: the idea that Kreisler and Fischer had privately decided to reveal the deception as early as December of 1934 cannot be falsified. It would, however, have been a monumental coincidence. The claim is something akin to that of the habitual adulterer who, once caught, piously insists that he was just about to break off his thirty-year affair and reveal the truth of his own accord. We have nothing but Kreisler's and Fischer's word as proof.[165] That both Lochner and Biancolli accepted the story without question bespeaks a willingness to pass over—as Downes put it—"facts which should be promptly questioned," so long as they serve to skew the narrative in Kreisler's favor.

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[162] Lochner, *Fritz Kreisler*, 292.

[163] Biancolli, *Love's Sorrow, Love's Joy*, 180.

[164] For William Kretschmer's version of this story, see *New York Herald Tribune*, "Publisher Tells Why Kreisler Hoaxed Public," February 9, 1935, 9. For Lochner's and Biancolli's unquestioning acceptance of the tale as true see Louis Lochner, *Fritz Kreisler*, 294; and Biancolli, *Love's Sorrow, Love's Joy*, 181.

This brings me to a final crucial point. Unlike the forgers dealt with in chapters two and three of this dissertation—Gunter Elsholz and Winfried Michel—Fritz Kreisler was already a major figure on the international classical music scene at the time he was accused of forgery. In this context, even Amy Biancolli ultimately admits that "history has been lenient on Fritz Kreisler—lenient and forgetful."[166] This leniency and forgetfulness might have something to do with the fact that Kreisler's forgeries have been remembered (when they are remembered at all) only as isolated quirks, rather than as one instance of a larger and more serious phenomenon. No doubt it also has a lot to do with Kreisler's enduring celebrity as one of the great violinists of the twentieth century independent from any associations he might have with forgery. That Kreisler chose to forge music by figures at the peripheries of the canon also played a significant role. Marius Casadesus's great mistake in forging a concerto by Mozart—even the child Mozart—was to transgress against a centrally canonical composer. After all: audiences habitually attribute a strong authorial identity to Mozart, mapping his biography onto his works in ways that are frankly unimaginable for Vivaldi, much less Pugnani or Louis Couperin. If we judge Vivaldi guilty of producing the same concerto six hundred times (as the hoary old Newmanesque cliché goes) then what's the harm in someone as talented as Kreisler providing concerto number six hundred and one? Even if it is impossible for us to return to a mindset in which such a belief would be possible, Kreisler's forgeries, and the debates they provoked, have much to teach us about the contingency of our own musical values.

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[165] It is possible that archival sources will reveal more about these issues in the future.

[166] Biancolli, *Love's Sorrow, Love's Joy*, 182.

# Chapter 2

## Schubert's Untrue Symphony

On 14 February 1975 the East-German musicologist Harry Goldschmidt received a letter from a journalist and amateur musician named Gunter Elsholz concerning a matter of potentially monumental historical significance. Writing from the West-German state of Hesse, Elsholz came straight to the point: "Relatives of mine…possess a complete set of parts for an E-Major Symphony by Franz Schubert from 1825."[1] This was not simply a copy of the well-known fragmentary E-Major symphony D.729.[2] What Elsholz claimed to have access to was perhaps the greatest archival holy grail in the history of musicology: Schubert's missing "Gastein" symphony D.849.

But there was a catch. Elsholz explained that he was unable to retrieve the orchestral parts containing the symphony because of a bitter family feud.[3] And so he proceeded to painstakingly copy out a new full score from the parts, travelling back and forth between his home in Hesse and his ancestral residence in Strausberg, where he could consult the source in person. Elsholz sent the resulting score to Goldschmidt in East Berlin movement by movement. Despite living on opposing sides of the divided Germany, the pair struck up a prolific epistolary relationship about Elsholz's apparent rediscovery. Yet—while Goldschmidt was impressed by the quality of the music—he remained anxious to see even a few pages of the historical source first hand. As it happened, the clock was ticking. 1978 was to be the one-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of Schubert's death, and the Austrian Society for Musicology was organizing an international conference in honor of the occasion. As Goldschmidt explained to one colleague: "It would of course be a sensation to present this matter to the public at this event — provided that everything possible were done to authenticate it."[4]

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[1] "Verwandte von mir...besitzen die vollständige Stimmenabschrift einer E-dur-Sinfonie Franz Schuberts aus dem Jahre 1825. . . . Aber meine Verwandten verweigern den Zugang zum Material, ich muß es „klauen", d.h. abschreiben." Gunter Elsholz to Harry Goldschmidt, 14 February 1975. Berlin State Library, Mus. Nachl. H. Goldschmidt B.14.

[2] The symphony D.729 was purchased by Sir George Grove, after having been in the possession of Felix Mendelssohn, and is now held at the Royal College of Music in London.

[3] The supposed feud stemmed, as Elsholz later explained, from his aunt's longstanding support for the Nazis.

And so it was that—after twenty long months of correspondence—Elsholz was finally persuaded to abduct samples of the antique set of parts and bring them to West Berlin for verification. Goldschmidt secured a visa for an East-German paper expert to travel to the other side of the boarder wall and reserved a reading room at the State Library. Yet, again and again, Elsholz delayed his visit. He did not want to risk losing access to the symphony by alienating his relatives; he broke his wrist; he took ill with the flu.[5] And after months of excuses, Goldschmidt finally lost patience, writing to Elsholz: "you have succeeded in making me very suspicious. . . . I have no intention of making a stand on behalf of this symphony without having verified everything. . . . Under these conditions it would be better not to pursue the matter any further."[6]

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[4] "Es wäre natürlich eine Sensation, mit dieser Sache bei dieser Gelegenheit vor die Öffentlichkeit zu kommen — vorausgesetzt, dass alles getan würde, um sie abzusichern." Harry Goldschmidt to Wisso Weiss, 27 October 1976. Berlin State Library, Mus. Nachl. H. Goldschmidt B.15.

[5] Goldschmidt had implied to Elsholz that he had to prepare the score for a potential premiere in Vienna. This ultimately did not take place, which was a huge cause of frustration for both men.

[6] "Um es kurz zu machen: Es ist Ihnen gelungen, mich sehr misstrauisch zu machen. . . . Auf alle Fälle habe ich nicht die Absicht, die Echtheit dieser Sinfonie zu vertreten, ohne alles überprüft zu haben. . . . Unter diesen Voraussetzungen wird es besser sein, die ganze Sache nicht mehr weiter zu verfolgen." Harry Goldschmidt to Gunter Elsholz, 2 October 1977. Berlin State Library, Mus. Nachl. H. Goldschmidt B.15.

The whole saga might well have ended here, had Elsholz not delivered samples from the orchestral parts to a contact in West Berlin in December of 1977. It was a full year after the first proposed meeting, and mere days before the beginning of the Schubert year.

Six months later, on 5 June 1978, Goldschmidt stood before the Hobokensaal of the Austrian National Library's music collection and declared that the lost symphony for which generations of musicologists had been searching had been rediscovered. Yet—having analyzed the work in full—Goldschmidt hastened to clarify his belief the rediscovered symphony was not, in fact, entirely by Schubert.[7] To the contrary, he explained that the two thousand and fourteen bars of music brought before the congress was a posthumous completion of a particello draft left unfinished at the time of the composer's death. While Schubert had written the outer voices, much of the remaining orchestral material had been filled out by an inferior composer who had attempted to produce a performing version sometime in the late-nineteenth century. The symphony could thus best be compared to "a deficiently and haphazardly restored painting" which—in Goldschmidt's estimation—remained, unmistakably, "the work of a master."[8]

Not everyone was so convinced that the find could be authentic, even in part. At the congress, Goldschmidt's paper met with accusations from *Neue Schubert-Ausgabe* editorial directors Walther Dürr and Arnold Feil that the putatively "rediscovered" symphony was not a work by Franz Schubert at all.[9] In an event that marks the beginning of one of the most prolonged authenticity disputes in the history of the discipline, Dürr and Feil went so far as to publicly declare that the symphony was not "the work of a master," but rather an act of musical forgery on a monumental scale.[10]

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[7] The paper was subsequently published as Harry Goldschmidt, "Eine weitere E-Dur-Sinfonie? Zur Kontroverse um die 'Gmunden-Gastein'-Sinfonie," in *Schubert-Kongreß Wien 1978*, ed. Otto Brusatti (Graz: Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft, 1979), 79–112.

[8] Ibid., 84; 107.

[9] As it happened, Elsholz had made a failed attempt to convince the *Neue Schubert-Ausgabe* of the symphony's authenticity months before turning to Goldschmidt.

### *A Symphony on Trial*

After the Schubert Congress, Elsholz continued to send Goldschmidt materials from the set of parts for chemical testing. In November of 1982, enough documentation had accumulated for the contested score to be published in a full-length edition.[11] Within a month the symphony's live premiere was scheduled at the state opera in Hanover. The first performances was preceded by a three-and-a-half-hour debate about the work's authorship. As the concert program indicates (fig. 5), the organizers chose to remain neutral about the symphony's authorship, listing it as "attributed to Franz Schubert" [Franz Schubert zugeschrieben]. On the night of 5 December 1982, over two hundred and fifty people—including Gunter Elsholz—turned up to hear the symphony stand trial.

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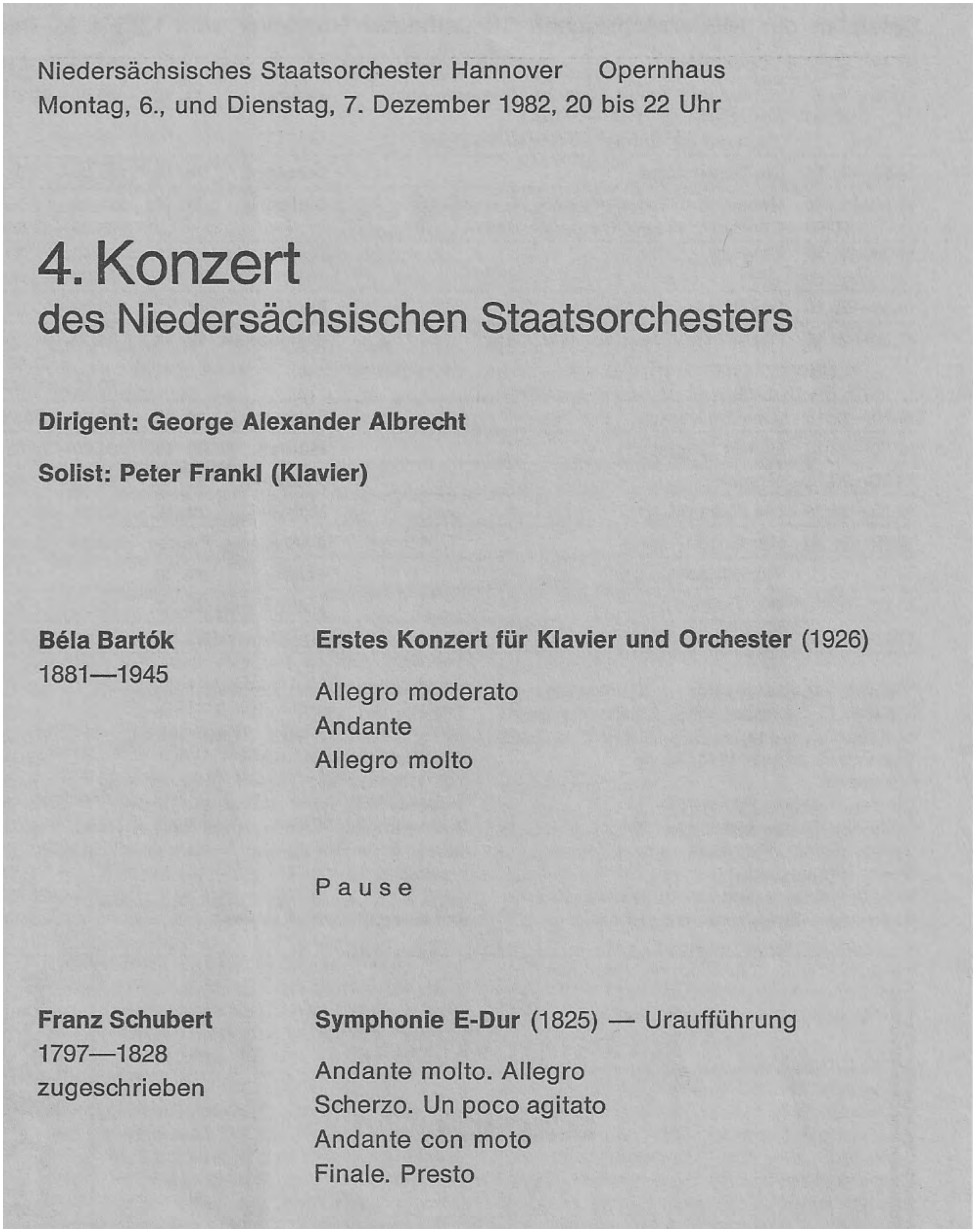
[10] Dürr's and Feil's objections were published in the congress proceedings immediately following Goldschmidt's essay. See Walther Dürr and Arnold Feil, "Stellungnahme der Editionsleitung der Neuen Schubert-Ausgabe," in *Schubert-Kongreß Wien 1978*, ed. Otto Brusatti (Graz: Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft, 1979), 113–14. At the Schubert Conference itself, this disagreement caused enough kerfuffle to be featured in the Viennese *Wochenpresse*—roughly the equivalent of an article about an unruly AMS Q&A session appearing in *The New Yorker*. See W. G., "Gefälscht?" *Wochenpresse* (Vienna), June 7, 1978, 7.

[11] Reimut Vogel and Gunter Elsholz, *Franz Schubert Sinfonie in E-Dur 1825: Materialien, Werk und Geschichte, Partitur* (Stuttgart: Goldoni Verlag, 1982).



Niedersächsisches Staatsorchester Hannover Opernhaus
Montag, 6., und Dienstag, 7. Dezember 1982, 20 bis 22 Uhr

# 4. Konzert
## des Niedersächsischen Staatsorchesters

**Dirigent: George Alexander Albrecht**

**Solist: Peter Frankl (Klavier)**

**Béla Bartók**
1881—1945

**Erstes Konzert für Klavier und Orchester** (1926)

Allegro moderato
Andante
Allegro molto

Pause

**Franz Schubert**
1797—1828
zugeschrieben

**Symphonie E-Dur** (1825) — Uraufführung

Andante molto. Allegro
Scherzo. Un poco agitato
Andante con moto
Finale. Presto

**Figure 5.** Niedersächsisches Staatsorchester Concert Program, December 6 and 7, 1982. *Neue Schubert-Ausgabe* Archive, Tübingen

Three presentations were scheduled for the evening, each invoking a different methodology of authentication. The first—in defense of the work's authenticity—was given by Reimut Vogel, chief editor at Goldoni Verlag and lecturer in print history [moderne Textgestaltung] at the university of Stuttgart. Having clarified that he would leave an explanation of the "musicological study of the score" to Goldschmidt (his co-counsel for the defense, as it were), Vogel proceeded to outline the "physical and chemical" evidence in support of its sources. Above all, he emphasized the forensic testimony of the Institute for Paper in Heidenau, East Germany, where—in the years since the 1978 Congress—appraisers had conducted microscopic tests that indicated that the set of parts had been written "around 1880 or 1890," on "unwatermarked, mechanically produced, pulp paper."[12] Additional chemical analysis revealed that white flecks of correction fluid scattered throughout the parts consisted of a compound of 90% titanium dioxide and 10% aluminum silicate—a recipe that Vogel claimed had been industrially produced "since 1908" and was readily available in small batches mixed by apothecaries "as early as the mid-nineteenth century."[13] The argument was that, on a purely chemical level, the rediscovered parts were entirely consistent with Goldschmidt's and Elsholz's presentations of them. This is to say that they were written exclusively using materials that would have been available to Gunter Elsholz's late uncle in Berlin around 1930, when the documents were supposed to have been copied from a nineteenth-century full score that had been lost in the course of the Second World War.

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[12] "Die Stimmen wurden um 1880 oder um 1890 mit Tinte auf maschinell hergestelltem, klangharten, wasserzeichenfreien Zellstoffpapier im Querquart-Format mit Goldschnitt-Berandung geschrieben. Das bestätigen mikroskopische Prüfungen durch das Institut für Papier in Heidenau." Reimut Vogel, "Materialien zur E-Dur-Sinfonie," Program note for *Niedersächsisches Staatsorchester Hannover '82/83, 4. Konzert, 6. und 7. Dezember '82, Opernhaus* (1982): 10. Archive of the *Neue Schubert-Ausgabe*, 1393, V S 849. Translation mine.

[13] "Die im Gespräch mit Herrn Professor Dürr (Neue Schubert-Ausgabe, Tübingen) festgestellten und beim genauen Studium der aufgefundenen Einzelstimmen auffallenden weißen Flecken bestehen zu 90% aus Titan-Dioxyd und zu 10% aus Aluminium-Silikat, einem Deckmittel, das z.B. von der Firma Pelikan als Ton 35 Pelikat, Katalognummer 25/B seit 1908 industriell gefertigt und vertrieben wird und bereits in der Mitte des vergangenen Jahrhunderts als deckendes Weiß verwendet wurde, oft von Apothekern angemischt, aber auch privat hergestellt." Ibid. Translation mine.

In the second presentation, Feil recounted the *Neue Schubert-Ausgabe*'s source-critical objections to the work. The set of supposedly antique parts had—in Dürr and Feil's analysis—been based on Elsholz's orchestral score, not the other way around. Figure 6 models the two conflicting interpretations of the relationship between the orchestral parts and Elsholz's full score as they were presented in Hanover, with Goldschmidt and Vogel subscribing to Elsholz's "Narrative A" and Dürr and Feil proposing the alternative "Narrative B." The implication of Narrative B was that Elsholz had composed the symphony in full score first, stringing Goldschmidt along for several years while he painstaking forged a set of faux-antique parts using nineteenth-century paper.[14] If the "only surviving historical source" for the symphony—the orchestral parts supposedly plucked from the Elsholz's ancestral attic in Strausberg—had been copied from the "recently reproduced" full score, then Elsholz had clearly manipulated the documents and the stories he had told about them to create the illusion of age.

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[14] Any modern-day reader who doubts the availability of such raw materials should type the words "restoration paper" into their favorite online auction site.

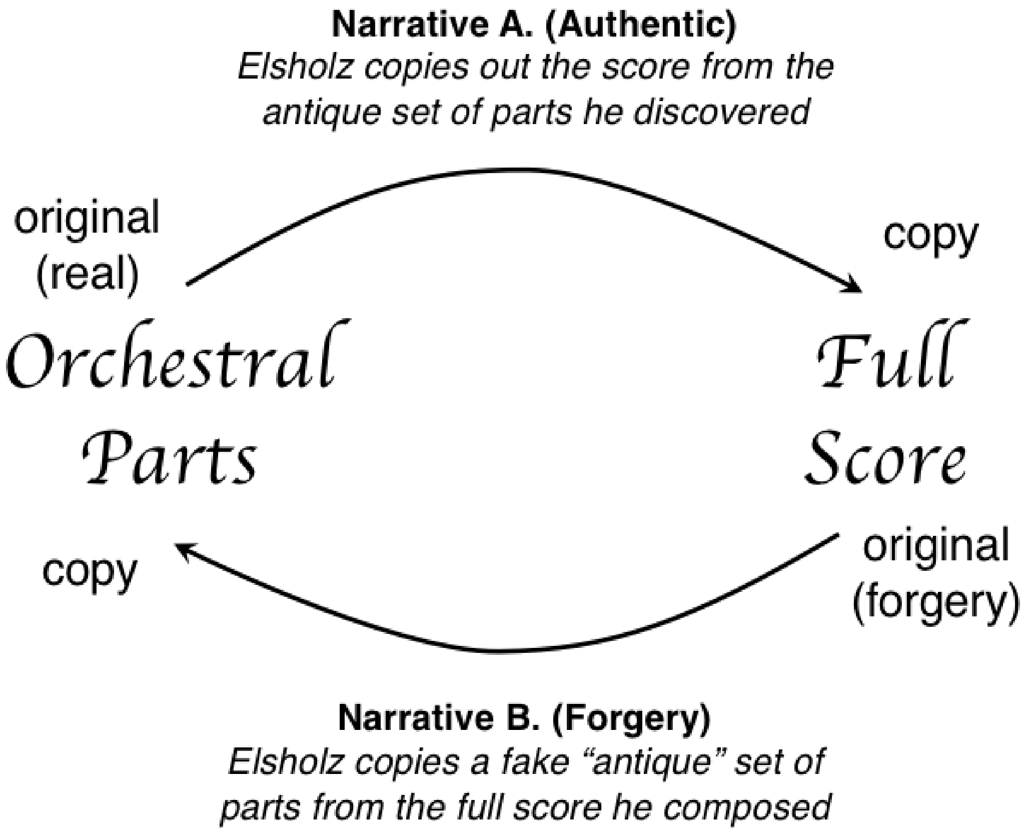
Narrative A. (Authentic)
Elsholz copies out the score from the antique set of parts he discovered
original (real)
copy
Orchestral Parts
Full Score
copy
original (forgery)
Narrative B. (Forgery)
Elsholz copies a fake "antique" set of parts from the full score he composed

**Figure 6.** Competing Interpretations of the Musical Sources.

When Goldschmidt took the stage, he eschewed both chemistry and source philology, instead turning to the artistic qualities of the composition itself. As the *Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung* reported, Goldschmidt's key rhetorical "trump card" with the audience was that—in contrast to the other experts—he "finally played musical examples."[15] The paper's music columnist even added the glib rhetorical question: "Who cares about 'paper pinchers' [Dürr and Feil] when we are talking about the sublime."[16] In his program note for the premiere,

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[15] Rainer Wagner, "Juwel, Steinbruch oder Talmi?," *Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 8 December 1982.

[16] Ibid.

Goldschmidt vouches for the aesthetic value of the work as the strongest evidence for its authenticity: “What totally rules out any suspicion of a pastiche,” he wrote, is “the great breath of this symphony, the grand scale of its construction, the inexorable musical flow, all its lavish episodes, and its profoundly unusual construction.”[17] At the event’s end, the audience was asked to vote on whether the symphony was genuine or not. And the democratic outcome favored Professor Goldschmidt: in answer to the question “Do you believe that this Symphony is a work by Schubert?,” 57% of the audience replied “yes.”[18] In a second round, a different question was asked, resulting in a substantially increased majority of 80% writing that they would be “happy to encounter the work again in a concert hall or on record,” regardless of whether or not they thought it was authentic Schubert.[19]

These two rounds of questioning evoke strikingly different modes of musical listening that are too often casually conflated: sound as history (do you hear Schubert?) and sound as sensuality (do you like what you hear?). Whether we care more about the former or the latter question ultimately hinges on whether we believe the concert hall should be a temple, a pleasure garden, or—as is likely the case for many of us—something in between. For those in the “pleasure garden” camp, taking a public vote on an authenticity dispute may seem like a strikingly progressive gesture. Critics of modern classical music culture have often cast aspersions on the hermetically-sealed mausoleum-like quality of the symphonic concert repertory in particular. As Christopher Small argues, the orchestral canon and the rituals hardwired into its performance are designed to remind audiences that they are "there to listen and not talk back."[20] In the context of such a top-down power structure, staging the process of canon formation in public and trusting audience members to engage with it as informed participants has a symbolic resonance that was not lost on contemporary observers. Rainer Wagner, the aforementioned Hanover newspaper critic, wrote that it was important to present the contested symphony in this way because "more was learnt about Schubert and his music…than would have been possible in the x-th performance of the 'Unfinished'."[21] He even added that the event was justified because it "serves the (aural) establishment of truth" [weil es der (hörenden) Wahrheitsfindung dient].[22]

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[17] “Was aber den Verdacht einer „Stilkopie“ völlig ausschließt, ist der große Atem dieser Sinfonie, die Weiträumigkeit ihrer Anlage, der unaufhaltsame musikalische Fluß bei aller verschwenderischen Episodenfülle, die großartige, absolut ungewöhnliche Konzeption.” Harry Goldschmidt, Program note for *Niedersächsisches Staatsorchester Hannover ‘82/83, 4. Konzert, 6. und 7. Dezember ’82, Opernhaus* (1982): 17–19, at 18. Archive of the *Neue Schubert-Ausgabe*, 1393, V S 849. Translation mine.

[18] Walther Dürr, “Die Gefälschte Schubert-Sinfonie,” in *Gefälscht!* (Nördlingen: Eichborn, 1990), 413.

[19] Ludwig Flich, “Der Schubert-Krimi,” *Vox* 3 (1983): 5–6 at 6.

This German figure of speech indexes the month-long 1967 trial of the student activist Fritz Teufel. After being ordered by a judge to only address topics that "serve the establishment of truth," Teufel adopted this self-important expression as a means of satirizing conservative courtroom etiquette, notoriously declaring—for example—that he would stand up to testify only "if it serves the establishment of truth" [wenn's denn der Wahrheitsfindung dient]. Adapting this particular phrase to defend the Hanover premiere evokes not only the irreverent anti-authoritarianism of the West-German student movement, but also the idea that, when it comes to musical authenticity, the proof should be in the aural pudding. If it sounds authentic, it is authentic—or might as well be.

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[20] Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performance and Listening* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1998), 27.

[21] Wagner, "Juwel, Steinbruch oder Talmi?"

[22] Ibid.

We would be justified in questioning whether a "yes-or-no" ballot is a responsible way to go about representing knotty disciplinary problems such as musical authentication. By appearing to hand the verdict over to the public, do we not abdicate our responsibility towards them as experts? Moreover: doesn't the idea that the music itself will ring true or false with listeners also involve a "top-down" Pied-Piper-like claim about the persuasive and even coercive properties of sublime sound? As Carolyn Abbate put it: "Conjuring authority out of beautiful noise involves a ruse, and giving music the capacity to convey the best truth remains a romantic cliché and need not be accepted at face value."[23]

### ***The Gastein Mythos***

The controversy surrounding Schubert's legendary missing symphony was always a public affair, and it began not with Harry Goldschmidt in 1978 but rather with the British musicologist Sir George Grove almost a century earlier. In September of 1881 *The Times* of London printed an extended letter from G. Grove of lower Sydenham titled "Another Unknown Symphony by Schubert."[24] Ever the pragmatist, Grove had taken the unusual musicological step of contacting the press because his own research had met a dead end. While working on the first edition of his *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* Grove believed that he had uncovered evidence that a Schubert symphony as yet unknown to audiences was still out there waiting to be found.

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[23] Carolyn Abbate, "Music—Drastic or Gnostic?" *Critical Inquiry* 30 (2004): 505–36, at 522.

[24] George Grove, "Another Unknown Symphony by Schubert," *The Times*, September 28, 1881, 7. A German summary of this letter was subsequently published in the Viennese *Neue freie Presse*. See "Eine unbekannte Sinfonie Schuberts," *Neue freie Presse*, October 1, 1881, 2.

According to the history of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* compiled by its head archivist Carl Ferdinand Pohl, the society's committee had given Schubert 100 silver florins in October of 1826 days before they received a written declaration from the composer.[25] Here Schubert states: "I venture, as a native artist, to dedicate…this, my Symphony [to the Austrian Musical Society], and to commend it most politely to their protection."[26]

For Grove, Schubert's brief note had serious implications. The idea that the society had received such a symphony in 1826 simply did not fit with his chronology of Schubert's works summarized in table 3. The autograph score of the "Great" symphony in C Major D.944 contains no paratextual dedication and is dated by the composer himself to 1828—two years too late to correspond to the work referenced in Schubert's letter. Since Grove considered the remaining incomplete and juvenile symphonies unsuitable for dedication he concluded that the manuscript referred to in Schubert's letter and the society's records must be some other unknown work composed in the mid 1820s and still awaiting rediscovery.

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[25] Carl F. Pohl, *Die Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde des österreichischen Kaiserstaates und ihr Conservatorium* (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1871), 16. Maurice Brown later claimed that Pohl's source for the date of Schubert's undated letter was inaccurate: "The original number on this letter has been altered, which has a faint suggestion that its position has been moved in the early files, possibly to bring it into line with the transactions over the donation to Schubert and the rumours that he intended to dedicate a symphony to the Society." Maurice Brown, *Schubert: A Critical Biography* (London: Macmillan, 1958), 357.

[26] Translation by Eric Blom quoted in Otto Eric Deutsch, *Schubert: A Documentary Biography* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1946), 559.

|  | Deutsch Number | Date (Grove, 1881) |
|---|---|---|
| Symphony No. 1 in D Major | D.82 | 1813 |
| Symphony No. 2 in B-flat Major | D.125 | 1814–15 |
| Symphony No. 3 in D Major | D.200 | 1815 |
| Symphony No. 4 “Tragic” in c minor | D.417 | 1816 |
| Symphony No. 5 in B-flat Major | D.485 | 1816 |
| Symphony No. 6 in C Major | D.589 | 1817–18 |
| Symphony No. 7 in E Major<br>*NB: continuity sketches only; subsequent completions by Barnett, Weingartner, Newbould* | D.729 | 1821 |
| Symphony No. 8 “Unfinished” in b minor<br>*NB: two completed movements + continuity sketch of a third* | D.759 | 1822 |
| Lost “Gmunden-Gastein” Symphony | D.849 | c.1825–26 |
| Symphony No. 9 “Great” in C Major | D.944 | 1828 |

**Table 3.** Grove’s Chronology (1881) of Schubert’s Symphonies.

There was no shortage of corroborating evidence for such a thesis. In a letter to Leopold Kupelwieser dated 31 March 1824 Schubert stated that his current instrumental projects were a means to "pave [the] way to great symphony [sic]," going on to reference the recent premiere of Beethoven's Ninth with the comment that "I too am thinking of giving a similar concert next year."[27] As if to confirm that this compositional plan had been carried out, obituaries penned by Schubert's friends Spaun and Bauernfeld pointedly referenced the writing of a "grand symphony" of exceptional quality in the summer of 1825, with Bauernfeld going so far as to suggest that this was a work for which Schubert "had a particular affection."[28] Strikingly, both men associated the composition of the lost work with the same geographical location: the idyllic spa town of Gastein where Schubert had stayed that August on a rare trip outside of Vienna. With this touch of biographical color, the basic mythology of what came to be known as the lost "Gmunden-Gastein" symphony was set in motion. Inspired by prolonged exposure to the sublime alpine landscapes of Salzburg and Upper Austria Schubert penned a substantial symphony in the summer of 1825 which had subsequently disappeared.

For decades many Schubertians remained convinced of Grove's thesis that the lost work was—like "Lazarus" and the "Rosamunde" music before it—still waiting to be found.[29] The fact was that Schubert's best-known orchestral works—including the "Unfinished" B-minor

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[27] Quoted in Goldschmidt, "Eine weitere E-Dur-Sinfonie?," 79–112.

[28] Since Spaun seems to have based his own account on Bauernfeld's earlier obituary, it may be that Spaun himself had no direct knowledge of the work. See Brown, *Schubert*, 358.

[29] In his letter to *The Times*, Grove reminded readers of how "the complete Rosamunde music—a noble work—was dragged by Mr. [Arthur] Sullivan and myself out of a cupboard in Vienna in 1867 in a large parcel an inch thick with dust which had all the appearance of not having been unpacked since the original performance in 1823." Grove, "Another Unknown Symphony by Schubert," 7.

Symphony D. 759 and the “Great” C-Major Symphony D. 944—had only been rediscovered and premiered long after his death. Who was to say that another sleeping-beauty-like hidden masterpiece wouldn’t reappear after a century or more? Deutsch granted the “Gastein” the hypothetical number D.849 in his influential catalogue, reminding Viennese newspaper subscribers that it would be “well worth the effort” to “rifle through your grandparents’ stacks of junk sheet music” in search of the work.[30] In 1928 the international committee for the centennial of Schubert’s death even offered a $1,500 reward for the symphony’s rediscovery.[31] When finally, in 1971, a set of orchestral parts matching the specifications for Schubert’s “Gastein” symphony was discovered, it was too late for Elsholz to collect the cash prize. But the global Schubertian appetite had long been prepared for this moment.

### ***From Gastein to Gmunden***

The problem was that, by the time Goldschmidt reported this news to the Bicentennial Schubert Congress in 1978, the validity of Grove’s “Gastein” hypothesis was not nearly so widely accepted as it had been before the second world war. world war. In the 1950s Maurice Brown and John Reed suggested that the lost symphony was a phantom generated by (of all things) an archival cataloguing error. In the records of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*, Schubert’s undated note dedicating an unnamed symphony to the society had been filed with materials from October of 1826. This was the same note that had set Grove on the scent of a “Gastein” symphony in the first place. Yet Brown observed that the filing number in question had been altered, conceivably by a misguided nineteenth-century archivist who thought Schubert's dedication should correspond chronologically to the gift of one hundred florins. Move the letter forward to 1828 and the "lost" symphony evaporates into thin air.[32]

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[30] “man stöbere unter Urväter Notenkram—es lohnt sich der Mühe!” Otto Erich Deutsch, “Schuberts Gasteiner Symphonie,” *Neue freie Presse*, July 11, 1925, 12. Translation mine.

[31] “Prize of $1,500 Is Announced for Schubert Search,” *New York Herald Tribune*, March 11, 1928, 9.

As if this were not enough, the C-Major symphony's autograph was further cast into doubt in the 1970s when Ernst Hilmar asserted that generations of musicologists had been misreading Schubert's handwriting. As figure 7 illustrates, in manuscripts from the 1820s the composer had developed the habit of rendering the numeric character "5" with a loop protruding above the figure and an additional stroke joining the upper crossbeam to the descender. It turned out that the upper edge of the manuscript had been conspicuously trimmed off, removing any loop that might have been present above the crossbeam to distinguish the ornately rendered numeric character "5"—a feature of Schubert's hand in the 1820s with a loop protruding above the figure and an additional stroke joining the upper crossbeam to the descender from the more conventional figure "8" taken as read for more than a century.

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[32] See Maurice Brown, *Schubert: A Critical Biography* (London: Macmillan, 1958), 354–61; and John Reed, "The 'Gastein' Symphony Reconsidered," *Music & Letters* 40/4 (1959): 334–49. Reed went on to refine his argument in "How the 'Great' C Major Was Written," *Music & Letters* 56/1 (1975): 18–25; and chapters III and VII of *Schubert: The Final Years* (London: Faber & Faber, 1972).

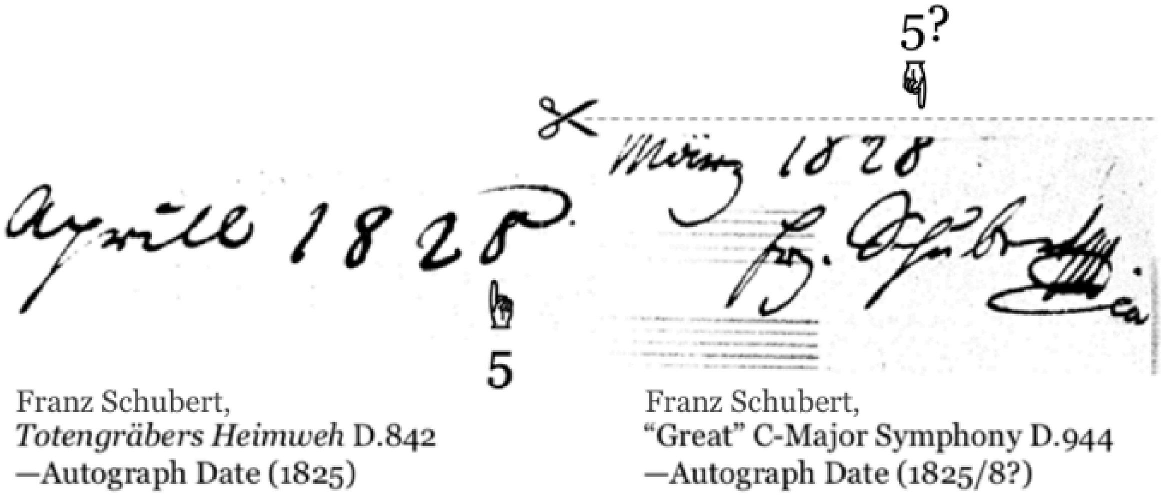
5?
5
Franz Schubert,
*Totengräbers Heimweh* D.842
—Autograph Date (1825)
Franz Schubert,
"Great" C-Major Symphony D.944
—Autograph Date (1825/8?)

**Figure 7.** Comparison of Schubert's date on *Totengräbers Heimweh* (D. 842) and "Great" C-Major Symphony (D. 944)

Regardless of whether one subscribed to Hilmar's thesis, Reed's, or some combination of the two, the emerging consensus was that Grove's musicological white whale had never existed in the first place. Needless to say, this made Goldschmidt's 1978 declaration that the fabled work had been recovered all the more dramatic. Though he admitted that the "Great" C Major symphony had indeed been begun in Gastein in 1825, Goldschmidt went on to claim that Schubert had drafted an additional E-Major symphony earlier that summer at the lakeside town of Gmunden. This first work—christened the "Gmunden" symphony—had been abandoned while still a draft in favor of the new C-Major project.[33] The central thesis of Goldschmidt's 1978 address, then, was that it was this earlier incomplete work that had resurfaced, seemingly proving Grove's belief in a lost Schubert symphony correct in principle despite D.944 having been backdated to 1825.

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[33] Goldschmidt, "Eine weitere E-Dur-Sinfonie?," 105.

### ***Copy or Original?***

Convoluted though this may seem, the idea that Schubert had never completed the rediscovered symphony allowed Goldschmidt to counter a host of objections that had been raised against its authenticity. Consider the fact—pointed out by Dürr, Feil, and others—that numerous passages of the work were troublingly similar to well-known Schubert compositions. As the comparison in Example 4 demonstrates, substantial portions of the scherzo movements of both the "Gmunden" and the "Great" are drawn from thematic four-measure ideas that are near-identical in terms of orchestration, melodic profile, and harmonic progression. This is by no means a verbatim quotation, but the resemblance is striking, and many of Goldschmidt's critics took such parallelisms as evidence that the composition was a forgery cobbled together from pre-existing material. Yet the idea that the rediscovered symphony had been left aside in draft form in 1825 made perfect sense of such correspondences. With the temporal and causal arrows flowing in the opposite direction, Goldschmidt reframed the rediscovered score as the source from which passages of canonical post-1825 Schubert had been derived, not the other way around. "If Schubert left the symphony to the side in a draft version," Goldschmidt asked, "why should he not have been allowed to draw on its unused material?"[34]

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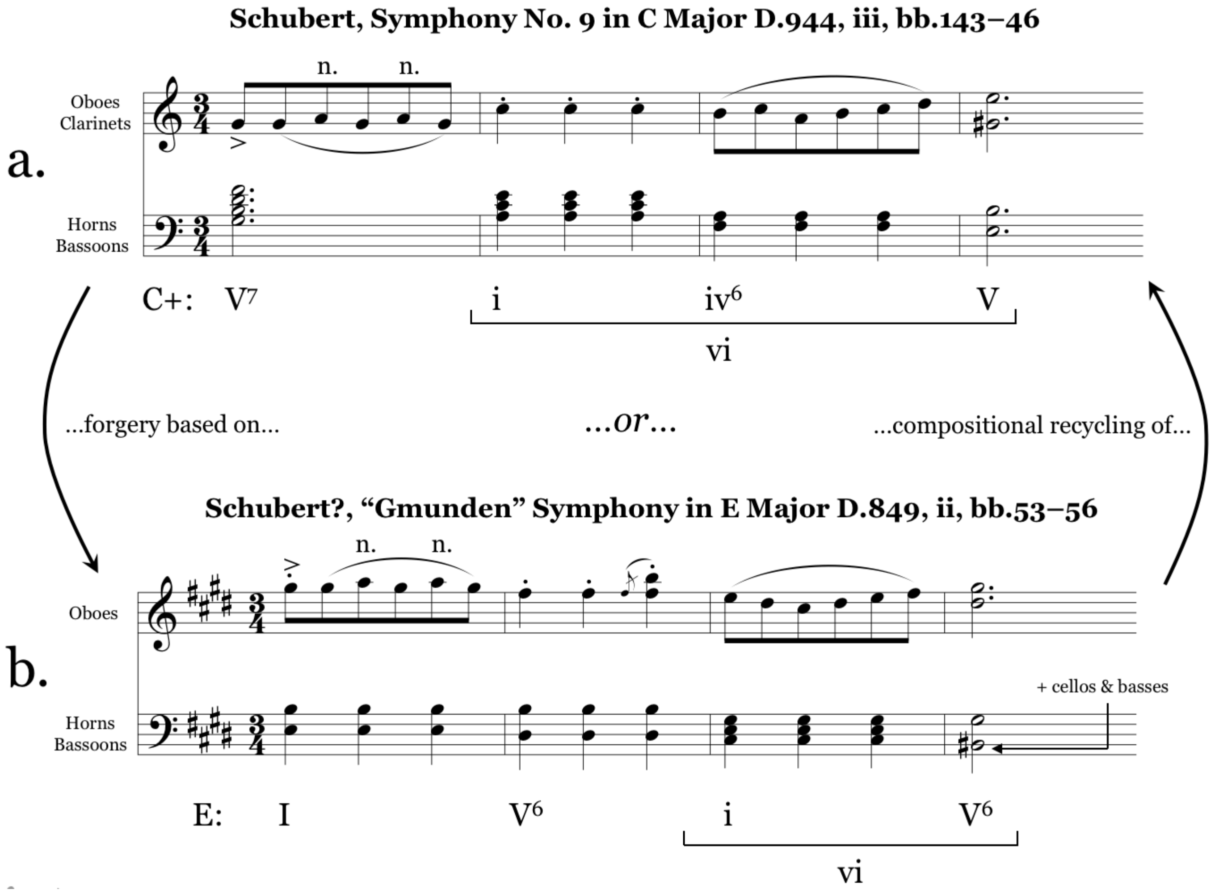
[34] Ibid.


Schubert, Symphony No. 9 in C Major D.944, iii, bb.143–46

Schubert?, "Gmunden" Symphony in E Major D.849, ii, bb.53–56

a.
Oboes
Clarinets
Horns
Bassoons
n.
n.
C+: V7
i
iv6
V
vi
...forgery based on...
...or...
...compositional recycling of...
b.
Oboes
Horns
Bassoons
n.
n.
+ cellos & basses
E: I
V6
i
V6
vi

**Example 4.** Comparison of thematic material from the Forged E-Major Symphony and Schubert's "Great" in C Major

Predictably, this thesis created as many problems as it solved. Given that the work recorded in the rediscovered parts was not an incomplete fragment but rather an unmistakably finished composition, the obvious question was: if Schubert didn't complete it, then who did? Figure 8 summarizes the provenance and source filiation proposed by Goldschmidt. His answer was that the work was in fact a nineteenth-century completion of Schubert's draft material most likely put together by the obscure Bohemian copyist Franz Hlawaczek sometime before 1888. In the absence of the score itself, his evidence for this provenance consisted of a number of nineteenth-century letters that had been preserved with the rediscovered set of parts. Signed with the name Joseph Kalkbrenner and addressed to one Herr Wolff in Berlin, two of these documents recount attempts to have the symphony evaluated in person by some of the most lauded pro-Schubert composers available for consultation in late-nineteenth-century Austria: Tchaikovsky, during a visit to Vienna in 1888, and Brahms, at Bad Ischl in 1894. Though Kalkbrenner merely reported their appraisals second hand, a more prestigious pair of celebrity witnesses could hardly be imagined.

Sometime after conducting these supposed evaluations, Kalkbrenner in Vienna passed the completed full score to an associate in Berlin named Theodor Wolff. It was here that the set of parts was transcribed and stored away before Hlawaczek's score "went missing in the chaos of the first weeks following the second world war."[35] With Schubert's and Hlawaczek's scores lost to the ravages of time and armed conflict, the Wolff family parts were the single remaining source bearing filiation to Schubert's original 1825 draft. It was only decades later that Gunter Elsholz supposedly began to reassemble a full score. From his home in the West-German state of Hesse, Elsholz—who later became the prime suspect in the symphony's forgery—claimed to have made several trips across the East-German border to his aunt's residence in Strausberg in order to painstakingly reconstruct the orchestral score that was delivered to Goldschmidt.

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[35] Harry Goldschmidt, "Eine weitere E-Dur-Sinfonie?," 81. Translation mine. Novelistic as this explanation might seem, the influence of war damage on European archives was a real and substantial problem.

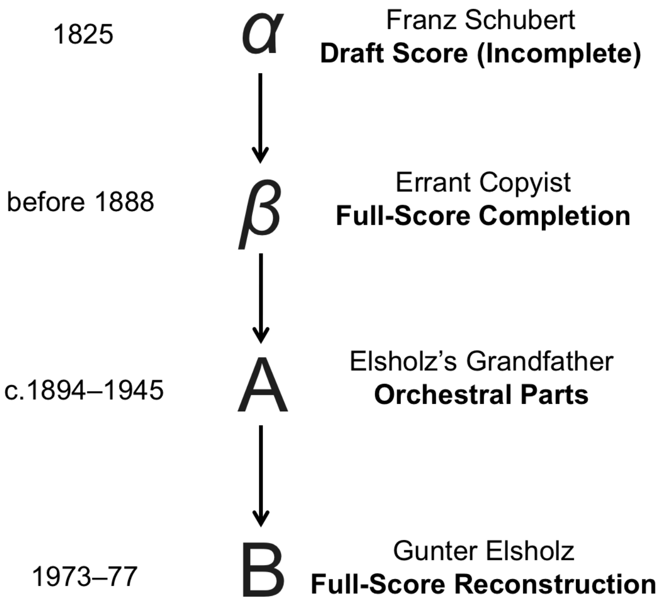
1825
α
Franz Schubert
Draft Score (Incomplete)
before 1888
β
Errant Copyist
Full-Score Completion
c.1894–1945
A
Elsholz's Grandfather
Orchestral Parts
1973–77
B
Gunter Elsholz
Full-Score Reconstruction

**Figure 8.** Summary of Goldschmidt's Source Filiation

Or so the story goes. It should be said that, from the perspective of a faker, a convoluted provenance in which only modern score copies have survived is an ideal means of abstracting a musical work from difficult-to-forge early-nineteenth-century documents. What is particularly striking in this case is the extent to which the absence of a nineteenth-century score was supported "second-hand" by a litany of provenance documents, including the farfetched accounts—again, "second-hand"—of Brahms and Tchaikovsky having evaluated the work.[36]

As Dürr explained in his program note to the 1982 Hanover premiere and again at greater length in a 1983 article for the journal *Musica*, the source-critical evidence for forgery—i.e., Narrative B in figure 6—began with the physical description Elsholz had provided for the

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[36] For a narrative object lesson in the forgery of provenance, see Laney Salisbury and Aly Sujo, *Provenance: How a Con Man and a Forger Rewrote the History of Modern Art* (Penguin, 2010).

Strausberg parts during his 1973–75 correspondence with the *Neue Schubert-Ausgabe*.[37] Strikingly, these descriptions were fundamentally at odds with the material reality of the set referred to by Goldschmidt from 1978 onwards. While Elsholz had originally described orchestral manuscripts written "in pale-brown dye-based ink [Tinte]" on "yellowish and, in parts, very thin paper" (providing small samples that corroborated this description), the set referred to by Goldschmidt and Vogel was—in stark contrast—unmistakably a product of "black pigment-based ink [Tusche]" on "extremely high quality paper."[38]

Let us leave aside for now the issue that nineteenth-century copyists did not write sets of parts in "pigment-based ink [Tusche]" on small, musically unpractical, oblong format paper, let alone with "each staff ruled by hand" despite the ready availability of pre-ruled music stationery.[39] (For Goldschmidt and Vogel, this could all be chalked up to the fact that the parts had been written out not by a professional copyist, but rather by a passionate amateur—Elsholz's late uncle—ignorant of all musical practicalities.) The salient question was this: if Elsholz really had been able to access the antique parts in his aunt's attic as early as 1971, why would he have provided Dürr, Feil, and their colleagues at Henle Verlag with false descriptions and physical samples of the documents he made available in full only years later? In the view of the *Neue Schubert-Ausgabe*, the obvious conclusion was that Elsholz could neither provide access to nor accurately describe the "rediscovered" orchestral parts back in the mid-1970s because at that stage a full set did not yet exist. As figure 6's "Narrative B" illustrates, the implication was that Elsholz had instead painstakingly copied out a "fake" set of parts using historical materials sometime between 1971 and 1982 based on the pre-existing full score. With the prime musical source of the supposed rediscovery exposed as a calculated deception, the implication was that the symphony had been composed from scratch after Schubert's death in an attempt to pass it off as the missing "Gastein."

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[37] Walther Dürr, "Eine Gefälschte Schubert-Sinfonie," *Musica* 37/2 (1983): 135–42.

[38] "Die Papier- und Tintenproben…verweisen auf gelbliches, z. T. sehr dünnes Papier. . . . auf blaßbraune Tinte." "Sie sind auf weißem Papier. . . . Das Papier [ist] von ziemlich guter Qualität." Ibid., 135–36. Translation mine.

[39] Ibid., 136. Translation mine.

These source-critical suspicions that the full score predated the set of parts were deepened by issues of musical spelling and orthography. Consider example 5a, below: in measure 234 of the second movement "Scherzo," the second clarinet is—in Elsholz's full score—instructed to play a concert F-sharp[4] which clashes horribly against the F-natural[5] doubled by the second flute and second oboe. Yet, as example 5b demonstrates, this wrong note is absent from the "antique" clarinet part supposedly transcribed by Elsholz's late uncle, which clearly shows a concert F-natural. In producing his 1978 score, had Gunter Elsholz simply mis-transcribed the clarinet part—as anyone might—in a haze of chromaticism and transposition? This would have been the natural explanation, had he not explicitly commented on the false note before the parts had been made publicly available, explaining, as Dürr recalled, that—as a "faithful editor" [treuer Herausgeber]—Elsholz had "not corrected the error [in the parts], but certainly taken notice of it."[40] As far as Dürr was concerned, Elsholz's admission that the "wrong note" was deliberate was further evidence for Narrative B (see fig. 6): the supposedly "antique" set of parts had been copied from Gunter Elsholz's score, not the other way around.[41]

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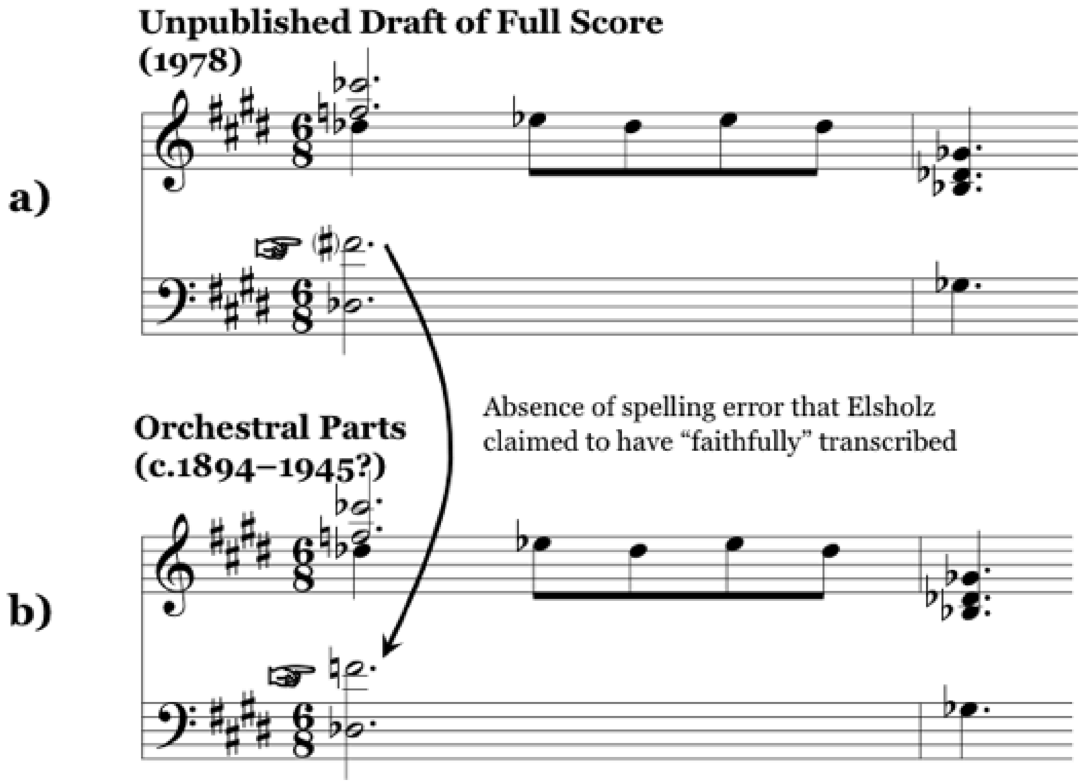
[40] "Im Kommentar dazu weist der Finder auf den Fehler hin und darauf, daß er als treuer Herausgeber, der alles unverändert abschreibe, den Fehler natürlich nicht korrigiert, aber sehr wohl bemerkt habe." Ibid., 139. Translation mine.

[41] In both of the Goldoni Verlag (1982 and 1985) publications of the symphony the written A-


Unpublished Draft of Full Score
(1978)
a)
Orchestral Parts
(c.1894–1945?)
Absence of spelling error that Elsholz claimed to have "faithfully" transcribed
b)

**Example 5.** "Gmunden" Symphony Source Philology: F-sharp vs. F-natural, ii, bb.234–35

All this led Dürr and Feil to describe the work's source tradition—in their statement published below Goldschmidt's paper in the proceedings of the 1978 conference—as "so dubious…that [we] must regard the symphony as a forgery independent of all style-critical considerations."[42] Yet, in striking contrast to his West-German colleagues, Goldschmidt believed that it was

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natural in Example 5a is corrected to a written A-flat$^4$, seemingly by deleting the descender on the natural-sign using a Tipp-Ex-like correction fluid (judging by the disruption of the musical staff). As such, Dürr seems to have based the comments about Elsholz's score in his 1983 article on an earlier, unpublished version of the document.

[42] Walther Dürr and Arnold Feil, "Stellungnahme der Editionsleitung der Neuen Schubert-Ausgabe," in *Schubert-Kongreß Wien 1978*, ed. Otto Brusatti (Graz: Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft, 1979), 113. Translation mine.

precisely the style-critical approach that confirmed the work's authorship. As he himself put it, the symphony's bold departures from the norm allow "little room for doubt about the authentic conception of the work." In comparing the completed symphony to "a deficiently and haphazardly restored painting" he even proposed that one should be able produce a "counter-reconstruction" of Schubert's 1825 draft by separating out "one level from another" in the manner of an archaeologist.[43]

The contrast between Dürr's commitment to source history and Goldschmidt's privileging of style criticism remains striking. On one level, it might be tempting to read this methodological split as in some sense bound up in the iron curtain. Dürr and Feil's modernist commitment to aesthetic autonomy—i.e. the strict segregation of style and history—and the latent historical determinism of Goldschmidt's intersecting interests in biography and style analysis certainly lend themselves to ideological caricature.[44] Yet the opposing sides of the dispute can more broadly be understood to have been organized around what anthropologists of academia have come to refer to as the "archival divide." As Francis Blouin Jr. and William Rosenberg have explored, the professions of "historian" and "archivist" diverged markedly over the twentieth century, creating an ideological fissure that undermined "shared assumptions about the nature of historical authority and the evidentiary power of archival documentation."[45]

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[43] Goldschmidt, "Eine weitere E-Dur-Sinfonie?," 84; 107. Translation mine.

[44] For an overview of these cold war ideological paradigms, see Anne Shreffler, "Berlin Walls: Dahlhaus, Knepler, and Ideologies of Music History," *Journal of Musicology* 20/4 (2003): 498–525.

[45] Francis X. Blouin Jr. and William G. Rosenberg, *Processing the Past: Contesting Authority in History and the Archives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 6.

Authenticity disputes such as that surrounding the *Gmunden-Gastein* symphony make the fault lines of this archival divide all too clear. While Goldschmidt's Marx-influenced musicological tradition strives to reveal the extramusical impressions left by social, political, and biographical forces on compositions through close reading, the *raison d'être* of institutions such as Dürr's *Neue Schubert-Ausgabe* remains the production of critical editions through painstaking source work on which aesthetics has little practical bearing. For Goldschmidt, the symphony's style bore such weight because—like many musicologists before and since—he understood Schubert's music to encode elements of his biography. The slow movement quotes "Der Wanderer" because it was written when Schubert himself was wandering the alps in 1825. The rushing arpeggiated figuration in the finale, meanwhile, echoes the rushing of the waterfall Schubert would have encountered at Gastein.

### ***Fragments and the Sublime***

Goldschmidt's analogies to restoration and reconstruction in archaeology and art history are apt because the type of "counter-reconstruction" that he sought to enact had long been a cause for concern in these areas of study. Countless fragmentary works of rediscovered antique sculpture, for example, were "restored" during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries because speculative reconstructions were considered preferable to shattered limbs and headless torsos. As Robert Winter has pointed out in his work on musical completions, it was left to subsequent generations to return such works to their prior fragmentary states in a trend that prefigured the musical practices of excising Süssmayr from Mozart's Requiem and letting the final contrapunctus of Bach's *Art of Fugue* trail off into deathly silence.[46] In my view, Goldschmidt's ambition to return the *Gmunden* symphony to the condition in which Schubert left it—pre-Hlawaczek—was informed by a similar curatorial impulse. His writings about the work echo the romantic view of unfinished compositions as poignant ruined structures that remained incomplete not because they were in any sense aesthetic failures, but rather because their content was too original to be closed off by anything but the ineffable abyss of the blank page. In this vein Goldschmidt went so far as to declare that, compared with the radicalism of the fragmentary "Gmunden" symphony, the "Great" C Major is "a step backwards and a compromise."[47]

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[46] See the Introduction to this volume and Robert S. Winter, "Of Realizations, Completions,

Such rhetoric recalls the nineteenth-century narrative trope epitomized by Hugo Wolf's assertion that the form of the B-Minor "Unfinished" Symphony D.759 was somehow spiritually fused with "the external existence of the master, who in the flower of his life, at the height of his creative powers, was snatched away by death."[48] In his 1989–90 composition *Rendering*, which takes Schubert's brief sketch for a D-Major Symphony D.936a as its starting point, Luciano Berio mirrored Goldschmidt's metaphor of painting restoration when he stated that his aim was to honor the fragment by reviving "the old colours without . . . trying to disguise the damage that time has caused, [thereby] leaving inevitable empty patches in the composition." As Berio put it: "operations of philological bureaucracy which. . . lead musicologists to pretend they are Schubert. . . . [have] something in common with those picture restorations sometimes responsible for irreparable damage."[49]

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Restorations and Reconstructions: From Bach's 'The Art of Fugue' to Beethoven's Tenth Symphony," *JRMA* 116/1 (1991): 96–126.

[47] Harry Goldschmidt, "Eine weitere E-Dur-Sinfonie?," 84–85.

[48] Hugo Wolf, in the *Wiener Salonblatt*, cited in Frank Walker, *Hugo Wolf: A Biography* (New York, 1952), 150.

[49] Schubert–Berio, *Rendering per orchestra* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1989), preface.

So what was it that was so bold and uncompromising yet distinctively Schubertian about the “Gmunden” symphony? The work provides no shortage of examples not only of formal deformation but also of the cultivation of an aesthetic that sounds—like so much authentic romantic music—unfinished by design. After a slow introduction, the first of the opening movement’s three rotational statements follows the trajectory of a sonata-form exposition, at least to begin with. What is striking is the almost Mahlerian manner in which this first rotation ends by collapsing in on itself. As shown in Example 6, the orchestra halts in mid-flow following the A-flat bass pizzicato that crashes in on the C-Major subordinate subject in measure 153. The general pause that follows feels like the only fitting response to this musical non-sequitur. Strident new fortissimo material breaks the silence at the upbeat to measure 155, rushing from C to the tritone-related active dominant of B Major in measure 160 through two pivot modulations that come thick and fast in measure 156 and 158. In measure 161, the timbrally bizarre timpani and pizzicato attacks that echo measure 153’s A-flat only add to the effect of a work coming apart at the seams, creating a new general pause at the barline. The symphonic order has been fractured. And yet the restatement of the primary subject in the dominant that begins the second rotation over the edge of the page sounds disconcertingly nonchalant, strolling along as if nothing had happened with old Viennese phrase-structural symmetry

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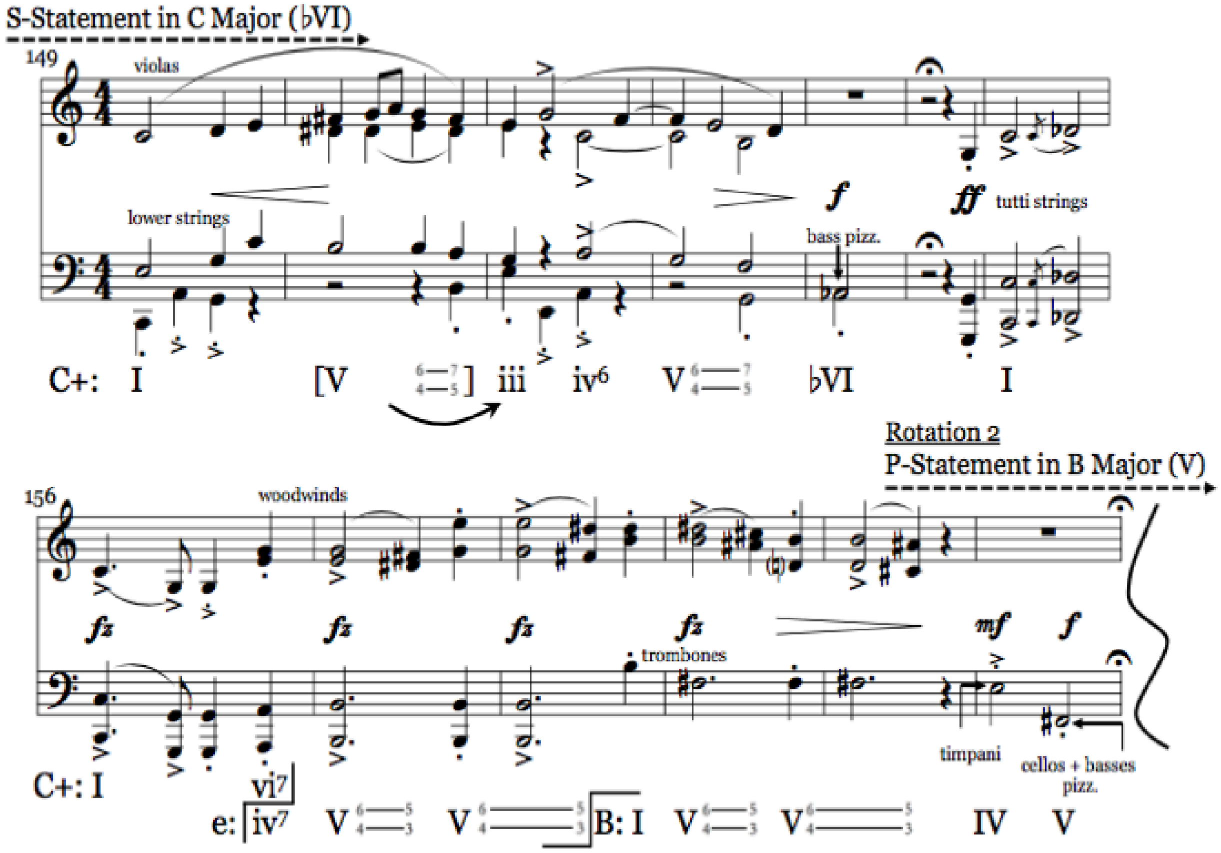
S-Statement in C Major (♭VI)
149
violas
lower strings
f
ff
tutti strings
bass pizz.
C+: I
[V 6–7 4–5]
iii
iv6
V 6–7 4–5
♭VI
I
Rotation 2
P-Statement in B Major (V)
156
woodwinds
fz
fz
fz
fz
trombones
mf
f
timpani
cellos + basses pizz.
C+: I
vi7
e: iv7
V 6–5 4–3
V 6–5 4–3
B: I
V 6–5 4–3
V 6–5 4–3
IV
V

**Example 6.** Schubert?, Forged "Gmunden" Symphony in E Major D.849, i, mm.149–61

It would be all too easy at this point to feign frustration, asking how anyone could have thought that such music was by Schubert. Yet the transition from bar 153's outburst to the abrupt repose of bar 162 is not difficult to reconcile with the "volcanic temper" that analysts have consistently identified as a key characteristic of the composer's style. Indeed, in his preface to the 1982 Goldoni edition of the symphony Gunter Elsholz summarizes this passage in ways that specifically recall the "violent outburst" trope in Schubert reception:

> But suddenly a dry, muffled tone rips the movement in two, and with enraged desperation the orchestra begins to thrash against it—which seems more than anything like a desperate plea, infinitely mixed up and shaking. A trombone takes up the main theme—but the agitated strings flee from it

> as if frightened to death. Soothingly, the winds attempt to put a stop to this. The primary motive from the andante molto becomes a true theme full of impeaching power, and then the miracle happens: the pain is removed, the passage comes to a (temporary) standstill.[50]

Is the typically Schubertian gesture of "violence forcing itself through a calm surface" and then being suddenly "suppressed," to paraphrase Hugh Macdonald, so much more shocking in the *Gmunden* symphony than the similar patterns of violent outburst, silence, and abrupt repose in many authentic works by Schubert?[51] Even if you find yourself maintaining that Schubert could never have written the music in my example, remember that, under Goldschmidt's interpretation, the meddling copyist Franz Hlawaczek stands ready to take the blame.

### ***Technologies of Truth***

Stylistic authentication has always been a fraught project. But the task becomes all but impossible when the authorship of the work is supposed to have been divided between a composer and a restorer who cannot be distinguished based on any source-historical evidence. The unique complexity of the provenance and authorship proposed for the "Gmunden" symphony makes it easy to understand why source- and style-historical disputes about the work were so protracted. It was only six years after the Schubert congress and two years after the work's premiere and publication that things began to unravel. In July of 1984 Goldoni Verlag handed Elsholz's orchestral parts to the *Neue Schubert-Ausgabe* in an apparent attempt to silence those who had criticized them for publishing the work. Dürr and Feil then sent the parts to the

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[50] Gunter Elsholz, "Preface," in *Franz Schubert Sinfonie in E-Dur 1825: Materialien, Werk und Geschichte, Partitur* (Stuttgart: Goldoni, 1982), 11.

[51] Hugh Macdonald, "Schubert's Volcanic Temper," *Musical Times* 119 (1978): 949–52.

"Federal Institute for Material Research and Testing" [Bundesanstalt für Materialprüfung] or BAM in West Berlin. Among numerous other forensic tests, microscopic photographs were taken under infrared light. The amount reflected from the surface of the parts indicated the presence of optical brighteners first deployed in the 1950s, at least five years after the source's supposed *terminus ante quem* (i.e., its latest possible date of origin).[52] More damning still, the correction fluid that had been used on several pages was found to have a chemical composition consistent with products such as Tipp-Ex first mass produced around 1970, not older *ad hoc* recipes, as Vogel had claimed during the Hannover debate in 1982.

The fact that the *Neue Schubert-Ausgabe*, in collaboration with the BAM, ended up relying so heavily on forensic analysis to falsify the symphony when Dürr and Feil had been openly skeptical about the conclusions Vogel had drawn from similar methodology two years previously might seem strange. Yet arguments such as Vogel's that attempt specifically to demonstrate the *terminus ante quem* of a source through chemical analysis alone rest on a fallacious conflation of materials and assembly in ways that arguments about a source's *terminus post quem*—i.e. its earliest possible date of origin—do not. By way of illustration: nobody would accept that a table made from a thousand-year-old redwood must necessarily have been designed and built that long ago. So, given the ready availability of antique paper and ink to the prospective modern forger, why should the chemical fact that a manuscript was written down using century-old stationery be taken as evidence that the composition it transmits dates from the same era as those materials, or earlier?

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[52] W. Dürr, W. Griebenow, B. Werthmann, and M. Ziegler, "Zur Altersbestimmung von Papier, dargestellt an Schuberts ››Unechter‹‹ in E-dur—ein musikalisches Märchen," *Das Papier* 41/7 (1987): 321–31.

The chemical age of a source's materials (ink, paper, etc.) only ever demonstrates that it *could* have been written at a certain point in the past; what it does not—and cannot—prove is that it *must* therefore have been written in that era. This is why attempts to use forensics to demonstrate the *terminus ante quem* of a source document—such as a manuscript—are built on sand. But *terminus post quem* is another matter. In the case of the BAM's evidence, we can say with certainty that a manuscript inscribed using optical brighteners that were only available after 1950 could not possibly have been written before that date. Forensics, it turns out, is much better at falsifying old documents than it is at authenticating them.

The fact that it was not source history or style analysis but rather the procedures pioneered by the BAM that undermined one of the most long-lived musical forgeries of the twentieth century has a peculiar resonance. The case was a turning point: no previous musical forgery had been repudiated on the basis of forensic evidence of this kind. For those committed to keeping truth with a capital "T" at the center of the humanities, this might seem like cause for concern, heralding the triumph of the laboratory over the library. Yet, to repeat, the fact remains that chemical analysis can only ever falsify historical documents. When it comes to the "establishment of truth," forensics and style analysis remain of limited use without reference to the history and provenance of the documents themselves.

So what do we make of the fact that—at Hanover and elsewhere—compelling source-historical evidence was so easily overshadowed by appeals to musical sound? Moreover: if the majority of listeners can't tell the difference between a great master and a modern forger, then why should it matter which is which? New tonal symphonies by dead geniuses are an overly-scarce commodity, so what's wrong with injecting a little "I-can't-believe-it's-not-Schubert" into a stagnating market?

I am playing devil's advocate here, but not without reason. A central thesis of this dissertation is that musical forgers are often motivated not by "authorial humility," but rather by a sense of critique—whether of aesthetic snobbery, expertise, or academic authority itself. Besides the forged symphony, Elsholz, for example, wrote a posthumously published set of aphorisms disguised as a self-help manual for those wanting to overcome their "addiction" to music. Lampooning uncritical masterpiece worship, the book's title—*Im Rausch der Töne*—literally translates to "In the Rush of Tones," "Rausch" connoting not only noise, but also the same kind of intoxicated euphoria, or "rush," as its English equivalent.[53]

If we enjoy music the same way we might enjoy a drug-induced high, then why should we care about forgery or—for that matter—authenticity? Another way of putting this is to ask what we hear when we listen to Elsholz's "Untrue" Symphony or any other musical work. Harmony and voice leading? 1825? A malicious fake? Or simply "beautiful noise"?

In the end, we always have a choice. Take the blue pill, and music remains pure sensuous pleasure: a rush of tones. This is a perfectly valid position, and one that applies to all of us at some point. And yet you are surely reading this because you believe that—on some level—music is not enough. One cannot invest in musicology without buying into the idea that organized sound can and should be supplemented with discourse. This is the red pill. In many ways, it is the more interesting option. But if we take it, we cannot accept forgeries any more than we can divorce style from history or claim to do without truth and evidence.

If we as scholars find the questions raised by these critiques of the authenticity concept disturbing, then that is precisely the point. We live in a paranoid age that is increasingly being branded “post-expert” or even “post-truth” by academics and journalists alike, yet it is worth pointing out that the divided Germany of the 1980s was an anxious place, above all when it came to questions of historical fidelity. This was the decade not only of the *Historikerstreit*, about the role of the holocaust in Germany’s collective memory, but also of the *Stern* magazine scandal surrounding the forgery of sixty volumes of what claimed to be Adolf Hitler’s diaries in 1983—one year before the BAM’s repudiation of the *Gmunden* symphony.

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[53] Gunter Elsholz, *Im Rausch der Töne*, ed. Oliver Kröker (Norderstedt: Books on Demand GmbH, 2006).

In April of 1983, the West-German magazine *Stern*, a juicier version of what is TIME magazine in an American context, had paid a total of nine-million three-hundred-thousand marks for sixty volumes of what appeared to be the diaries of the late Adolf Hitler, dated 1932–45. A forthcoming serialization was prematurely announced days before the BAM declared that the binding and ink used for the diaries were definitively products of the post-war era indicating an unambiguous case of forgery in another *terminus-post-quem* falsification.

Superficially speaking, the forged Hitler diaries could not be more different from the forged Schubert symphony: while the former cost over nine million marks and resulted in prison sentences for those directly involved, the financial and judicial fallout over the latter was negligible. Yet on a technological and institutional level, the symmetry between these two prominent cases of forgery which happened to coincide with the birth of reliable forensic dating for ink and paper in the mid 1980s is remarkable.

Concern about the falsification of the past drives home the ethical questions raised by forgery beyond pure methodological issues. Because—as the Hitler diaries amply demonstrate—of course it matters if a historical document is real or fake. And yet, unlike a diary, a symphony is not only an archival document in any simple sense. To paraphrase the influential West-German musicologist Carl Dahlhaus, aesthetic objects like musical works have a degree of autonomy that makes them always already something more than just history. More than thirty years after the BAM changed the face of paper authentication forever, the tune of Schubert's "untrue" symphony is still worth striking up precisely because it reminds us that music gives us no easy answers.

# Chapter 3

## Haydn's Missing Link

On the morning of 14 December 1993 musicologist H. C. Robbins Landon stood before a crowded London press conference and announced that six Haydn keyboard sonatas (Hob. XVI:2a–e and 2g) had been rediscovered after more than two hundred years.[1] The response was electric: articles featuring celebratory soundbites from musicologists sprang up overnight in international news outlets, Harvard University scheduled a lecture recital for the following February, and the BBC moved to secure the first radio broadcast of the sonatas.

Earlier that winter Landon had received an unusual package from Vienna. Sent by his colleague Eva Badura-Skoda, it contained a bulky sixty-five-page photocopy of what appeared to be a handwritten copyist's manuscript of the six Haydn scores along with a series of tapes.[2] The tapes contained audio recordings of the works performed—on a 1790 Johann Schanz fortepiano, no less—by Eva's husband, Paul Badura-Skoda, himself a well-known pianist and musicologist.[3] Playing the tapes with the scores, Landon found the music to be "extremely original, though strong influences of C. P. E. Bach and, curiously, Domenico Scarlatti could be observed."[4] The title line of his piece about the rediscovery for *BBC Music Magazine* heralded nothing less than "The Haydn Scoop of the Century."[5]

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[1] An article on the front page of the *Times* of London—headlined "Lost Haydn Sonatas Found in Germany"—had already alerted the public that morning. Barry Millington, "Lost Haydn Sonatas Found in Germany," *Times* (London), 14 December 1993, 1, 29.

[2] Scores of the six sonatas have since been published. Joseph Haydn, *Sechs Sonaten für Klavier*, edited and completed by Winfried Michel (Winterthur: Amadeus Verlag, BP 2557, 1995).

[3] Paul Badura-Skoda's interpretations of the sonatas were released on CD in 1995. The text on the back cover of the disc attributes the works to "Joseph Haydn (??)." Paul Badura-Skoda (fortepiano), *Six Lost Piano Sonatas by Joseph Haydn (Unauthorized Version)*, recorded October 1993, Koch International, 3-1572-2, 1995, compact disc.

Yet all was not as it seemed. In the weeks following the December 14 press conference the euphoria surrounding the Haydn "scoop" swiftly dissipated. As readers will have gathered, it quickly became apparent that, rather than rediscovered masterpieces, the sonatas were modern forgeries—newly composed works deliberately misattributed to Haydn. But we are getting ahead of ourselves. Before unfolding the disquieting reality that lay behind these compositions, I will first outline the musicological context for the illusion that confronted Landon when he first opened the fateful package.

### *How to Forge a Missing Link*

Table 4 provides an overview of established chronologies for the group of Haydn's solo keyboard sonatas in Hob. XVI generally accepted to have been composed before around 1772.[6] Here we have a compelling if murky picture of a repertoire that remains contested in several important senses.[7] Consider, for example, the discrepancies between the systems of numbering—by Christa Landon, Anthony van Hoboken, and Georg Feder, respectively—listed in the three leftmost columns.[8] As one would expect, the scholarly chronologies summarized in the five rightmost columns do not offer a total consensus either. In addition to the suggested dates of composition, attributions referred to as questionable or inauthentic (where such data is provided) have been shaded with vertical lines, indicating which of the studies reported the work to be suspect. The fact that—in numerous cases—Hoboken, Landon, Somfai, Feder, and Brown disagree either about the likely authenticity of the works or about their period of composition will come as no surprise to those familiar with this corpus and the challenges that it poses for musicology.

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[4] H. C. Robbins Landon, "A Musical Joke in (Nearly) Perfect Style," *BBC Music Magazine*, February 1994, 10.

[5] H. C. Robbins Landon, "The Haydn Scoop of the Century," *BBC Music Magazine*, January 1994, 11.

[6] The sources collated in table 4 and discussed throughout this section are as follows: A. Peter Brown, *Joseph Haydn's Keyboard Music: Sources and Style* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 110–11, 123; Anthony van Hoboken, *Joseph Haydn: Thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis*, vol. 1 (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1957), 733–81; H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. 1: The Early Years, 1732–1765 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), 224–25; H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. 2: Haydn at Eszterháza, 1766–1790

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(Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978), 335; László Somfai, *The Keyboard Sonatas of Joseph Haydn: Instruments and Performance Practice, Genres and Styles*, trans. László Somfai and Charlotte Greenspan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 353–65, originally published as *Joseph Haydn zongoraszonátái: Hangszerválasztás és előadói gyakorlat, műfaji tipológia és stíluselemzés* (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1979); and James Webster and Georg Feder, *New Grove Haydn* (London: Macmillan, 2002), 126–29. Feder's invaluable work list first appeared in Stanley Sadie, ed., *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 8: H to Hyporchēma (London: Macmillan, 1980), s.v. "Joseph Haydn."

[7] Methodologies of authentication—stylistic, source-based, and otherwise—have been a point of dispute in Haydn scholarship for decades. A useful introduction to the topic may be found in James Webster, "External Criteria for Determining the Authenticity of Haydn's Music," in *Haydn Studies: Proceedings of the International Haydn Conference, Washington, D.C., 1975*, ed. Jens Peter Larsen et al. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1981), 75-80. For an extensive bibliography, see Horst Walter, "Literatur zu Echtheitsfragen bei Joseph Haydn," in *Opera incerta: Echtheitsfragen als Problem musikwissenschaftlicher Gesamtausgaben*, ed. Hanspeter Bennwitz et al. (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1991), 193–204.

[8] It should be noted that Hoboken's 1957 numbering for the keyboard sonatas was itself adapted from the older system devised by Päsler for volume 14 of the Breitkopf & Härtel *Gesamtausgabe* published in 1918. For Hoboken's explanation of his relationship to Päsler and other early editions, see Hoboken, *Haydn Werkverzeichnis*, vol. 1, 733.

Dated autograph manuscripts for Haydn's early keyboard works are scarce, necessitating a certain amount of informed estimation.[9] Moreover: for reasons involving the developing role of commercial publication in late-eighteenth-century Europe and the attendant financial potential of anything associated with the booming "Haydn" brand, the composer remains—as John Spitzer has explored at length—"perhaps the most notorious [of all musical figures] when it comes to spurious works."[10]

Most striking about table 4 is the chronological "missing link" that disrupts this group of solo keyboard sonatas in the late 1760s. For some two centuries the only extant evidence for the existence of the seven lost works shaded with diagonal lines and numbered Hob. XVI:2a–e and 2g–h was a series of four-measure incipits recorded in a document known as the *Entwurfkatalog*, or "draft catalogue."[11] Around 1765 Haydn began laboriously inscribing the opening measures of his compositions in this manuscript at least in part as a means of combating opportunistic misattributions from unscrupulous eighteenth-century copyists and publishers. By the twentieth century the *Entwurfkatalog* had become one of the most important documents in Haydn source studies and chronology, offering tantalizing hints at the existence of numerous lost works that might still be "out there" waiting to be unearthed. In the 1930s Jens Peter Larsen was able to place the seven missing sonatas later catalogued as Hob. XVI:2a–e and 2g–h "around

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[9] The lack of extant autograph manuscripts from this period is sometimes speculatively attributed to the fire that destroyed Haydn's house in Eisenstadt in 1768.

[10] John Spitzer, "Authorship and Attribution in Western Art Music" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1983), 153.

[11] As Hoboken himself noted, the Sonata Hob. XVI:2f is in fact identical with Hob. XVI:14, which is why Hob. XVI:2f is absent from most modern chronologies. See Hoboken, *Haydn Werkverzeichnis*, vol. 1, 736.

| C. Landon No. | Hob. XVI No. | Feder No. | Key | Date (Hoboken, 1957) | Date (Landon, 1978/80) | Date (Somfai, 1979) | Date (Feder, 1980) | Date (Brown, 1986) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 8 | — | G Major | before 1766 | — | probably before 1760 | ▥ before 1766<br>(before 1760?) | ▥ c.1760 |
| 2 | 7 | — | C Major | before 1766 | — | probably before 1760 | ▥ before 1766<br>(before 1760?) | ▥ 1750s |
| 3 | 9 | — | F Major | before 1766 | — | probably before 1760 | ▥ before 1766<br>(before 1760?) | ▥ 1750s |
| 4 | G1 | — | G Major | — | — | probably before 1760 | ▥ before 1760? | ▥ 1750s |
| 5 | 11 | — | G Major | before 1767 | — | ▥ — | ▥ before 1767 | ▥ — |
| 6 | 10 | — | C Major | before 1767 | — | probably before 1760 | ▥ before 1767<br>(before 1760?) | ▥ 1750s |
| 7 | D1 | — | D Major | — | — | ▥ — | ▥ 1788–89 | ▥ 1750s |
| 8 | 5 | — | A Major | before 1763? | ▥ — | ▥ — | ▥ before 1763<br>(c.1750–55?) | ▥ c.1750-55 |
| 9 | 4 | 4 | D Major | before 1760? | — | probably earlier than 1765 | c.1765? | ▥ c.1761/2 – c.1767 |
| 10 | 1 | — | C Major | before 1760 | — | ▥ — | ▥ c.1750–55? | ▥ 1750s |
| 11 | 2 | — | B-flat Major | before 1760? | — | probably c.1762 | ▥ before 1760? | ▥ c.1760 |
| 12 | 12 | — | A Major | before 1767 | — | ▥ — | ▥ before 1767<br>(c.1750–55?) | ▥ 1750s |
| 13 | 6 | 1 | G Major | before 1766 | — | up to 1760 | before 1766<br>(before 1760?) | c.1760 |
| 14 | 3 | 3 | C Major | before 1760? | — | probably from the early 1760s | c.1765? | c.1761/2 – c.1767 |
| 15 | 13 | — | E Major | before 1767 | — | probably from the early 1760s | ▥ before 1767<br>(before 1760?) | ▥ c.1760 |
| 16 | 14 | 2 | D Major | before 1767 | — | probably from the early 1760s | before 1767<br>(before 1760?) | c.1761/2 – c.1767 |
| 17 | Es2 | — | E-flat Major | — | ▥ — | ▥ — | ▥ c.1755? | ▥ c.1750-55 |
| 18 | Es3 | — | E-flat Major | — | ▥ — | ▥ — | ▥ c.1764? | ▥ c.1750-55 |

questionable or inauthentic ▥

missing ▨

**Table 4.** Chronologies of Haydn's solo keyboard works from Hob. XVI.

| C. Landon No. | Hob. XVI No. | Feder No. | Key | Date (Hoboken, 1957) | Date (Landon, 1978/80) | Date (Somfai, 1979) | Date (Feder, 1980) | Date (Brown, 1986) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 19 | — | 12a | E Minor | — | — | c.1765 | c.1765? | c.1765 |
| 20 | 18 | 17 | B-flat Major | 1767? | c.1766–67 (or later?) | c.1770–72 | before 1778<br>(c.1771–73) | c.1767/68 |
| — | 16 | — | E-flat Major | ? | — | — | c.1750–55? | c.1750-55 |
| — | 17 | — | B-flat Major | ? | — | — | before 1768 | — |
| 21 | 2a | 5 | D Minor | before 1767? | c.1765–66(?) | — | c.1765–70? | — |
| 22 | 2b | 6 | A Major | — | c.1765–66(?) | — | c.1765–70? | — |
| 23 | 2c | 7 | B Major | — | c.1765–66(?) | — | c.1765–70? | — |
| 24 | 2d | 8 | B-flat Major | — | c.1765–66(?) | — | c.1765–70? | — |
| 25 | 2e | 9 | E Minor | — | c.1765–66(?) | — | c.1765–70? | — |
| 26 | 2g | 10 | C Major | — | c.1765–66(?) | — | c.1765–70? | — |
| 27 | 2h | 11 | A Major | — | c.1765–66(?) | — | c.1765–70? | — |
| 28 | 5a | 15 | D Major | — | c.1765–66(?) | probably c.1768–69 | c.1767–70 | c.1767–68 |
| 29 | 45 | 13 | E-flat Major | 1765/67 | 1766 | 1766 | 1766 | 1766 |
| 30 | 19 | 14 | D Major | 1767 | 1767 | 1767 | 1767 | 1767 |
| 31 | 46 | 16 | A-flat Major | 1765/67 | c.1767–68 (or slightly later?) | c.1768–69 | before 1778<br>(c.1767-70) | c.1767/68 |
| 32 | 44 | 18 | G Minor | 1765/67 | c.1768–70 (or slightly later) | c.1771 | before 1778<br>(c.1771–73) | c.1770 |
| 33 | 20 | 36 | C Minor | 1771? | 1771 | draft 1771 / published 1780 | 1771 | begun 1771<br>(finished by 1780) |

▥ questionable or inauthentic

▨ missing

**Table 4, Cont.** Chronologies of Haydn's solo keyboard works from Hob. XVI.

1767–1770" by virtue of the paper on which their undated incipits had been written.[12] In an almost-too-perfect musicological *coup de théâtre* each of the sonatas that Landon presented to the world in December 1993 opened with a phrase matching the incipit for one of these compositions. At a stroke, six of the missing puzzle pieces at the crux of Hob. XVI had slotted seamlessly into place.[13] Or so it seemed.

The style-historical significance attributed to the years around 1770 in much of the foundational Haydn scholarship from the twentieth century is difficult to overstate. For his part Larsen had asserted: "The crucial period of Haydn's development was, without argument, the years from about 1765 to 1772."[14] "Everyone who is used to regarding Haydn as the harmless personification of a traditional classicism," he wrote, "should study the works of this period to get to know him as a revolutionary."[15] The broader mid-century literature is rife with lengthy descriptions of the strikingly wide array of musical features that distinguish Haydn's so-called *Sturm und Drang* works from the implicitly unmarked "galant" compositions that preceded them: from "learned-style counterpoint," "sonata da chiesa form," and "melodic ellipsis" to "enhanced rhythmic tension," "abrupt contrast[s] of key," and "widely extended harmonic phrasing."[16]

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[12] Jens Peter Larsen, *Three Haydn Catalogues* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1979), xvii. For a more detailed account of Larsen's research on the *Entwurfkatalog*, see Jens Peter Larsen, *Die Haydn-Überlieferung* (Copenhagen: Einar Munksgaard, 1939), 209–50.

[13] Haydn did not group Hob. XVI:2a–e and 2g–h as a "set" in the *Entwurfkatalog*. The perceived appropriateness of a rediscovered group of six works is likely a result of the six-work "opus concept." See Elaine Sisman, "Six of One: The Opus Concept in the Eighteenth Century," in *The Century of Bach and Mozart: Perspectives on Historiography, Composition, Theory, and Performance*, ed. Sean Gallagher and Thomas F. Kelly (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 79–107.

[14] Jens Peter Larsen, "The Challenge of Joseph Haydn," in *Handel, Haydn, & the Viennese Classical Style* trans. Ulrich Krämer (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1988), 95–108, at 105; first published as "Joseph Haydn, eine Herausforderung an uns," in *Bericht über den internationalen Joseph Haydn Kongress, Wien, 1982*, ed. Eva Badura-Skoda (Munich: Henle Verlag, 1986), 9–20.

[15] Jens Peter Larsen, "On Haydn's Artistic Development," in *Handel, Haydn, & the Viennese Classical Style*, 109–115, at 112; first published as "Zu Haydns künstlerischer Entwicklung," in *Festschrift Wilhelm Fischer zum 70. Geburtstag überreicht im Mozartjahr 1956*, ed. Hans Zingerle (Innsbruck: Leopold-Franzens-Universität, 1956), 123–29.

Stylistically speaking, the Sonata in C Minor Hob. XVI:20 in particular had long been considered exceptional in a number of important ways, making its apparent date of 1771 difficult to account for in strictly teleological narratives of the composer's life and work.[17] It was often held up as a strong candidate for the first composition Haydn wrote with the dynamic range of the fortepiano in mind, and it remains the earliest keyboard work that the composer himself seems to have associated with the weighty generic tag of "sonata" as opposed to "divertimento."[18] As if to sum up all this, Landon—in the

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[16] Landon, *Chronicle and Works*, vol. 2, 273–77. Larsen, "The Challenge of Joseph Haydn," 105. Wilfrid Mellers, *The Sonata Principle* (London: Rockliff, 1957), 22.

[17] More recent scholarship has revealed that the evidence dating Hob. XVI:20 to 1771 is far from conclusive. As A. Peter Brown explains, the composer's apparent inscription of the year "1771" on the autograph manuscript (F-Pn MS-133) "cannot be taken at absolute face value, for Haydn's orthography for the final numeral is not clearly written, and the autograph is incomplete." The unfinished autograph might just as well have sat around gathering dust until the work was finally completed for publication as the sixth sonata of the Auenbrugger group in 1780. See Brown, *Joseph Haydn's Keyboard Music*, 120.

[18] Concerning Haydn's use of the word "sonata" with reference to Hob. XVI:20, along with the possibility that the composer had access to a fortepiano around 1770, see Landon, *Chronicle and Works*, vol. 2, 343. The issue of Haydn's intentions regarding keyboard instruments has provoked a good deal of disagreement over the years. For a brief summary, see Howard Pollack, "Some Thoughts on the 'Clavier' in Haydn's Solo Claviersonaten," *The Journal of Musicology* 9 (1991): 74–91.

1970s—referred to Hob. XVI:20 as “Haydn’s single but monumental contribution to the *Sturm und Drang* in the field of the piano sonata.”[19]

Yet there is a compelling sense in which such “single monumental contributions” resist the evolutionary and teleological models of musical style popular for much of the twentieth century. “An artistic style,” wrote Guido Adler in his 1911 text *Der Stil in der Musik*, “does not simply appear, like Athena from the head of Zeus, but rather develops in a calm and steady ascent.”[20] Whether we speak in terms of epochs, schools, individual artists, or a particular work, for Adler stylistic change is “based on laws of becoming belonging to the rise and fall of organic development.”[21] If we take these axioms seriously (however unfashionable they may be today), then the date of 1771 for Hob. XVI:20 proposed by Landon puts a great deal of pressure on the 1767–1770 missing link in Haydn’s keyboard output. It is all too easy to become seduced by the idea that the lost works must hold the key, if not to “a calm and steady ascent,” then at least to some form of compositional logic underlying Haydn’s apparent shift of voice.[22]

Decades before the events of late 1993 and early 1994, Landon maintained that the *Entwurfkatalog* incipits alone shed significant light on Haydn’s compositional development despite, in each case, consisting of no more than four measures of music.

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[19] Landon, *Chronicle and Works*, vol. 2, 340–41.

[20] Guido Adler, *Der Stil in der Musik* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1911), 14.

[21] Ibid., 13.

[22] Landon was by no means alone in subscribing to this idea. A. Peter Brown, for example, wrote in 1986: “The seven ‘lost’ sonatas might provide more clues to the evolution of this new style, which is hinted at in Hob. XIV:5 (*recte* XVI:5a), but there seems to be little hope for their recovery.” Brown, *Joseph Haydn’s Keyboard Music*, 14.

Commenting on their far-flung and minor-tinged key signatures, for example, he proposed that the lost sonatas should be considered "a watershed" after which Haydn's keyboard works were no longer "teaching vehicles," but rather "artistic forms to be developed on their own terms."[23] In an illuminating passage from volume 2 of his *Haydn: Chronicle and Works* Landon leaned even harder on Haydn's missing link:

> [T]he presence of the C-minor Sonata [in 1771] is not all that unique. Alas, some of its immediate predecessors, in D minor and E minor [i.e., Hob. XVI:2a and 2e], have been irretrievably lost, but even judging from the *incipits* (especially of that in E minor) we can imagine that they must have been similar in mood, if perhaps not in perfection of language, to No. 33 [i.e., Hob. XVI:20].[24]

To adapt a now ubiquitous epistemological concept from Donald Rumsfeld, the seven missing sonatas came to function in Landon's account of Haydn's stylistic development as "known unknowns" spanning the gulf between the early keyboard works completed before 1767 and the tempestuous minor-mode sonatas composed in the early 1770s.

### ***Style, Chronology, and Piltdown Man***

Historiography is replete with warnings about the dangers of speculating about such hazy "known unknown" periods. In 1912—just one year after Adler's *Der Stil in der Musik* invoked evolution as a model for musical style history—a five-hundred-thousand-year-old missing link in the evolution of the human species appeared to have been unearthed by a worker in a gravel pit in East Sussex (fig. 9). Only in 1953, after more than forty years in the British Museum, was the skull known as "Piltdown Man" definitively exposed as a forgery: the collage of a medieval human cranium, an orangutan lower jaw, and a set of fossilized chimpanzee teeth.[25] When considered alongside Piltdown Man's "ape-like" orangutan jaw, the enlarged forehead of the human skull conformed perfectly to early-twentieth-century hypotheses about how the missing link in our ancestry should appear—i.e., with the prodigious brain appearing ahead of other physical features distinguishing *Homo sapiens* from their predecessors. The intellectual moral demonstrated by this bizarre object is as relevant for historians of music as it is for scientists: forgery succeeds most spectacularly when given the opportunity to provide the single absent piece of evidence necessary to bolster a cherished narrative. "Missing links" that have been subjected to years of academic speculation provide perfect openings for forgers to concoct the very things that experts expect to find.[26]

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[23] Landon, *Chronicle and Works*, vol. 1, 225.

[24] Landon, *Chronicle and Works*, vol. 2, 335 (italics in the original).

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[25] The evidence was swiftly made available to the public at large in *Time Magazine*, "End as a Man," 30 November 1953, 83–84. The literature that has since emerged on Piltdown Man is immense. For the classic book-length account, see J. S. Weiner, *The Piltdown Forgery* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955).

[26] In a poignant parallel to the Piltdown case even Haydn's skull has been subject to counterfeiting. Shortly after his death in 1809 the composer's head was stolen from its grave by an accountant and phrenological enthusiast named Joseph Rosenbaum. When Prince Nikolaus Esterházy II pressured him for its return in 1820, Rosenbaum submitted a fake decoy. Only in 1954 was the true skull reunited with the rest of Haydn's bones (since relocated to a tomb at the Bergkirche in Eisenstadt) in an elaborate ceremony. See Davin Wyn Jones, ed., *Oxford Composer Companions: Haydn* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), s.v. "Haydn's Skull."

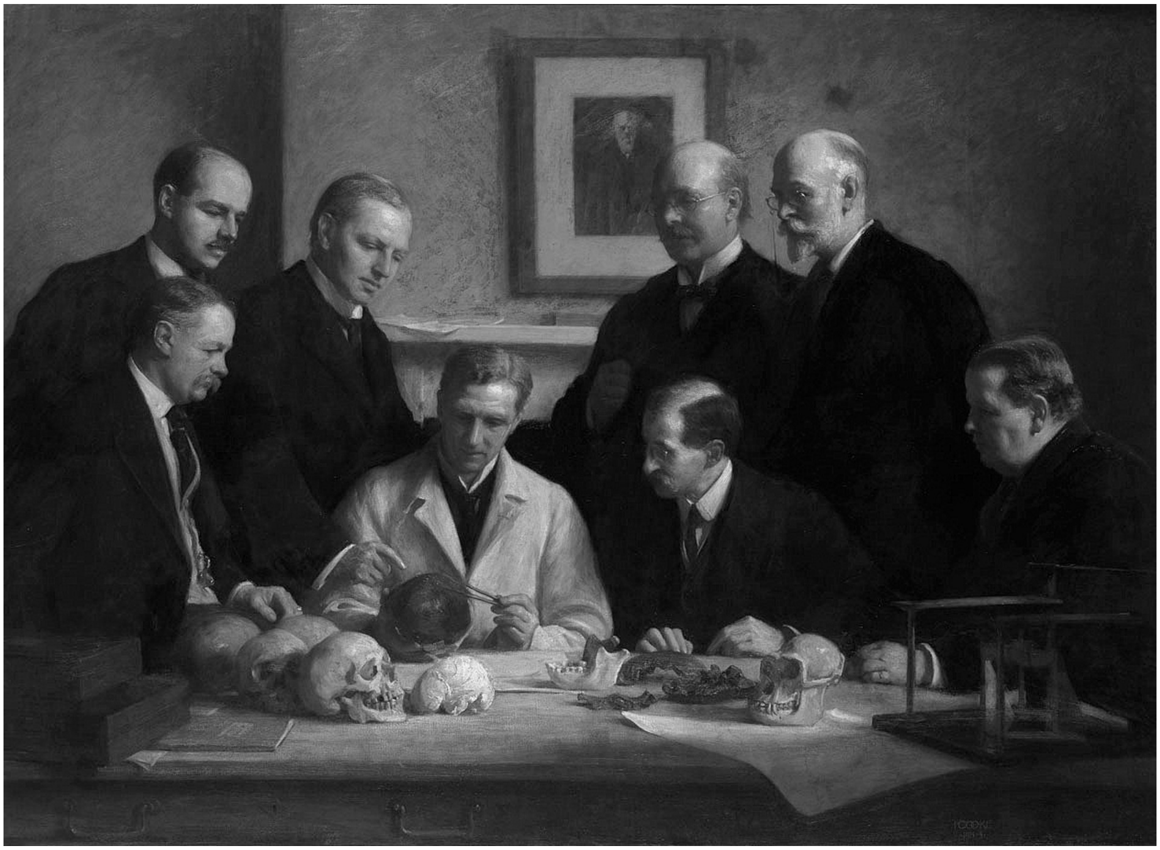

**Figure 9.** John Cooke, *Piltdown Gang* (1915)

Following his press conference Landon declared that the forged sonatas clarified "in a particularly striking way Haydn's search for a new musical language of strength and beauty," demonstrating precisely this kind of confirmation bias.[27] In his article for *BBC Music Magazine*, he went on to assert that the rediscovered works foreshadowed the composer's turn toward *Sturm und Drang* by demonstrating "an increased interest in minor keys, used in a dramatic and emotional fashion [alongside] a sharpened awareness of dynamic contrast, the use of silence, and of surprise, whether in a sudden change of key or in an unexpected modulation."[28] It was exactly what he had predicted more than a decade earlier in volume 2 of *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*.[29]

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[27] Landon, "The Haydn Scoop of the Century," 11.

[28] Ibid.

Just as the theories that inspired Piltdown Man have little bearing on modern biology, post-Adlerian "evolutionist" accounts of style history would be considered *passé* by the vast majority of musicologists today. In the field of Haydn studies James Webster's 1991 monograph on the "Farewell" Symphony has done much to debunk received wisdom about the composer's stylistic development.[30] My intention is by no means to undermine any of this important revisionist work or the modern research tradition that has emerged from it. As Webster argues, we should treat grand narratives about Haydn's musical development with suspicion, seeking instead to "interpret differences in style not teleologically, but as the display of different facets of his musical persona, as responses to differing conditions and audiences."[31] Far from seeking to revive the old evolutionist models of Haydn's development, I contend that these traditions provided fertile ground for forgery precisely because of their widely acknowledged flaws.

### ***A Musical Joke?***

At 3:38 p.m. central European time, just hours after the end of Landon's December 14 conference in London, the German press agency ddp/ADN released a report that the Joseph Haydn Institute (a Cologne-based organization engaged with the immense project of editing a Haydn *Gesamtausgabe* for G. Henle Verlag) had already examined photocopies of the sonatas and had rejected the source as a forgery on the afternoon of December 10—i.e., four days earlier.[32]

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[29] Landon, *Chronicle and Works*, vol. 2, 335.

[30] James Webster, *Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony and the Idea of Classical Style: Through-Composition and Cyclic Integration in his Instrumental Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

[31] Ibid., 358.

Like Landon, the Haydn Institute had received these photocopied scores from Eva and Paul Badura-Skoda, both of whom appear—like their American colleague—to have been sincerely impressed by the musical quality of the sonatas. Eva Badura-Skoda had particular musicological reasons to be excited about the rediscovery. The stylistic content of the works, including their use of a wide and expressive range of dynamics, seemed to support her pre-existing thesis that the fortepiano "existed in Vienna in the first half of the eighteenth century . . . and [was] readily available from the 1760s onwards."[33] Paul, who had completed a number of Schubert's unfinished piano works for Henle, drew stylistic conclusions about the works similar to Landon's. On first encountering the "rediscovered" sonatas, he described them as being "so original and contain[ing] so many unexpected and surprising turns, that [he felt] quite sure that Haydn [was] the composer."[34]

But the story of the Haydn forgeries does not begin with the Badura-Skodas. The first package of photocopied manuscripts containing the sonatas had been delivered to them in Vienna many months earlier ("at the beginning of 1993," as Paul later recalled).[35] It had been sent by a Münster-based flutist, recorder player, and composer named Winfried Michel. In addition to authoring many original works (including compositions calling for metronomes and musical clocks alongside more conventional forces), Michel has also completed fragments as diverse as W. F. Bach's Trio Sonata in A Minor F. 49 and Glinka's Sonata for Viola in D Minor. According to his story, he had discovered the manuscript copy of the six missing Haydn sonatas in the collection of a local octogenarian woman who had possessed them for years without comprehending their true value.[36] Recognizing the composer's name and suspecting the re-emergence of the lost works for which generations of musicians had been searching, he produced a photocopy of the manuscript, promptly sending it to an expert—Paul Badura-Skoda—to solicit a second opinion. It was this same photocopied source that Landon received from Eva shortly before he announced the find to the press in December 1993.

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[32] Markus Langer, "Ein Haydn ist ein Michel ist ein Haydn," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 19 January 1994, 29.

[33] This research has since been published as Eva Badura-Skoda, "The Viennese Fortepiano in the Eighteenth Century," in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Austria*, ed. David Wyn Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 249–58, at 258.

[34] Paul Badura-Skoda attributes this to a letter he wrote to Winfried Michel after receiving the photocopied scores. Quoted in Paul Badura-Skoda, liner notes to *Six Lost Piano Sonatas*, translated by Florence Daguerre de Hureaux.

It is important to note that Michel's putative find followed hard on the heels of a series of remarkable manuscript rediscoveries that entered musical lore after receiving significant attention in the press. As recently as September 1993 an autograph notebook containing previously unknown keyboard works by Henry Purcell had turned up in Devon.[37] Two years before that, Berlioz's *Messe solennelle*—a work that the composer claimed to have destroyed following its initial performances in the 1820s—had been recovered from an Antwerp organ loft.[38] Perhaps the most sensational of all these musical rediscoveries occurred at a Haydn festival in Melbourne in 1982. After one of the performances, an audience member approached conductor and musicologist Christopher Hogwood with a plastic shopping bag. In the bag were what appeared to be the missing autograph scores of the String Quartets Nos. 3–6 from Haydn's Op. 50 "Prussian" set. Despite the apparent improbability of these priceless manuscripts reappearing in Australia almost two hundred years after their composition, the documents—like the Berlioz and Purcell scores before them—turned out to be the genuine article.[39]

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[35] Ibid.

[36] Millington, "Lost Haydn Sonatas Found in Germany," 1, 29.

[37] Allan Kozinn, "Found: Unknown Music and Inkblots by Purcell," *New York Times*, 13 December 1993, C11.

Repeated often enough, rediscovery narratives like these take on lives of their own, encouraging us to imagine hidden treasures in every dusty attic. In the act of telling such stories, we often omit the painstaking process of academic authentication because it cannot match the excitement of the rediscovery itself. There is a real danger that, when a new "lost work" turns up, we remember past archival conquests and forget the questions that were asked of them. If such things were possible in the past, why couldn't six of the seven missing Haydn sonatas show up in Münster?

In this case things were not so simple. Once the Haydn Institute's repudiation of the sonatas had been made public, attempts to retrieve the original of what the German press took to calling the "Westfälische Handschrift" (Westphalian Manuscript) fell flat. It was reported that the mysterious elderly woman in Münster—apparently the only person other than Michel to have consulted the original MS—"did not want her name and address to be known" or was otherwise in a state of health too "precarious" for her to be disturbed.[40] The Badura-Skodas later printed excerpts from one of Michel's letters to Eva in which he insisted: "No-one and nothing could make me break my word, expressly given—even in the name of academia . . . . It is out of the question for me to disclose the name and address of the woman in possession of the manuscript."[41]

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[38] Hugh MacDonald, "Berlioz's *Messe solennelle*," *19$^{th}$-Century Music* 16 (1993): 267–85.

[39] For a full account of the details behind this story, see W. Dean Sutcliffe, *Haydn: String Quartets Op. 50* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 37–47.

In the absence of the original source, news organizations, including those that had previously reported a genuine find, began issuing detailed retractions and clarifications as early as 16 December 1993 citing the Haydn Institute's reservations about the authenticity of the works.[42] By January 1994 a broad consensus had emerged: the find from Münster was too good to be true. Paul Badura-Skoda's Harvard lecture recital and the BBC Radio premiere of the works were swiftly and quietly cancelled. While no charges were ever brought against him (with no substantial financial gain, what would have been the crime?), the media pointed with little hesitation to Michel as the prime suspect in one of the twentieth century's most striking cases of musical forgery.[43]

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[40] Joseph McLellan, "Sonata Big Deal—Or Is It?," *Washington Post*, 17 February 1994, C9. Peter Lennon, "A Haydn to nothing," *Guardian*, 4 January 1994, A3.

[41] "Niemand und nichts wird mich dazu bestimmen, ein persönliches, ausdrücklich gegebenes Versprechen nicht einzuhalten—auch nicht, wenn das im Namen der Wissenschaft geschieht . . . . Name und Ort der Besitzerin der Handschrift kann und werde ich nicht weitergeben." Quoted in Badura-Skoda, liner notes to *Six Lost Piano Sonatas* (translation amended).

[42] The articles about the forgeries that appeared in German media on 16 December 1993 are too numerous to list. For a representative sample, see dpa, "Wahrscheinlich eine Fälschung," *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 16 December 1993, FEUI.

[43] The authors of the most substantial newspaper articles about the case in English (Peter Lennon) and German (Markus Langer) both drew this conclusion. See Lennon, "A Haydn to nothing," A3; and Langer, "Ein Haydn ist ein Michel ist ein Haydn," 29.

Landon, meanwhile, penned a follow-up to his "The Haydn Scoop of the Century" article; in the February issue of *BBC Music Magazine*, he now rebranded the sonatas as a brilliant "hoax." Attempting to defuse the situation, he concluded this new article with a quip: Haydn, one of the "greatest of musical jokers," might have "enjoyed this whole episode too."[44]

### ***Guilt and Shame***

The consequences of the affair are not so easily laughed off. But before we judge Landon and the Badura-Skodas too sternly, we would do well to imagine ourselves in their shoes. Stories such as this pose substantial historiographical and ethical challenges. Cases in which forgeries "ring true" under expert scrutiny are a long-neglected yet important element of our shared disciplinary history. And yet it must be acknowledged that there are some compelling reasons for this neglect. Talking about such episodes is often bitterly difficult, for it involves dwelling on the mistakes and shortcomings of our peers, our predecessors, and—by implication—our discipline. In a deeply competitive academic climate that promotes the cultivation of seemingly unbroken chains of immaculate professional success, this is not a trivial problem.

Uncomfortable as it may be, our own social and institutional authority as academics remains inextricable from serious critical engagement with forged works of art. It is an ugly truth that, when cases of mistaken authentication come up for public discussion, cries that "the emperor has no clothes" are sure to follow from those keen to take the experts down a peg. As art historian Max Friedländer observed in his 1929 essay

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[44] Landon, "A Musical Joke in (Nearly) Perfect Style," 10.

*Über Fälschung alter Bilder* (The Forgery of Old Pictures), the "errors of distinguished art scholars are welcomed by malicious lovers of sensation" in large part because they allow "the laity [to] conclude, not without satisfaction, that there is no reliable professional knowledge in the sphere of art."[45] Laymen—we are told—have "no conception" of how judgements about artistic authenticity are made, and therefore anyone claiming to be a connoisseur "comes on the scene like a magician, whom the mob, flitting from credulence to suspicion, is only too ready to expose as a charlatan."[46]

Friedländer's prose is evocative precisely because he does so little to conceal the antagonism and recrimination that forgeries tend to provoke. Unable to make informed decisions on their own, non-experts are branded a collective "mob" (Menge) the moment they question the authority of the artistic connoisseur by invoking the charge of "charlatan" (Scharlatan). As Cambridge librarian and musicologist Charles Cudworth put it in an important 1954 essay on musical spuriosities, there is another side to this story. The public, he explains, often comes to have "a sneaking admiration for [the forger], as one who has managed to hoodwink the experts, those dastardly enemies of the common man."[47] Given that forged works tend principally to harm those in positions of considerable social, institutional, or economic privilege—academics, experts, collectors, and their ilk—it is all too easy to render the art forger as a Robin-Hood-like trickster figure uniquely prepared to storm the ivory towers of authenticity and good taste.[48]

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[45] Max J. Friedländer, "The Forgery of Old Pictures," in *Genuine and Counterfeit: Experiences of a Connoisseur*, trans. Carl von Honstett and Lenore Pelham (New York: Albert & Charles Boni, 1930), 35–53, at 47–48; first published as "Über Fälschung alter Bilder," in *Echt und Unecht: Aus den Erfahrungen des Kunstkenners* (Berlin: Bruno Cassirer, 1929).

[46] Ibid., 48.

[47] Charles L. Cudworth, "Ye Olde Spuriosity Shoppe, Or, Put It in the Anhang—Part 1," *Notes* 12 (1954): 25–40, at 39–40.

There is a dark side to all this. In the current moment of climate change denial and anti-vaccination movements, a cultural paradigm consistently branded "post-expert" and even "post-truth" by academics and journalists alike, Friedländer's and Cudworth's association of forgery with populist anti-intellectualism could not feel more relevant.[49] We live in an age rife with distrust in which, as Bruno Latour has written, "The smoke of the event has not yet finished settling before dozens of conspiracy theories begin revising the official account, adding even more ruins to the ruins, adding even more smoke to the smoke."[50] The oppressive fear of the "known unknown" that Donald Rumsfeld conjured up in February 2002 has become emblematic of the paranoia that besets much of modern life. If there is one thing we seem to know for certain in the new millennium it is that there are truths the experts are either unwilling or unable to tell us.[51] Writing in response to this state of affairs the philosopher and conceptual artist Jonathon Keats has recently made the controversial assertion that "[f]orgers are the foremost artists of our age" in no small part because their work captures the "anxious mood" of contemporary culture in ways that more conventional texts cannot.[52] "We need"—so Keats asserts in his 2013 study—"to compare the shock of getting duped to the cultivated angst evoked by legitimate art," above all as a means of recognizing "what the art establishment will never acknowledge: No authentic modern masterpiece is as provocative as a great forgery."[53]

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[48] Countless works of popular fiction have portrayed art forgers as relatable outsiders, underdogs, or anti-heroes spurned by an oppressively elitist art world. Literary examples from the last decade alone include B. A. Shapiro, *The Art Forger* (Chapel Hill, NC: Algonquin Books, 2013); Allison Amend, *A Nearly Perfect Copy* (New York: Random House, 2013); and Michael Gruber, *The Forgery of Venus* (New York: HarperCollins Books, 2008).

[49] The Oxford English Dictionary, for example, recently declared "post-truth" its 2016 Word of the Year. The term is defined as "Relating to or denoting circumstances in which objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than appeals to emotion and personal belief." See *Oxford English Dictionaries Online*, s.v. "post-truth," accessed 18 September 2017, https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/post-truth.

[50] Bruno Latour, "Why has Critique Run out of Steam? From Matters of Fact to Matters of Concern," *Critical Inquiry* 30 (2004): 225–48, at 228.

[51] Numerous book-length critiques of this paradigm have been published in recent years. See for example Tom Nichols, *The Death of Expertise: The Campaign Against Established Knowledge and Why it Matters* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

For academics more than most, forgery is never a victimless act. When reputation and prestige are valuable commodities one does not have to spend any money to buy into an illusion and suffer grievously for it once the veil is lifted. Consider the so-called "Sokal Affair" of 1996, in which physicist Alan Sokal famously succeeded in publishing a faux-postmodernist nonsense article on the "Transformative Hermeneutics of Quantum Gravity" in the prestigious cultural studies journal *Social Text*.[54] Sokal's article combined deliberately absurd algebra with baseless critical assertions, including the satirical claim that the axiom of equality was an outgrowth of set theory's "nineteenth-century liberal origins."[55] As he later explained, the parody was a politically motivated attempt to call the disciplinary authority of science studies into question and, more broadly, "to combat a currently fashionable postmodernist/poststructuralist/social-constructivist discourse . . . which is . . . inimical to the values and future of the Left."[56] We cannot "combat false ideas in history, sociology, economics, and politics," Sokal wrote, "if we reject the notions of truth and falsity."[57]

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[52] Jonathon Keats, *Forged: Why Fakes are the Great Art of our Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 3–4.

[53] Ibid., 4.

[54] Alan D. Sokal, "Transgressing the Boundaries: Towards a Transformative Hermeneutics of Quantum Gravity," *Social Text* 46/47 (1996): 217–52; reprinted with annotations in Alan Sokal, *Beyond the Hoax: Science, Philosophy and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 5–92.

[55] Ibid., 63.

The 1990s was also the decade associated with the rise of the so-called new musicology. The story is a familiar one: traditional positivist research models that had implicitly granted "the music itself" a substantial degree of aesthetic autonomy came under increasingly heavy fire, exposing the classical canon and, in particular, music theory to a series of probing cultural critiques. Writing in response to such scholarship in 1995, Pieter van den Toorn pre-empted many of Sokal's concerns about the "epistemic relativism" of cultural studies when he complained that his peers were coming to value theoretical methodologies and abstract musical structures "solely as sociopolitical comment and for the opportunity they afford for such comment."[58] If critical and analytical systems are simply mirrors of our own cultural-aesthetic prejudices, then how can we possibly discuss musical values like authenticity and originality with common standards of evidence?

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[56] Alan D. Sokal, "Transgressing the Boundaries: An Afterword," *Dissent* 43/4 (1996): 93–99; reprinted in Sokal, *Beyond the Hoax: Science, Philosophy and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 93–104, at 95.

[57] Alan Sokal, "A Physicist Experiments with Cultural Studies," *Lingua Franca,* May/June (1996): 62–64; reprinted in *The Sokal Hoax: The Sham that Shook the Academy* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 49–53, at 52.

[58] Pieter C. van den Toorn, *Music, Politics, and the Academy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 61.

Forgeries, hoaxes, and the debates they provoke can productively be read as by-products of broader anxieties about truth and ways of knowing. Such acts of deception hit hard in the academic world precisely because they can all too easily become associated with feelings of guilt and shame that carry real professional consequences. The danger is that, by refusing to engage with subjects that trouble our authority as scholars, we condemn some of the most revealing elements of our past to be written out of the field. Reinhold Brinkmann opens his brief but compelling outline of the neglected musicological topics of plagiarism, misattribution, and forgery by lamenting: "Even within the closed walls of the academy it is possible to become trapped, stymied by a surprising discovery that undermines your confidence in the trustworthiness of your own discipline, of scholarship in general."[59] What would happen if we reappropriated these uncomfortable experiences of entrapment, lost confidence, guilt, and shame themselves as sites of self-knowledge? How might musicology address the topic of forgery if—as William Cheng has recently suggested—we were to lay aside readings that "seiz[e] critical authority to prove, persuade, and even punish," seeking instead to "defetishiz[e] control as a de facto positive value"?[60] This is by no means to suggest that scholars should abandon their commitments to truth by retreating into the kind of epistemic relativism that Sokal feared. Any awareness we might have about the potential fallibility of our discipline necessarily demands a degree of critical distance and, indeed, control. Yet there is a delicate balance to be struck. Now more than ever we need the study of forgery to highlight the valuable insights that might be gained from confronting the ways in which we—as scholars, musicians, and human beings—are led astray.

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[59] Reinhold Brinkmann, "The Art of Forging Music and Musicians: Of Lighthearted Musicologists, Ambitious Performers, Narrow-Minded Brothers, and Creative Aristocrats," in *Cultures of Forgery: Making Nations Making Selves*, ed. Judith Ryan and Alfred Thomas (New York: Routledge, 2003), 111–25, at 111–12.

[60] William Cheng, *Just Vibrations: The Purpose of Sounding Good* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016), 42; open access text available online at https://www.press.umich.edu/9293551, accessed 20 September 2017.

Let us return, by way of example, to Landon's and Paul and Eva Badura-Skoda's reflections on the forged "Haydn" works, this time with the benefit of hindsight. Strikingly, all three individuals continued to insist on the reality of their aesthetic experiences even after the works were determined to be fake, maintaining their initial high regard for the musical qualities of the compositions. In February 1994, Eva Badura-Skoda gave a talk in Santa Barbara, California, in which she openly declared the Westphalian Manuscript to be "a clever forgery," arguing elsewhere that—despite any personal embarrassment the works might have caused—the six sonatas still deserved to be performed not least because "Whether the music is authentic or not, everyone wants to hear it now."[61] Writing the liner notes to his own 1995 CD issue of the works more than a year after the Haydn Institute made its doubts public, Paul Badura-Skoda repeated his initial assessment that the sonatas were "not some dilettante's attempts at forgery, but precious musical works" despite numerous admittedly "unusual" passages.[62] As if to sum up, Landon commented to the press late in December 1993: “If it is a fraud it is the most brilliant fraud I’ve ever heard of. I don’t mind being taken in by music this good.”[63]

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[61] Eva Badura-Skoda's Santa-Barbara paper is discussed in Michael Beckerman, "All Right, So Maybe Haydn Didn't Write Them. So What?," *New York Times*, 15 May 1994, 33. See also McLellan, "Sonata Big Deal—Or Is It?," C9.

[62] Badura-Skoda, liner notes to *Six Lost Piano Sonatas*.

Considered seriously, these comments stake out fragile new frontiers for a discipline that has, so far, almost uniformly refused to engage with forgeries after they are exposed. Landon’s admission that he was “taken in” by the quality of the music could be read as a gesture towards the “defetishization of control” that Cheng and others have begun to call for in the discipline. Could it also serve as a model for engaging with forgeries as evidence of how the raw aesthetic experiences of musical compositions “take us in” as scholars wrestling with the competing claims of both historical truth and aesthetic beauty?

### ***The Westphalian Manuscript***

More than two decades after the initial scandal, what are we to make of the Westphalian Manuscript and the sonatas that it contained as historical documents? It is significant that the works were repudiated primarily on the evidence of material anachronisms discovered by figures associated with auction houses and editorial research institutes. Consider the title page reproduced in figure 10, complete with conspicuous ink blotches. In the lower right quadrant is a stamp—crossed out yet clearly visible—suggesting that the original had been in the library of an episcopal see (Eigentum des BischöflStuhles) before being moved to another collection in the mid-twentieth century (Sammlung Hegenkötter, 1956). Eva Badura-Skoda proposed an Italian provenance around 1805 after having consulted a "copy" of the watermark (which Michel supposedly traced from the manuscript hidden away in Münster).[64] Yet, when subjected to thorough interrogation, the autographic features of the scores raised the suspicions of manuscript specialists including not only Stephen Roe at London's Sotheby's (an attendee at Landon's press conference), but also the impressive group of scholars assembled by the Haydn Institute on December 10.[65]

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[63] Quoted in Jim McCue, “Haydn Experts Say Lost Sonatas Are Clever Hoax,” *Times* (London), 31 December 1993, 5.

The Haydn Institute appraisers expressed strong concerns about the presence of anachronistic textual characters in the subtitles (including a forward slash and modern quotation marks) alongside numerous other peculiarities of musical notation. As Horst Walter—the institute's then director—memorably summarized, the manuscript was "overloaded with 'antique' elements."[66] It even appeared to have been written with a steel-nibbed pen rare until decades after the "1805" date implied by the watermark.[67] Meanwhile, Roe developed his own suspicions about the source. Working from a photocopy of the opening page of the Sonata in D Minor Hob. XVI:2a that had been distributed to Landon's audience in a press pack (the same page reproduced in fig. 11), he observed that the rests were inscribed in a manner common in handwritten sources only after twentieth-century developments in the printing of sheet music.[68] More curious still, the German shelving mark "MS H 7$^{A/F}$, Schrank 5, Lager 4"—visible in the upper-left corner of figure 11—had, bizarrely, been written in a hand identical to that of the score's notation and Italian paratext (i.e., the title "Suonata per il Cembalo solo," and name of the author, "di G. Haydn").[69] As Roe himself said when I interviewed him about the case, it is "extraordinarily unlikely" that a librarian would be the copyist of a manuscript, and even more farfetched that the same copyist would write the shelving mark in a language other than the Italian native both to the paratext and to the manuscript's country of origin.[70]

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[64] Langer, "Ein Haydn ist ein Michel ist ein Haydn," 29.

[65] The twelve participants in the Haydn Institute's appraisal of the sources were: Eva Badura-Skoda, Martin Bente, Otto Biba, Gudrun Busch, Georg Feder, Sonja Gerlach, Marianne Helms, Klaus Hortschansky, Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller, Günter Thomas, Horst Walter, and Robert von Zahn. See Horst Walter, "Eulenspiegeleien um Haydn," *Haydn-Studien* 6 (1994): 313–17, at 314.

[66] Ibid., 315; and Robert von Zahn, "Der 'Haydn-Scoop of the Century': Qualität und Schwächen einer Fälschung," *Concerto: Das Magazin für alte Musik* 11, no. 90 (1994): 8–11, at 8.

[67] dpa, "Gefälscht?," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 18 December 1993, 25.

The final nail in the coffin came when samples of the handwriting used in the Westphalian Manuscript were compared to the MS for an F-Major harpsichord sonata by the Italian Baroque composer Giovanni Paolo Simonetti that had been published in facsimile by the small Münster-based press Mieroprint Musikverlag.[71] Despite seemingly producing dozens of works for recorder, flute, violin, viola, harpsichord, and numerous combinations of the above, Simonetti never existed. Alongside another fictitious eighteenth-century composer named "Tomesini," G. P. Simonetti was an invented

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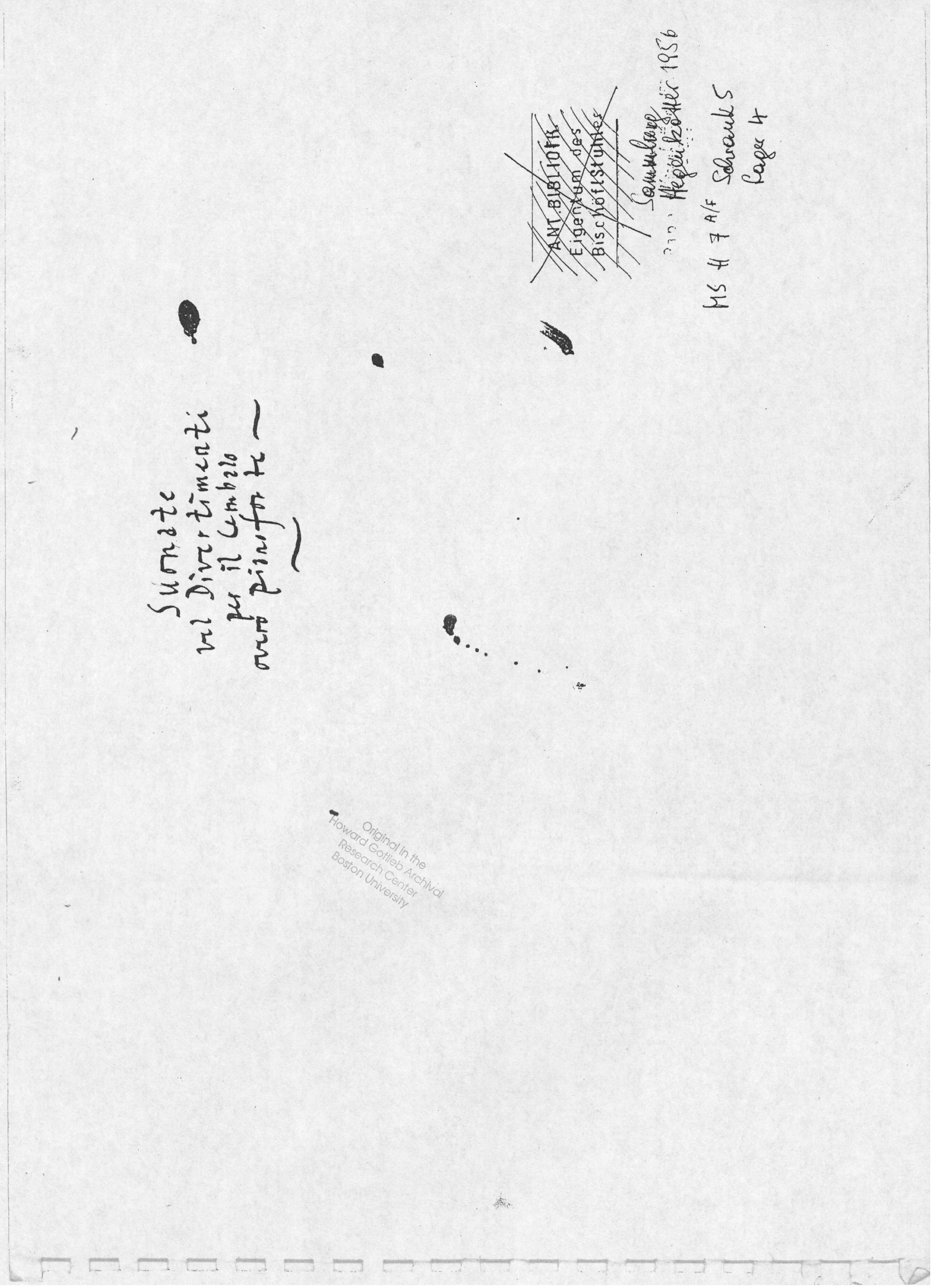
[68] McCue, "Haydn Experts Say Lost Sonatas Are Clever Hoax," 5.

[69] For an overview of the concept of "paratext" see Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); first published as *Seuils* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1987).

[70] Stephen Roe (Head of Musical Manuscripts, Sotheby's Auction House), interview by author, Sotheby's Atlantic Avenue Branch, New York, NY, 4 June 2014, digital recording.

[71] A description of the sources and a reproduction of the score in question can be found in Zahn, "Der 'Haydn-Scoop of the Century'": 11.



Suonate
vel Divertimenti
per il Cembalo
overo pianoforte —

~~ANT. BIBLIOTH.~~
~~Eigentum des~~
~~Bischöfl. Stuhles~~

Sammlung
Hegenkötter 1956

MS H 7 A/F Schrank 5
Lager 4

Original in the
Howard Gotlieb Archival
Research Center
Boston University

**Figure 10.** Westphalian Manuscript, Title Page. From the H. C. Robbins Landon Collection (Box 78; Folder 11), Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center at Boston University

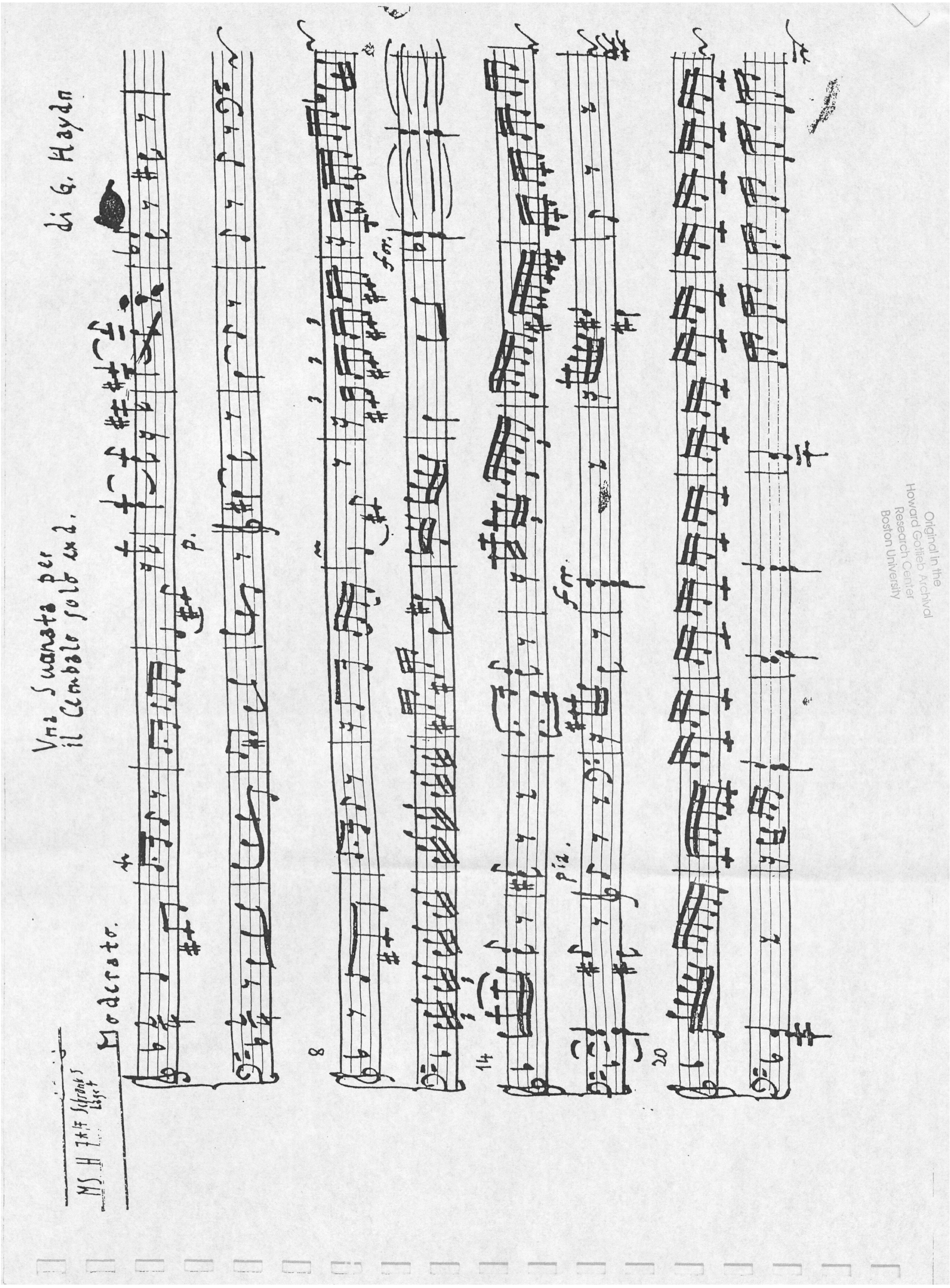

Una Suonata per
il Cembalo solo in d.
di G. Haydn
Moderato.
p.
for.
piz.
8
14
20
Original in the
Howard Gotlieb Archival
Research Center
Boston University

**Figure 11.** Westphalian Manuscript, First Page of Forged D-Minor Sonata “Hob. XVI:2a.” From the H. C. Robbins Landon Collection (Box 78; Folder 11), Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center at Boston University

pseudonym under which Winfried Michel had composed an extensive collection of Baroque pastiche, publishing his works with Mieroprint and the Swiss “Amadeus” Verlag throughout the 1970s and 1980s.[72] Betraying an affection for the cryptographic, Michel even hid a clue to the shared identity behind the two pseudonyms in the construction of the names themselves: “Tomesini” and “Simonetti” are near anagrams of one another.

A less subtle hint about the authorship of the works can be found in the paratexts to editions of “Simonetti’s” and “Tomesini’s” music. As exemplified by figure 12, such publications are in fact invariably prefaced with the assurance that they have been “composed [!] and edited by Winfried Michel” (komponiert und herausgegeben von Winfried Michel). Generally placed in small print on the title page far beneath the emboldened names of Simonetti and Tomesini, the implicit authors, this assurance is easily mistaken for any of a host of more conventional (and guileless) paratextual formulas, among them “completed and edited” (ergänzt und herausgegeben) or “arranged and edited” (bearbeitet und herausgegeben).

The glass slipper clearly fit. Because of the similarities between the textual and musical handwriting in the Simonetti facsimile and the Westphalian Manuscript, the obvious conclusion was that the latter document had not been produced by a nineteenth-century copyist—as Eva Badura-Skoda had argued—but was rather from the same twentieth-century hand that had “composed and edited” Simonetti’s and Tomesini’s

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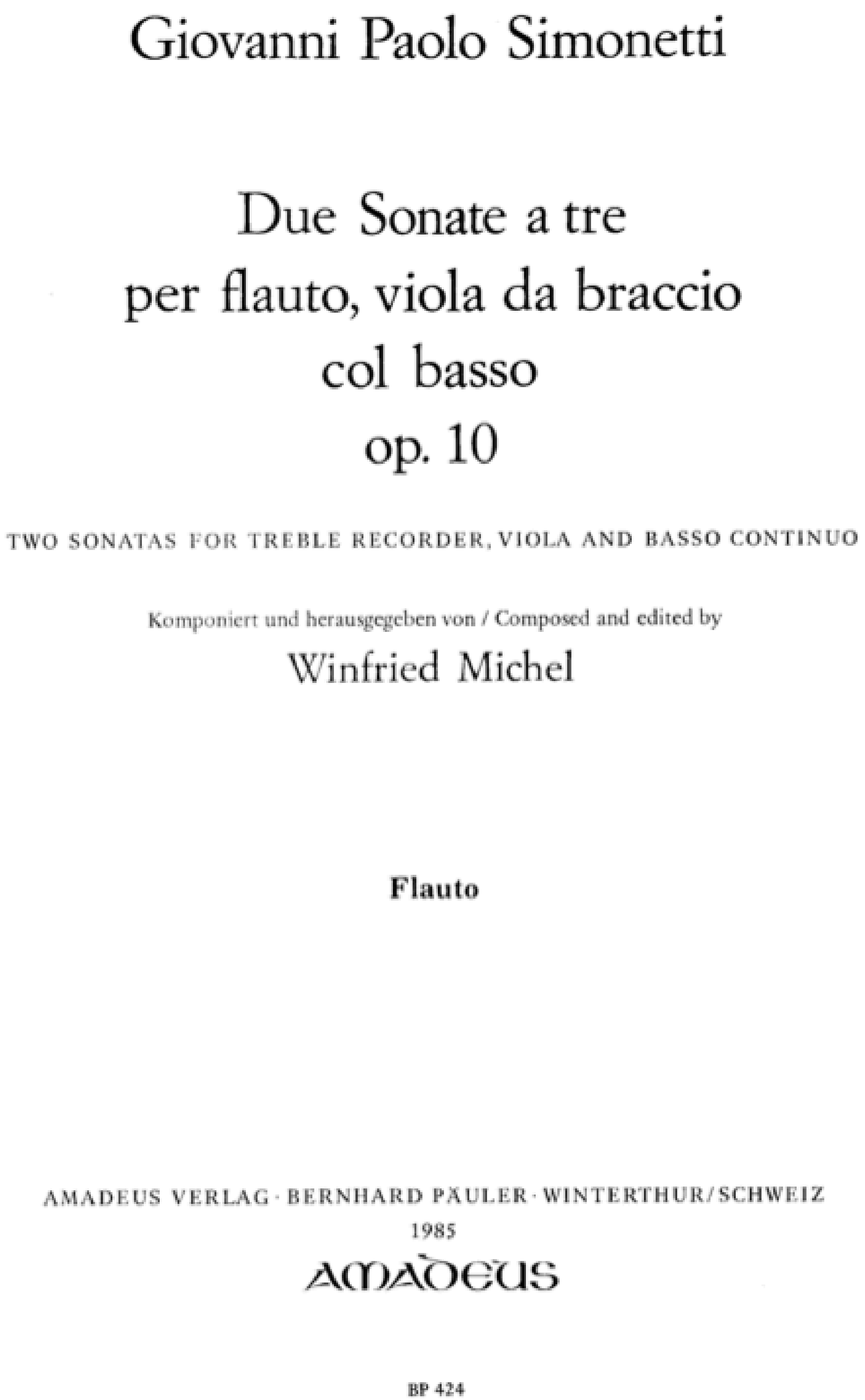
[72] Bruce Haynes has discussed Michel’s Simonetti/Tomesini works as defining examples of what he calls “period composition.” See Bruce Haynes, *The End of Early Music: A Period Performer’s History of Music for the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 210–13.



Giovanni Paolo Simonetti

Due Sonate a tre
per flauto, viola da braccio
col basso
op. 10

TWO SONATAS FOR TREBLE RECORDER, VIOLA AND BASSO CONTINUO

Komponiert und herausgegeben von / Composed and edited by
Winfried Michel

Flauto

AMADEUS VERLAG · BERNHARD PÄULER · WINTERTHUR/SCHWEIZ
1985
AMADEUS

BP 424

**Figure 12.** Title Page, "Giovanni Paolo Simonetti," *Due Sonate a tre per flauto, viola da braccio col basso, op. 10*, composed and edited by Winfried Michel (Winterthur: Amadeus Verlag, BP 424, 1985)

editions.[73] Once picked up in the wider press, these new revelations quickly resolved any lingering doubts about the authenticity of the "Haydn Scoop of the Century" in the public sphere.[74]

### ***Revenge of the "Antiquarians"***

Having so recently declared a major academic coup, numerous media outlets struggled to backtrack in the wake of these revelations. As a result, musicology's standards of evidence and structures of accountability were suddenly cast into the limelight as subjects for the kind of public scrutiny that the discipline rarely attracts. In *The Guardian*, Peter Lennon critiqued the musicological community as one in which "the status of a document is apparently conferred not by its own antecedents so much as by the status of the messenger who delivers it."[75] While he clearly considered Landon and the Badura-Skodas to be naïve at best, much of Lennon's harshest criticism was reserved for Fiona Maddocks, the editor of *BBC Music Magazine* who had printed Landon's declaration that the forgeries constituted the "Haydn Scoop of the Century." In a particularly telling turn of phrase, Lennon portrays Maddocks as still "defending her experts against what she described scornfully as the ‘antiquarians’ (as distinct from music experts) who just looked at bits of paper and did not concentrate on the quality of the music.”[76]

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[73] In 1994, Michel had three of the forged Haydn sonatas (Hob. XVI:2a, 2b, and 2g) published independently in a small print run. The editor's foreword to this edition knowingly acknowledges that the manuscript "shows similarities in writing style and rastration to scores of Tomesini's keyboard works." See Joseph Haydn (attributed), *Sechs Sonaten für Klavier 1–3*, first edition by Winfried Michel (Münster: Urtext Edition, 1994), 4.

[74] Lennon, "A Haydn to nothing," A3; and Langer, "Ein Haydn ist ein Michel ist ein Haydn," 29.

[75] Lennon, "A Haydn to nothing," A3.

By drawing a distinction between, on the one hand, a guilty party of music experts occupied with style and cultural value and, on the other, a class of empirically minded antiquarians responsible for unmasking the truth, Lennon not only taps into conservative anxieties about the state of the humanities after postmodernism, but also rehearses some of the harshest rhetoric surrounding what historians Francis Blouin Jr. and William Rosenberg have dubbed the “archival divide” in academic culture.[77] For a musicological example of this phenomenon, consider the dispute between Joseph Kerman and Edward Lowinsky that flared up following the former’s address to the American Musicological Society in 1964.[78] One of Lowinsky’s greatest grievances with Kerman’s remarks was rooted in what he saw as a rigidly hierarchical vision of musicology in which scholarly editions, paleography, sketch studies and the like served merely to facilitate Kerman’s ultimate intellectual product: a distinctly American brand of criticism. By describing Kerman’s idealized critic as “the lord of the manor” to whom “lower orders” of scholars are unjustly made subservient, Lowinsky highlighted the issues of class and power that he saw in this division of labor.[79] He argued that by separating the work from the score as one separates hermeneutic data from an empty archival vessel musicology would risk becoming deeply imbalanced, factional, and overspecialized. The distilling and bottling of raw musical content in critical editions would have to be conducted outside of the American musicological complex by good-natured archivists “whose business it is to serve music on a silver platter ready to be criticized.”[80] Yet the objection to Kerman’s proposed model of musicology went further than this. As Lowinsky and those who sympathized with him saw it, focusing academic energy on the aesthetically and interpretatively interesting without due regard for the true would mean putting the critical cart before the archival horse. It would create a dangerous academic culture in which grievous factual errors could go unchallenged.

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[76] Ibid.

[77] For more on the archival divide, see Francis X. Blouin Jr. and William G. Rosenberg, *Processing the Past: Contesting Authority in History and the Archives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

[78] The address was subsequently published as Joseph Kerman, “A Profile for American Musicology,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 18 (1965): 61–69; reprinted in Kerman, *Write All These Down: Essays on Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 3–11.

Concerns about the extent to which “criticism” entails a less thorough verification of facts have hardly gone away. Lowinsky’s statements capture much of the disciplinary anxiety that was still present when news of the “Haydn Scoop of the Century” broke in the new-musicological climate of December 1993. In the eyes of commentators such as Lennon, Michel’s forgeries provided a rare opportunity for the Lowinskian “antiquarians” on the wrong side of the archival divide to gloat at Kerman’s “lords of the manor” when the stakes were at their highest. It was, after all, the steel-nibbed pen and the shelving number, not literary-style criticism, that won the day. Or so the argument went.

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[79] Edward Lowinsky, “Character and Purposes of American Musicology: A Reply to Joseph Kerman,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 18 (1965): 222–34, at 228.

[80] Ibid.

Yet Lennon's narrative of musicological incompetence and the authority of physical objects over abstract works was by no means the only way of reading the Haydn forgeries. A scholar in the early 1990s could just as well go in the opposite direction: problematizing traditional musicological axioms by suggesting that the relationships between style, authorship, and identity are not always as clear as we might like them to be. This was the position that Michael Beckerman hinted at when—looking back at the case from May 1994 in a provocative article for the *New York Times*—he dismissed the ability of musicologists to distinguish between the raw compositional content of Michel's forgeries and that of genuine Haydn works. Beckerman asserted that, when it came to the Westphalian Manuscript, "Not a single musician or scholar [was] willing to say for sure whether, on the basis of the score alone, these pieces are by Haydn."[81] As he saw it, unless there is "something in the music that *couldn't* be by Haydn (like five measures of Joplin or Schoenberg)," we musicologists "have no tools, theoretical or otherwise, for proving the case either way."[82] All this led Beckerman to restate what is, in essence, the same iconoclastic question that postmodernist cultural aesthetics has always asked about successful art forgeries: "[I]f someone can write pieces that can be mistaken for Haydn, what is so special about Haydn?"[83]

Strong words. Beckerman's take on the forgeries met with considerable resistance from James Webster, whose rebuke appeared in the *Times*'s letters section two weeks later.[84] Rejecting the article's argument as "misinformed," Webster cited his own low opinion of the quality of the sonatas alongside a quotation attributed to the Haydn Institute in the German press stating that the works "exhibit a host of technical faults, as well as inconsistencies in thematic construction and large-scale form . . . that arise from compositional insufficiency."[85] In his own account of the Haydn Institute's 10 December appraisal, Horst Walter declared that, in "the best philological tradition," the discussion was concerned "first and foremost with the source, with its construction, its age, and its provenance."[86] Yet Walter took pains to clarify, in tune with Webster, that the committee had also raised just as many critical objections "directed against the compositional style, against the music itself."[87]

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[81] Beckerman, "All Right, So Maybe Haydn Didn't Write Them. So What?," 33.

[82] Ibid. Italics in original.

[83] Ibid.

Was Beckerman right to imply that the facts of source criticism and provenance predetermined any such objections to "the music itself"? Do we really need something as blatant as "five measures of Joplin or Schoenberg" to repudiate the sonatas on stylistic grounds? To attempt to demonstrate analytically at this stage that the works could not be by Haydn would be tautological. In the interest of not letting Michel's music fall silent I will instead do the opposite: I will attempt—counterfactually—to understand these works as if Haydn really had been the author. Unorthodox as this approach may appear, the point is dead serious. This is no trick, not a Sokal-style academic satire, but rather an earnest attempt to capture the ways in which these compositions have been intentionally designed to lead listeners and analysts astray. If I invoke the subjunctive mood here it is not an act of sarcasm but rather one of sympathy with those who were put in the position of evaluating these works without the benefit of hindsight.

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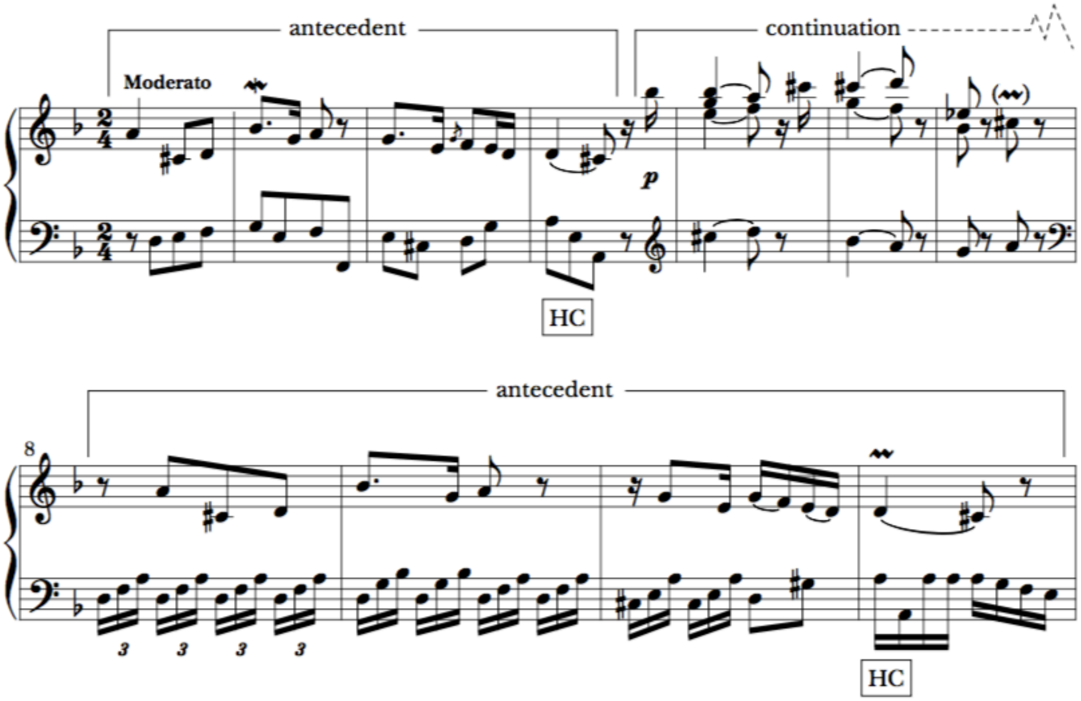
[84] James Webster, "Haydn Forgeries: More than Sour Notes," *New York Times*, 29 May 1994, H4.

[85] Quoted in ibid. See dpa, "Gefälscht?," 25. "Die Kompositionen selbst enthielten eine Fülle von satztechnischen Mängeln, Unstimmigkeiten in der Themenbildung und im formalen Aufbau."

[86] Walter, "Eulenspiegeleien um Haydn," 314.

[87] Ibid., 315. "Im Sitzungsprotokoll des 10. Dezember 1993 sind die zahlreichen kritischen Anmerkungen dokumentiert, auch die nicht minder zahlreichen Einwände, die sich gegen den Kompositionsstil, gegen die Musik selbst richteten."



**Example 7**. Winfried Michel, Forged “Haydn” Sonata in D Minor, “Hob. XVI: 2a,” i, mm.1–11

### *As If*

Example 7 shows the opening of the Sonata in D Minor Hob. XVI:2a. This is the work that Landon consistently singled out as the “particularly striking” example among six "extremely original" rediscovered compositions.[88] Consider the opening phrase: while the first four measures—familiar from the *Entwurfkatalog* incipit—form a well-behaved antecedent ending with a half cadence, the fragmentation in measures 5 and 6 implies an emerging antecedent and continuation structure (or "hybrid 1," as William Caplin has called it).[89] The continuation should, conventionally speaking, close with a perfect authentic cadence spanning measures 7–8.[90] Yet this does not happen. The breaths of silence created by the offbeat rests in measure 7 do not lead to cadential resolution on the following downbeat, but rather to a newly agitated iteration of the opening antecedent phrase. This is the iconoclastic "use of silence and of surprise" that Landon described as characteristic of Haydn's new musical language in general and the rediscovered Sonata in D Minor in particular.[91] Resisting symmetry and balance, measure 8 functions not as an ending, but as a new beginning. With its thwarted unstressed dominant, the non-conclusion of the first phrase in measure 7 creates the effect of an incomplete thought that cuts itself off like a scratched record skipping backwards.

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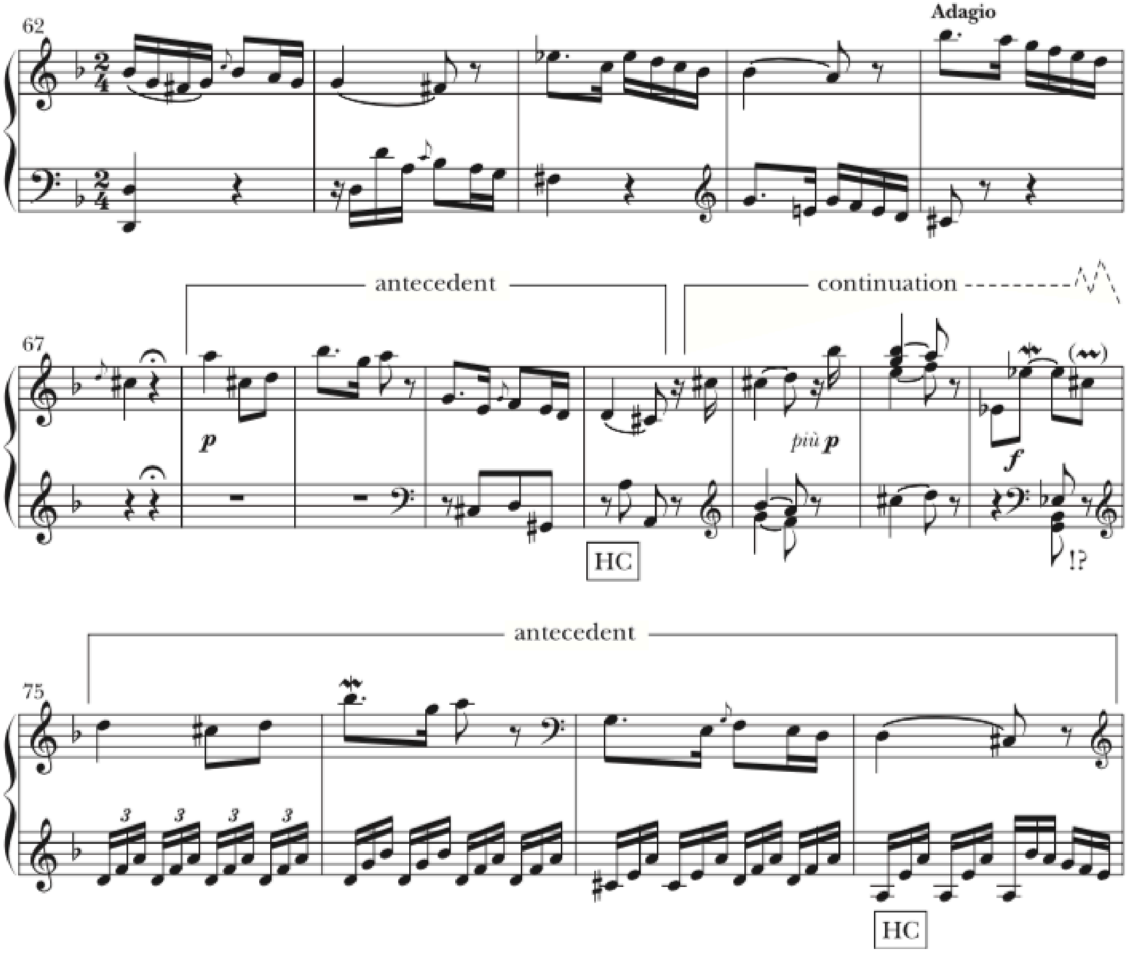
[88] Landon, "A Musical Joke in (Nearly) Perfect Style," 10.

[89] For an explanation of "hybrid" phrase structures, see William E. Caplin, *Classical Form: A Theory of Formal Functions for the Instrumental Music of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 59–63.

[90] As Caplin writes, "Unlike a sentence, [a hybrid 1 structure] almost always closes with a PAC to complement the weaker cadence ending the antecedent." William E. Caplin, *Analyzing Classical Form: An Approach for the Classroom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 105.

[91] Landon, "The Haydn Scoop of the Century," 11.



**Example 8.** Winfried Michel, Forged "Haydn" Sonata in D Minor, "Hob. XVI: 2a," i, mm. 62–78

The compositional consequences of the destabilizing gesture in measures 7–8 echo throughout Hob. XVI:2a's opening movement. As example 8 shows, the recapitulation of the opening phrase (beginning at m. 68) serves—if anything—to magnify the unease that characterized its expositional parallel. In contrast to the *forte* of the development that preceded it, the return of the primary subject is whispered *piano* and attenuated by the initial absence of the left hand's accompanying bass voice, here taking on an almost ghostly quality. A more timid and unsatisfying arrival could hardly be imagined. Indeed, one would be forgiven for wondering whether the mere shadow of the primary subject that emerges from the pregnant pause held in measure 67 is, in fact, the true onset of the recapitulation at all.[92]

A more convincing dramatic highpoint comes at measure 74, when the sonata returns to *forte* leading into the reiteration of the primary subject at measure 75. Tellingly, the dynamic emphasis at measure 74 corresponds to the precise moment that the exposition first went awry, harking back to the fateful V chord in measure 7 that prematurely ended the opening phrase. Yet—crucially—there is no true V chord to be heard in measure 74. As if to amplify the phrase-structural interruption that set the sonata on its wayward course, the composer telescopes the Neapolitan and dominant sonorities in this measure to such an extent that b^2 and #^7 in D minor give the distinct impression of an augmented-sixth sonority resolving outwards not as an intensification of the dominant, but rather as a "tritone-substituted" dominant-function chord moving directly to the tonic.[93] The *forte* emphasis on this sonority further suggests a motion that disperses into measure 75, amplifying the portentous expositional moment of phrase-structural elision in measures 7–8 into what would have sounded—at least to Haydn's first audiences—like nothing short of a cadential train wreck.

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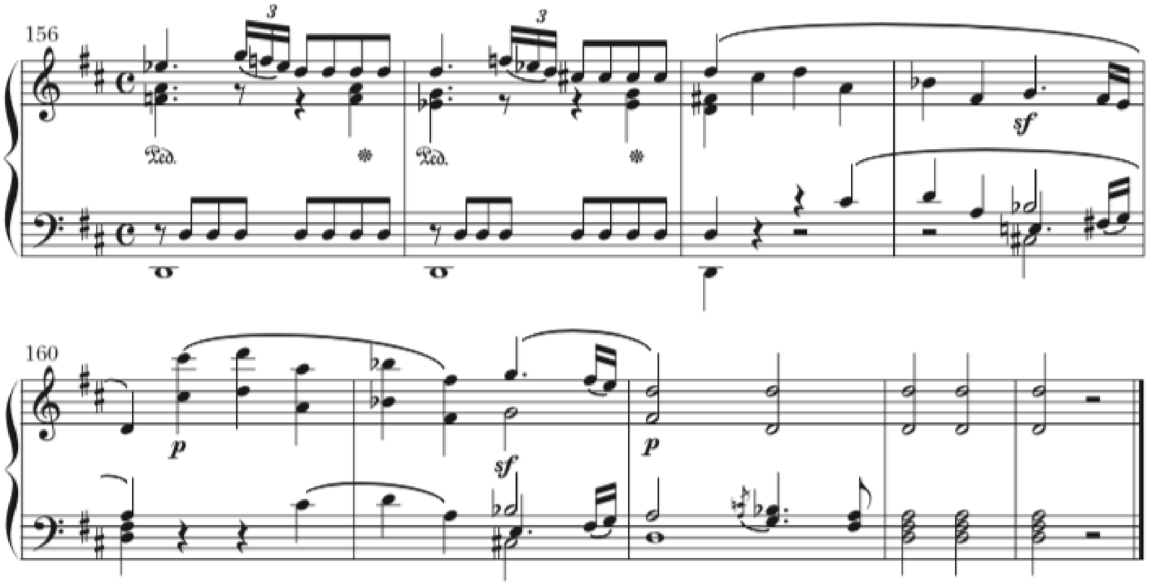
[92] Haydn's proclivity for deploying the trope of "false recapitulation" in the *Sturm und Drang* years has been well documented (if inconsistently applied) since at least the era of Tovey. For a helpful overview, see Peter A. Hoyt, "The 'False Recapitulation' and the Conventions of Sonata Form" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1999).

[93] On the similarities (and differences) between tritone substitutions and dominant-function augmented-sixth chords, see Nicole Biamonte, "Augmented-Sixth Chords vs. Tritone Substitutions," *Music Theory Online* 14/2 (2008), accessed 21 September 2017, http://www.mtosmt.org/issues/mto.08.14.2/mto.08.14.2.biamonte.html.



**Example 9.** W. A. Mozart, Overture from *Idomeneo*, K.366 (1781), mm.156–64.
Arranged for Piano Solo by Richard Metzdorff

In style-historical terms, it need hardly be noted that the implicit use of a tritone-substituted dominant at such an important structural moment is a bold gesture for the late 1760s. Conventional wisdom, after all, holds that such sonorities belong to the tonal grammar of significantly later eras.[94] Yet this spot of precocious harmonic color is not without late-eighteenth-century analogs. Written a mere decade or so after Hob. XVI:2a, the closing passage of Mozart's *Idomeneo* Overture, reproduced in example 9, deploys—at measure 157—an augmented-sixth chord above a tonic pedal functioning in its immediate context as a dominant confirming D Major as the global home key via the double leading tones b^2 and #^7.[95] It is only after the curtain goes up on act 1 that the G-minor sonority ushered in by the opening recitative retrospectively recasts the overture's final chord as a dominant in a moment of rich functional play.[96] The question of whether the rediscovered Haydn sonata might have influenced the younger man's bold harmonic choice remains a matter of historical speculation.

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[94] For an example of a putatively anachronistic "jazz-influenced" sonority turning up in an authentic Haydn composition, consider the sumptuous dominant ninth chord that appears—held by a fermata, no less—in the first movement of the Sonata in C Minor Hob. XVI:20, measures 25–26.

While Landon was right to pick up on the particularly strong presence of *Sturm und Drang* characteristics within Hob. XVI:2a, it is by no means the only work among the rediscovered sonatas to point to the harmonic language of the nineteenth century and beyond. Example 10 shows a particularly precocious passage from the Sonata in B Major Hob. XVI:2c, which can now take its rightful place in the repertoire alongside the Symphony No. 46 and the Baryton Trio Hob. V:5 as one of only three works that Haydn composed in this rare "enharmonic" key.

Having arrived in the expected global dominant for the subordinate subject at measure 14, the composer focuses in on its tonic pitch, F#, which the right hand persistently intones at the top of the texture. By measure 16 modal mixture has transfigured this same F# into the root of a *chiaroscuro* minor sonority. At measure 17 the alberti figuration in the left hand drifts into the local chromatic submediant bVI as the little finger pushes measure 16's bass C# up to D natural. A common-tone diminished triad in measure 18 (again, supporting F#) pulls us to B$^7$ at measure 19.

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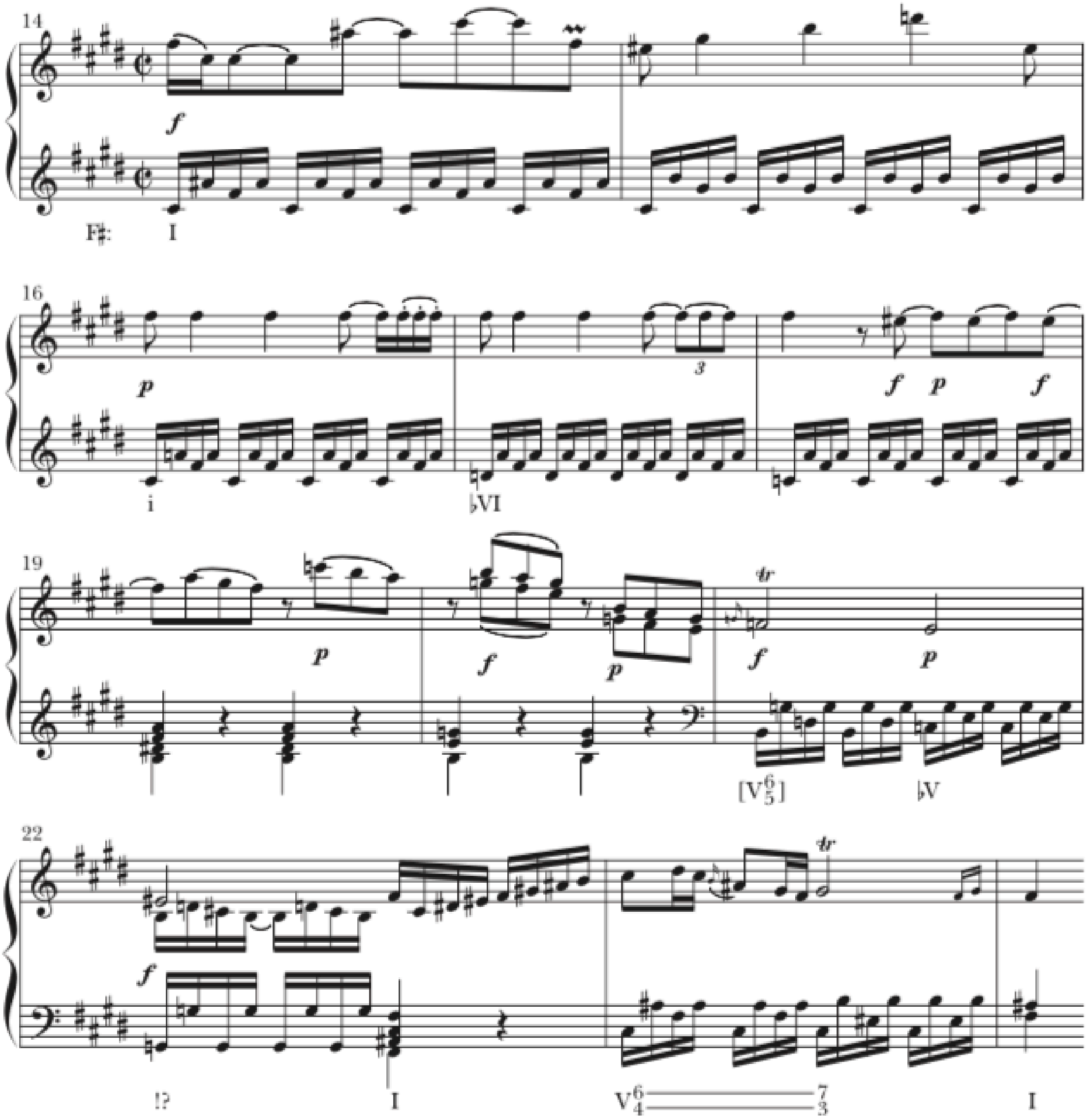
[95] An extended discussion of this example can be found in Mark Ellis, *A Chord in Time: The Evolution of the Augmented Sixth from Monteverdi to Mahler* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2010), 200ff.

[96] The first movement of Hob. XVI:2a arguably engages in a similar form of play. Around measure 88 the recapitulation pivots into the subdominant, allowing the augmented-sixth chord that adopted dominant function (in D minor) at measure 74 to reappear at measure 90 in the guise of a true predominant-function chord, now in the context of G minor.



**Example 10.** Winfried Michel, Forged "Haydn" Sonata in B Major, "Hob. XVI:2c," i, mm.14–24

Here at last the F# spell is broken: measure 19's bass B is transformed into a leading tone tonicizing C major (i.e., local bV) in measure 21, now a tritone apart from the supposed key of the subordinate subject. In measure 22, bV's dominant, G$^7$, suddenly resolves back to F# major in another (!) tritone-substituted cadence, this time yielding the first root-position tonic chord in the subordinate key. During the six measures of music from measure 14 to measure 19, F# has served as the root of a major triad (F#+); the root of a minor triad (F#-); the chordal third of a major triad (D+); the chordal fifth of a dominant seventh chord ($B^7$); and as a constituent tone in a diminished triad (F#$^{o}$), all while it is emphasized in the uppermost contrapuntal voice.

Using a single common tone to wander through so many corners of chromatic space so quickly would be striking enough in late Schubert. In an eighteenth-century keyboard sonata composed before his birth (not least one that uses the enharmonic key of B major as its tonal home) such a passage, climaxing in a tritone substitution, is beyond extraordinary. It is easy to see what Landon meant when he wrote that the rediscovered works often arouse surprise through "a sudden change of key or . . . an unexpected modulation."[97] Even C. P. E. Bach—a frequently cited influence on Haydn in the *Sturm und Drang* years and arguably the most prominent eighteenth-century advocate of chromatic mediant relationships—might have flinched at such a passage.

## ***Double Bluff***

Now that we know the truth it is impossible to believe in these forged works with their stylistic sojourns to the outer limits of eighteenth-century tonal and form-functional grammar. Yet, having closed the "as if" section of this chapter, it is also hard not to sympathize with Paul Badura-Skoda when he thanked Michel for the photocopies of the Westphalian Manuscript, writing that he was "quite sure that Haydn [was] the composer" precisely because the sonatas were "so original and contain[ed] so many unexpected and surprising turns."[98] Much of today's analysis pedagogy inculcates advocacy on behalf of the composer as the overriding goal behind acts of musical observation. We do not expect geniuses to do things by the book. And so the surprising and the unexpected have slowly but surely become synonymous with the inventive and the original to such an extent that analysis is hardwired for appreciation, not authentication. A purely "descriptive" approach such as this only makes sense if we feel safe in assuming that all legitimate objects of discussion will be *prima facie* Great Works.[99] Analyzing a composition that deviates from stylistic norms not because it is inspired or ingenious but because it is anachronistic or just plain bad has become, broadly speaking, unthinkable.[100] From the perspective of a forger, this makes us easy marks.

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[97] Landon, "The Haydn Scoop of the Century," 11.

None of this answers a crucial question: why, precisely, would someone go to the trouble of producing these sonatas in the first place? Although it is possible to make money from such things, there is no substantial financial incentive to forge musical works comparable to the lucrative rewards available to those who forge oil paintings.[101] This is especially true when the work in question is transmitted through a putative copyist's score like the Westphalian Manuscript, rather than as a forged autograph. One possible justification is the sheer pleasure to be gleaned from immersing oneself in—and recreating—a beloved historical idiom. As Anthony Grafton wrote in an influential 1990 exploration of the topic, one might just as well be driven to forgery by love as by hate.[102] Following Landon's press conference the *Times* of London declared that the "new" Haydn sonatas were "timeproof treasure[s]" that would serve to "satisfy man's backward-looking passion and longing for basic values in a changing world."[103] Even if the objects of our "backward-looking passion" are fabricated (as such things often are), who would not want to satisfy such a longing? Yet if this were all that were going on with Michel, why take the extra step from "period composition" (Simonetti and Tomesini, in Bruce Haynes's terminology) to forgery?[104]

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[98] Quoted in Badura-Skoda, liner notes to *Six Lost Piano Sonatas*.

[99] "Prescriptive" music analysis has hardly dissapreared, though it is now practiced primarily in the pedagogical assessment of counterpoint and model composition assignments. On the important historical distinction between prescriptive theories of music (also called "practical" or "regulative") and descriptive music analysis, see Thomas Christensen, introduction to *Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Christensen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 1–22, at 13–14.

[100] The history of the discipline offers us a number of telling exceptions that prove this rule. Heinrich Schenker and Hugo Riemann, for example, both published scathingly critical analyses of works by their contemporary (and Riemann's former student) Max Reger with the apparent aim of demonstrating how "bad" music might violate the laws of counterpoint and tonality. For discussion of these respective analyses, see Daniel Harrison, "A Theory of Harmonic and Motivic Structure for the Music of Max Reger," (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1986), 43–61; and Alexander Rehding, *Hugo Riemann and the Birth of Modern Musical Though* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 10–14.

Another compelling possibility would be to read the forgeries as compositional critiques—whether of aesthetic snobbery, expertise, or academic authority itself. Such a reading is seductive not only because it recalls the desire to “hoodwink the experts” described by Cudworth, but also because it pins down the difference between the Westphalian Manuscript and Michel’s earlier pastiche work. Beyond simply creating a work in a historical style, the act of representing the manuscript as a rediscovered copyist’s score “containing the 6 Haydn sonatas”—as the Badura-Skodas always claimed Michel had done in his communications with them—surely constitutes musical forgery in the true sense of the word.[105] Moreover, if such a lauded expert as Paul Badura-Skoda took the bait, Michel’s virtuosity in imitating historical styles would have passed the ultimate test. Even if they were repudiated after the fact, the forged “Haydn” works would enact a great deal of public mischief on the edifices of taste and authority that underpin modern classical-music connoisseurship, puncturing the boundary between fiction and reality in ways that Simonetti and Tomesini never could.

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[101] This economic fact is a consequence of what Nelson Goodman has termed the "allographic" (i.e., multiple-token) nature of musical works. For an explanation of Goodman's distinction between "allographic" and "autographic" artforms, see Nelson Goodman, *Languages of Art: An Approach to a Theory of Symbols* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merril, 1968), 112–23.

[102] Anthony Grafton, *Forgers and Critics: Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship* (London: Collins & Brown, 1990), 39.

[103] "Timeproof Treasure," *Times* (London), 14 December 1993, 17.

[104] Haynes, *The End of Early Music*, 210–13.

One last musical detail illustrates this point. In producing a work to match the incipit of the Sonata in Bb-major Hob. XVI:2d, Michel seems to have deliberately neglected to provide the retransition and the beginning of the recapitulation after measure 65. As shown in figure 13, page 37 of the manuscript—which follows hard on page 34—is inscribed with a note that pages 35 and 36 are “missing” (Blatt 35/36 fehlt). Presumably the intention was to simulate a corrupted historical source, leaving Hob.

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[105] In the letter enclosed with the photocopy of the Westphalian Manuscript sent to Paul Badura-Skoda in 1993, Michel wrote: “Es handelt sich um die Ablichtung eines MS (vermutlich einer Kopistenabschrift), das die 6 Sonaten Haydns beinhaltet, von denen meines Wissens nur die Incipits aus Haydns eigenhändigem ‘Entwurfkatalog’ bekannt waren.” Quoted in Badura-Skoda, liner notes to *Six Lost Piano Sonatas* (translation amended).

XVI:2d as an artificial fragment. Stunningly, it also enabled Michel to submit a completion of his own composition when he sent the sonatas to Paul Badura-Skoda.

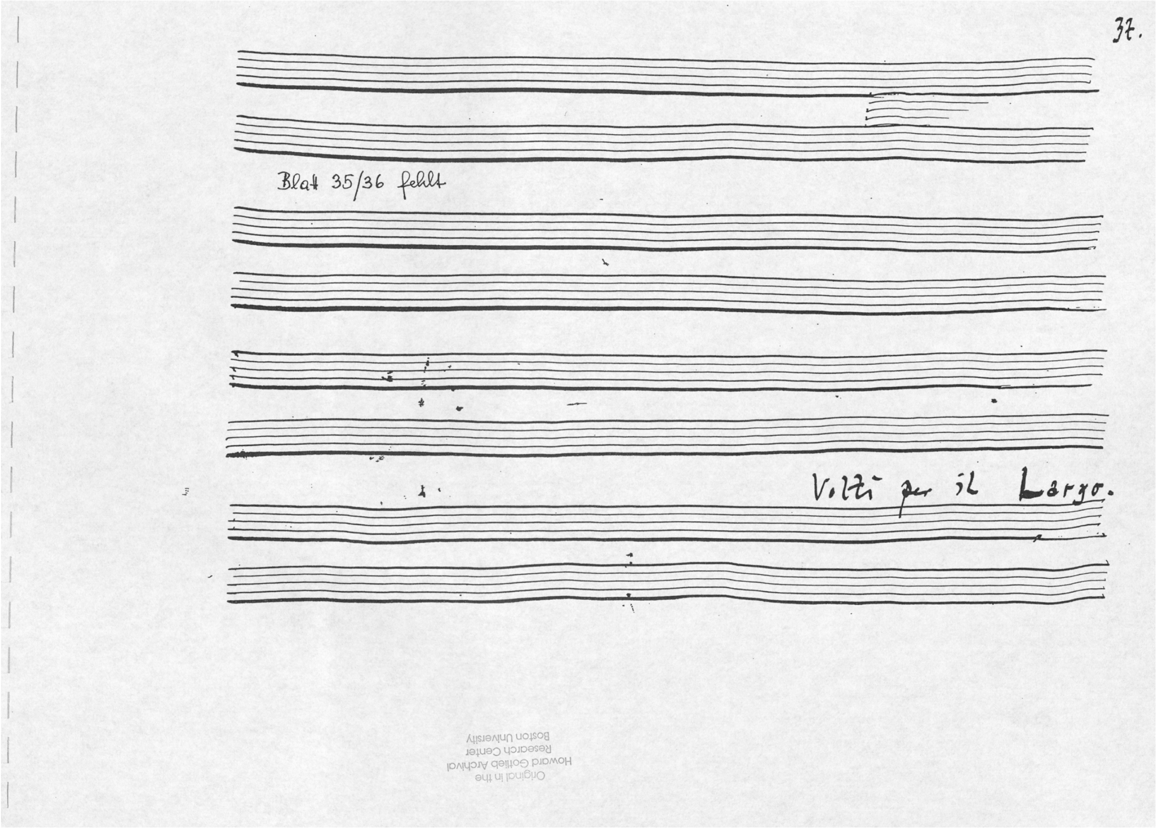
37.
Blat 35/36 fehlt
Volti per il Largo.

**Figure 13.** Westphalian Manuscript, page 37. From the H. C. Robbins Landon Collection (Box 78; Folder 11), Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center at Boston University

An excerpt from this “completion” is reproduced in example 11. The passage is remarkable not only because of the use of a V4/3 chord to end the retransition at measure 79, but also—and more profoundly—because of the use of a subdominant recapitulation (starting at the upbeat to measure 80) that recasts the primary subject in Eb major rather than the expected Bb major.[106] Haydn deployed this latter technique far more sparingly than contemporaries such as Dittersdorf and Boccherini. And while Michel may simply have been unaware of this fact, it is also conceivable that the peculiarity of his completion was, on some level, deliberate.

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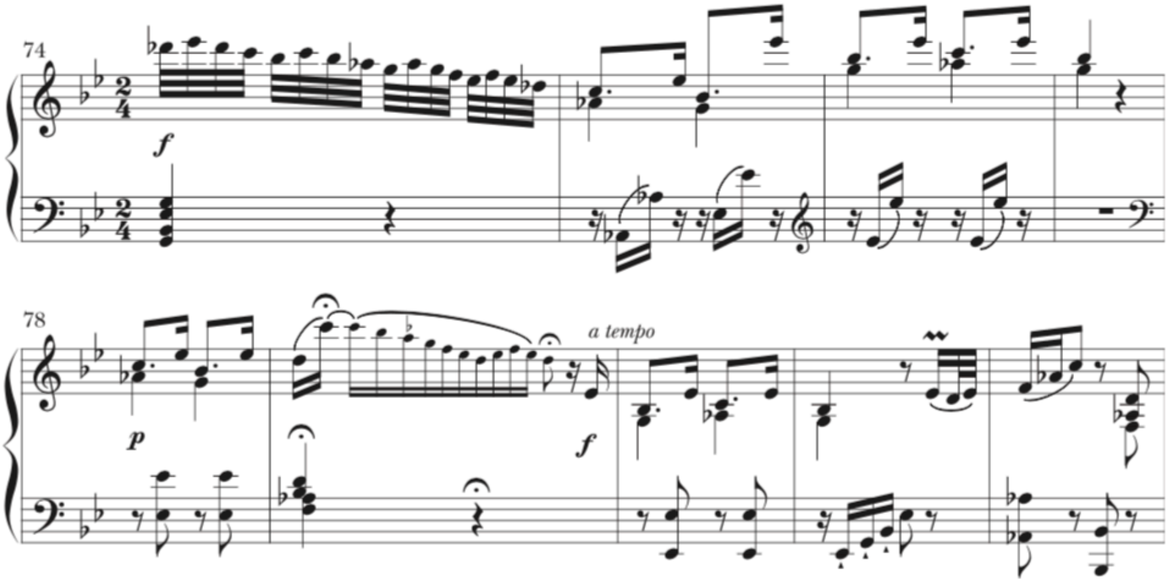
[106] For an example of Haydn ending a retransition on an inverted dominant-seventh chord, see measure 131 from the first movement of the Sonata in Eb-Major Hob. XVI:49.



**Example 11.** Michel's Completion of the Forged "Haydn" Sonata in B-flat Major, "Hob. XVI:2d, i, mm.74–82

In other words, Michel may have used the only section of the compositions marked as his own as a means of veiling his abilities as a forger, much as a pool shark might feign a lack of skill so as to divert suspicion from the greater deception.[107] If this was the intention, the gambit paid off amply when Paul Badura-Skoda wrote that Michel's reconstruction "was not really . . . a convincing answer," adding that he believed his own completion to be "better and better adapted to the style of the work, whether or not it is Haydn's."[108] Michel's invention of an artificial missing link within his forgery of the missing link left by Haydn holds a peculiar power. By convincing the Badura-Skodas and Landon that his own compositions were at once not worthy of Haydn (in the case of the completion) and at the same time indistinguishable from the work of the master himself, he could assert a strong claim: it was the authorial signature on the score—not the notes on the staff—that distinguished his compositions from those of the great masters, even in the eyes of the experts.

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[107] In the 1995 "Amadeus" edition in which the sonatas were published Michel provides a second, less extreme completion suggestion (Ergänzungsvorschlag B) in which the recapitulation begins in the global tonic. See Haydn, *Sechs Sonaten für Klavier*, 54. Paul Badura-Skoda's completion of Hob. XVI:2d, which can be heard on his CD recording of the works, also recapitulates the primary subject in the global tonic.

### *Art and its Imponderables*

Assertions about creative motivation are always difficult to adjudicate. But cases of forgery in which the author denies the act offer a special challenge. Our story resumes in winter 2015, when I succeeded in contacting Michel. The account of the sonatas that he gave me differed substantially from the press coverage of 1993 and the statements provided by the Badura-Skodas. In the course of our brief correspondence, I discovered that he is now willing to implicate himself in their composition not as "forgeries," but rather as "completions." In an attempt to do justice to his account of events here, I quote Michel at length:

> After finishing the works . . . I then (in 1993?) sent the 6 keyboard sonatas in my handwritten completion to Paul Badura-Skoda in Vienna . . . . Yes, the Haydn Institute pointed out that the sonatas, in their completed form, were not composed by J. Haydn, and that is of course the case! On this point the subtitle in the Amadeus edition is correct: "edited and completed by W. Michel." As

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[108] Badura-Skoda, liner notes to *Six Lost Piano Sonatas*.

> regards the discussions that took place at that time, the following must be emphasized: there can of course be no talk of "forgeries," what we are discussing are simply "completions," as have frequently emerged in the course of the European musical tradition.[109]

This is an astonishing admission. No mention is made of the elderly woman who was supposed to have possessed the original Westphalian Manuscript according to the press coverage and the numerous statements of the Badura-Skodas. Instead, Michel explicitly refers to the document that caused so much consternation not as a historical copyist's manuscript, but rather as "my handwritten completion" (meiner handschriftlichen Vervollständigung). Needless to say, the authorial paratext "di G. Haydn," the stamp "Eigentum des BischöflStuhles," the annotation "Sammlung Hegenkötter 1956," and the shelving number "MS H 7$^{A/F}$ Schrank 5, Lager 4"—all clearly visible in figures 10 and 11—tell a different story. So does the damning statement—in the annotation to figure 13—that the score for the Sonata in Bb-Major Hob. XVI:2d was missing two pages. If Michel had always intended to represent the Westphalian Manuscript simply as his own "handwritten completion," then why did he pretend that part of the source had been lost? Or give it a stamp stating that it had once been the "property of an episcopal see"? Moreover: why does Michel's name appear nowhere in the document's paratexts alongside the attribution to Haydn? For all the reasons described above, the Westphalian

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[109] "Nach den oben erwähnten Werkergänzungen habe ich dann (1993?) die 6 Clavier-Sonaten in meiner handschriftlichen Vervollständigung Paul Badura-Skoda in Wien zugeschickt . . . . Ja, das Haydn-Institut hat darauf hingewiesen, daß die Sonaten in ihrer vervollständigten Form nicht von J. Haydn sind, und das ist natürlich so! Die Amadeus-Ausgabe bringt daher auch den korrekten Untertitel: 'herausgegeben und ergänzt von W. Michel'. Es muß jedoch nach der damaligen Diskussion betont werden: von 'Fälschungen' kann selbstverständlich keine Rede sein, es handelt sich schlicht um 'Werkergänzungen', wie es sie im Lauf der europäischen Musiktradition häufig gab." Winfried Michel, letter to the author, 4 December 2015.

Manuscript was and remains a forgery. And yet today Michel is staunchly unwilling to reveal how much of the sonatas were his own compositional work:

> For me personally it is essential that those who want to play these pieces interpret them in the given form as wholes; that is why I do not want the material that was available to me at the time to be separated from my completion . . . . For this reason, I can and want only to confirm that enough coherent and compelling original material from Haydn was available to me that it was a simple matter to complete the sonatas in a few weeks.[110]

Despite having blatantly suggested that he had discovered a sixty-five-page historical source back in 1993, Michel was careful in his communications with me never to contradict the idea that the pre-existing material for his "completions" consisted only of the four-measure incipits from the *Entwurfkatalog*, and nothing more. Asked about this very issue in a 1994 interview with a Dutch newspaper, Michel hinted that it "could well have been the case" that he was working only with the first few measures of each sonata, claiming: "with a composer of Haydn's caliber a little material is very compelling . . . . The notes were so strong that Haydn guided my hand as if it were his own."[111]

Laying aside Michel's deceptive statements about the authorship of the Westphalian Manuscript, the argument he advances about the act of compositional completion is revealing. A die-hard organicist with a taste for mysticism could indeed make the bizarre claim that the finished sonatas were somehow "contained within" the motivic material from Haydn's four-measure incipits such that writing down the rest would be a mere formality. If we like what we hear, Michel seems to say, we have no business asking how (or by whom) the ineffable musical sausage gets made. As he put it to the Badura-Skodas during an increasingly heated exchange of letters from 1993, our obsession with "authenticity" and "famous names" is symptomatic of the ways in which "what people choose to call academia hinders our appreciation of a work of art."[112] Michel drew on this same rhetoric of the ineffable in his correspondence with me when he closed his narrative of events with the gnomic and seemingly definitive statement that while "Academia is committed to 'get to the bottom of everything': and rightly so! 'Art' has its imponderables [Unwägbarkeiten]."[113] "There are," he wrote, apparently suggesting that I not press him any further, "boundaries and points of friction that should be accepted."[114]

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[110] "Mir persönlich liegt nach wie vor am Herzen, daß derjenige, der die Stücke spielen will, sie in der vorgelegten Form als Ganzes interpretiert; daher möchte ich nicht, daß das mir damals vorliegende Material von meiner Weiterführung separiert wird . . . . Ich kann und will deshalb nur bestätigen, daß mir zu dieser Werkgruppe soviel schlüssiges und zwingendes Originalmaterial Haydns zur Verfügung stand, daß es mir ein Leichtes war, die Sonaten in wenigen Wochen zu komplettieren." Ibid. (emphasis in original).

[111] Paul Luttikhuis, *NRC Handelsblad Rotterdam*, 18 February 1994; quoted in Walter, "Eulenspiegeleien um Haydn," 316–17.

One urgent question remains: if the Westphalian Manuscript was always in some sense a critique, then how do we, as musicologists, respond? Are we satisfied that it was merely a well-executed joke or hoax to be laughed at and forgotten? Or does its success—however momentary—warrant a more serious reappraisal of the ways in which we hear value and authorship in organized sound, with or without consulting physical sources?

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[112] "Gewiß ist das Sich-blind-Starren auf 'Echtheit' und 'berühmte Namen' ein Symptom für unsere heutige Kunstrezeption. Die sogenannte Wissenschaft verstellt dabei oft genug den Blick auf das Kunstwerk." Quoted in Badura-Skoda, liner notes to *Six Lost Piano Sonatas* (translation amended).

[113] "Die Wissenschaft ist bemüht, allem 'auf den Grund zu gehen': recht so! Die 'Kunst' hat ihre Unwägbarkeiten." Michel, letter to the author, 4 December 2015.

[114] "Das sind Grenzen und Reibeflächen [sic], die akzeptiert werden sollten." Ibid.

In seeking an answer, we should be in no doubt that the stakes are high. These were not the first forgeries that our discipline has had to confront, and they will not be the last. If we are indeed facing the dystopian prospect of a "post-expert" and "post-truth" age, the questions that forgery asks of us deserve serious answers. Nobody is going to die if a sonata turns out not to be by Haydn. Yet important legal and ethical ideals such as copyright and intellectual property are underpinned by a robust author concept that we abandon at our peril. As Michel wrote to me, it is indeed the business of academics to ask questions, and, where possible, to "get to the bottom of everything." The forged Haydn sonatas remind us that telling truth from falsehood in music is vital precisely because it is so difficult. It demands humility and self-knowledge. It means being prepared to resist speculation about "known unknowns," instead admitting the limits of our mastery. And it requires us to remain open to the idea that, from time to time, those who seek to deceive us may know us better than we know ourselves.

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