

*“My Sixth seems to be yet another hard nut, one that
our critics’ feeble little teeth cannot crack.”*

GUSTAV MAHLER
writing to Dutch conductor Willem Mengelberg
October 15, 1906



Gustav Mahler in Vienna in 1904 when he was
composing his Sixth Symphony
The Kaplan Foundation Collection



THE CORRECT MOVEMENT
ORDER IN MAHLER'S
SIXTH SYMPHONY

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jerry bruck is a noted recording engineer specializing in classical music, and a founding member of the Gustav Mahler Societies of New York and Vienna. He presented the first radio broadcast cycle of Mahler's music in 1962, interviewing musicians and others who had known Mahler. This led him to Mahler's daughter, Anna, with whom he shared a lasting friendship. He also helped to convince Mahler's widow, Alma, to lift her ban on completions of her husband's *Tenth Symphony*. Jerry Bruck was directly responsible for the release of the suppressed first movement of Mahler's early cantata *Das klagende Lied* and of the composer's *Piano Quartettsatz*. He assisted with the American premieres of those works, and also of the *Tenth Symphony* in both the Cooke and Wheeler versions. He produced and engineered the first commercial recording of Mahler's initially five-movement *Symphony No. 1* (with *Blumine*) for CBS/Odyssey, and later co-engineered the award-winning recording of the same work with James Judd and the Florida Philharmonic for Harmonia Mundi. Jerry Bruck has written program notes and lectured on the music of Mahler, recorded most of Mahler's vocal and orchestral music including a first recording of Joe Wheeler's performing version of Mahler's *Tenth Symphony*, and assisted in the production of a recent video documentary on Mahler's *Third Symphony*. He received the Mahler Medal of the Bruckner Society of America for his achievements and dedication to the music of Mahler.

reinhold kubik, a leading musicologist living in Vienna, is Vice-President of the International Gustav Mahler Society and Chief Editor of their Critical Edition of the music of Mahler. Following his initial music education (he studied conducting with Hans Swarowsky), he worked on the staff of various opera houses. After 10 years he returned to his former studies—musicology, history of the arts and of theater—writing his doctoral thesis on Handel's opera *Rinaldo*. He has held leading positions at music publishing houses (Haenssler, Universal Edition) and edited numerous editions including volumes of *Das Erbe deutscher Musik*, Hallische Handel Edition, New Schubert Edition, and 200 of Bach's Cantatas for John Elliot Gardiner. He has written extensively on the music of Bach, Handel, Schubert and Mahler, and on topics ranging from baroque opera to period acting techniques. In addition, he is an active pianist and accompanist at song recitals.

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introduction

RESCUING MAHLER FROM
THE “RESCUER”

Shortly after conducting the premiere of his Sixth Symphony nearly 100 years ago, Gustav Mahler concluded that it was destined to be a “hard nut, one that our critics’ feeble little teeth cannot crack.” Mahler’s forecast was prophetic. The Sixth has continued to puzzle scholars and shock listeners. It is his only symphony to end in utter despair. All others conclude in joy, victory, serenity or at least calm resignation. Here naked death triumphs. When the philosopher Albert Camus wrote, “when I describe what the catastrophe of man looks like, music comes into my mind—the music of Gustav Mahler,” he surely must have been thinking about the Sixth.

Mahler’s “hard nut” has been at the center of a debate that has raged since 1963, when a new edition of the score was published, reversing the accepted order of the inner movements. Since then, some prominent musicologists and conductors have argued that there was no factual basis for this change. But as the new edition took on a somewhat official status as the Critical Edition of the International Gustav Mahler Society in Vienna, it has understandably been followed by almost all conductors for the past 40 years.

Today, it is clear that the decision to change the score was not only a mistake, but the result of a willful act by the editor responsible for the decision, the late Erwin Ratz (1898–1973). Ratz, it turns out, intentionally distorted the facts and withheld evidence that contradicted his personal opinion that, based on music theory, there could be only one correct order, Scherzo-Andante. This conclusion is supported by the

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two essays that follow—by Jerry Bruck, a New York-based recording engineer with a long history of championing Mahler, and by Reinhold Kubik, a Viennese musicologist and now Chief Editor of the Critical Edition of Mahler.

Let's examine what is at issue here musically. The symphony's opening movement pits a massive, dark funeral march against an aspiring lyrical second subject that Mahler said depicted his wife, Alma. When Mahler chooses a triumphant version of the Alma theme to close the movement, it momentarily raises the hope of a happy ending. But this is a false hope. As one musicologist has suggested, the structure of the Sixth resembles a classic Greek drama in four acts (Mahler once subtitled it "Tragic"). This moment then, the end of Act 1, "marks the high point by which one can later measure the extent of the fall—the tragedy."

Sure enough, a devastating 30-minute Finale dashes any hope posed by the conclusion of the first movement. Mahler described the finale as the saga of a hero who suffers three blows of fate, the last of which kills him.

The question of the order of the two middle movements (which Mahler composed before the others) remained. One movement is a Scherzo, which musicologist Deryck Cooke called a "relentless, devilish, stamping dance." With its opening pounding timpani rhythm, the Scherzo sounds almost like a continuation of the funeral march of the first movement, but now "marching in three—the death march as if it were redone in dance form," as Mahler scholar Donald Mitchell described it. The movement concludes with its second theme, a fragile melody Alma said depicted toddlers at play "whose voices die out in a whimper."

The other middle movement, marked *Andante Moderato*, is one of Mahler's most serene creations, a dreamy melody that the philosopher Theodor Adorno said "would be dangerous written by someone else," but by Mahler "cliché is turned into event."

Mahler's initial idea was to place the Scherzo first, and this was the way the first edition of the score was published. In that order, the atmosphere of the funeral march of the first movement is carried over

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into the next movement, after which the soothing Andante arrives, providing some relief before the onslaught of the Finale.

However, during the rehearsals for the premiere that he conducted in 1906 in Essen, Germany, Mahler reversed the order. Perhaps he felt that the opening of the Scherzo was a bit too similar to the first movement. Perhaps he came to prefer the gentle Andante as a change of pace before returning to the turmoil of the Scherzo. It's unlikely we'll ever know why Mahler made the switch, but no one questions that he did so, and at his instructions a new score was published. This was the only way Mahler ever performed the symphony. With only a few exceptions, this was also the order followed by conductors for more than 50 years.

Then came the 1963 Critical Edition, which returned the order to the original Scherzo-Andante because, according to Ratz, Mahler “later realized that the original order was the only right one, and the only one that corresponds to the internal structure of the work.” Ratz offered no evidence to support this claim. In fact, he simply made it up: It was “pulled out of the air,” as Reinhold Kubik asserts in his essay, “Analysis versus History: Erwin Ratz and the Sixth Symphony.”

Over the years, while the published evidence of Mahler's intentions was a bit murky, some Mahler scholars have embraced Scherzo-Andante for the same reason as Ratz: They think it makes more sense musically. More recently, faced with a growing body of evidence that the Andante-Scherzo order was Mahler's final choice, some have floated an idea that there will always be two Sixth Symphonies, one that Mahler composed and another that he performed—conductors can pick their choice. This idea, though, fails to acknowledge that the order in which Mahler performed the work was also the order he mandated his publisher use in a new, corrected score. As such, Mahler's unambiguous change of the order of movements must be accorded the same authority and respect as any of his other revisions. In the Second Symphony, for example, Mahler reversed the order of the inner movements several times, but no musicologist has ever suggested that conductors are therefore free to choose any order they prefer. There simply is no way of escaping, as Jerry Bruck meticulously documents in his essay

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“Undoing a ‘Tragic’ Mistake,” that once Mahler changed to Andante-Scherzo, he never went back.

Against the overwhelming evidence that Bruck and Kubik present, much revealed here for the first time, the sole item to the contrary is a curious telegram Alma Mahler sent to the Dutch conductor Willem Mengelberg eight years after Mahler’s death, which contained a cryptic four-word message: “First Scherzo, then Andante.” Mahler scholars have never regarded Alma as a trustworthy source, especially on dates and concert details. As biographer Henry-Louis de La Grange once put it, “Alma was never a scrupulous observer of her husband’s creative life.” If Mahler had changed his mind, why would Alma be the only person he told about it? After years of searching, Bruck has concluded that “no record exists of any written or verbal instruction by Mahler to his friends, associates, other conductors or his publishers to indicate that he ever intended to revert to his earlier ordering of these movements.” Moreover, Alma’s general unreliability is compounded here, as Bruck points out, by her contradicting herself on this very point in her memoirs (where she refers to the Scherzo as the third movement) and, as Kubik cites, by her informing Ratz that the correct movement order was the one Mahler followed when he conducted in Amsterdam (Mahler never conducted the Sixth in Amsterdam).

We found Bruck’s evidence so compelling that we invited Reinhold Kubik to contribute a companion essay, setting out the history of this debate from the perspective of the International Gustav Mahler Society. In preparing his paper, Kubik discovered some previously undisclosed correspondence belonging to Ratz that reveals he both misrepresented the facts and failed to disclose evidence that undermined his personal position—including his knowledge of a letter from Bruno Walter, perhaps Mahler’s closest confidant on musical matters, in which Walter said unequivocally that Mahler never indicated that he had second thoughts about the Andante-Scherzo order.

For some years Kubik (and his predecessor as chief editor, Karl Heinz Füssl) had supported Ratz’s position, but in light of these discoveries and the evidence documented in Bruck’s essay, Kubik determined that

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a mistake clearly had been made “with drastic consequences for scholarship and performance practice.” In his essay, he announces a new official position for the International Gustav Mahler Society’s Critical Edition: that the correct order of the inner movements of Mahler’s Sixth Symphony is Andante-Scherzo. C. F. Peters, the current publisher of the Critical Edition of the Sixth Symphony, has been instructed to correct the score and parts. Meanwhile, Peters has placed a notice in the remaining scores, announcing the corrected movement order “in accordance with the will of the composer.”

Some musicologists may continue to reflect on these matters, but conductors, who have been led astray by the old score, can now follow a new one, this time built on solid evidence. This has already begun: All conductors who have reviewed the evidence we present here, including Mariss Jansons, Leonard Slatkin, Michael Tilson Thomas and Zubin Mehta, have switched to the Andante-Scherzo order in their performances. Gustav Mahler would be pleased.

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Chairman, The Kaplan Foundation

UNDOING A “TRAGIC” MISTAKE

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i. overview

Nearly a century has passed since Gustav Mahler composed his Sixth Symphony (later subtitled “Tragic”), yet confusion still persists among conductors, scholars and biographers regarding the order of its inner movements. When Mahler began work on the symphony in 1903, he first composed a Scherzo and an Andante. He eventually placed these at the center of its four-movement structure, framing them with the outer movements the following year. Then, before the symphony’s premiere in 1906, he reversed this “S-A” order of inner movements to “A-S” and thereafter never reverted to the previous arrangement. It was not until 1919, almost a decade after Mahler’s death, that the conductor Willem Mengelberg decided to query Mahler’s widow about the order of these movements. Alma’s response—“First Scherzo, then Andante”—prompted Mengelberg to exchange their A-S sequence in his conducting score, igniting a controversy that has spanned the decades since.

With the publication in 1963 of the first Critical Edition of the Sixth by the Internationale Gustav Mahler Gesellschaft (IGMG), the matter seemed settled at last. In his introduction, IGMG Founder-Editor Erwin Ratz stated that thematic similarities between the symphony’s opening movement and the following Scherzo had led Mahler to succumb to the advice of “outside influences” to transpose the Sixth’s inner movements. Ratz claimed that Mahler soon realized his mistake, but due to “an oversight of the publisher” the printed score was never

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corrected.¹ Ratz offered no evidence to support his contention, but the cachet of a “Critical Edition” effectively mandated the “Scherzo-Andante” ordering of these movements thereafter, altering performance practice of the Sixth up to the present day. In the wake of the centennial-year resurgence of interest in Mahler’s music, heard increasingly in concert and on recordings, performers and public alike bowed to received wisdom and embraced the Critical Edition as gospel. With few exceptions, when performing and recording the Mahler Sixth, conductors adopted Ratz’s S-A reordering of the middle movements.² Mahler biographers, program annotators and the musical public at large were likewise led to believe that any lingering doubts about Mahler’s final intention had now been laid to rest.

Since that time, mindful of new discoveries and advances in musical scholarship, the IGMG has been actively updating its *Gesamtausgabe* (Complete Edition). Among its most recent releases is a revised Critical Edition of the Sixth.³ In its *Vorwort*,⁴ while acknowledging the preponderance of evidence supporting the A-S order of the Sixth’s inner movements, the IGMG nevertheless opted to retain the S-A order decreed by Erwin Ratz in 1963. As a result, concert audiences of today continue to hear Mahler’s Sixth Symphony performed with its inner movements in the wrong order.

1. “Bedauerlicherweise wurde jedoch durch ein Versehen des Verlages der Partitur kein entsprechender Hinweis beigegeben, so daß immer Unklarheit über die von Mahler gewünschte Reihenfolge herrschte.” Erwin Ratz, ed., *Revisionsbericht* for the IGMG’s Critical Edition of Gustav Mahler, *Symphonie Nr. 6* (Lindau: C. F. Kahnt, 1963).

2. Among the conductors who did hold fast to their Andante-before-Scherzo convictions were Norman Del Mar, Berthold Goldschmidt, Sir John Barbiroli, Sir Simon Rattle and Harold Farberman. Deryck Cooke, much respected for his performing version of Mahler’s *Tenth Symphony*, wrote to Joe Wheeler in 1962: “I was interested to see that Norman Del Mar insisted on playing the Sixth in the ‘wrong’ order: he told me that wild horses couldn’t drag him into putting the Scherzo second. This is what Berthold Goldschmidt felt, and so do I.” (Private correspondence, courtesy Jonathan Carr).

3. Gustav Mahler, *Symphonie Nr. 6*, revised Critical Edition, ed. Internationale Gustav Mahler Gesellschaft, Wien (Frankfurt: C. F. Kahnt, 1998; not actually published until 2000).

4. Its credited author is Gunnar Sundberg. This *Vorwort* (Foreword) is followed by a *Revisionsbericht* (Revisions report) by the late Karl Heinz Füssl and finally, by a *Schlusswort* (Afterword) by the IGMG’s current Editor-in-Chief of the Complete Critical Edition, Dr. Reinhold Kubik.

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However, when the accretions of misunderstandings and misinformation are stripped away, it is apparent that no credible evidence can be found to justify performing the Sixth with its Scherzo movement preceding the Andante.

ii. summarizing the evidence

The currently available evidence, which clearly supports the A-S order of inner movements, is that:

- All of Mahler’s own performances of his Sixth Symphony, without exception, had its Andante precede the Scherzo.⁵
- All other performances of the Sixth during Mahler’s lifetime,⁶ and for almost a decade thereafter, observed his final Andante-Scherzo order.
- No record exists of any written or verbal instruction by Mahler himself to his friends, associates, other conductors or his publishers to indicate that he ever intended to revert to his earlier ordering of these movements.

In view of these facts, one might wonder how Mahler’s intentions could ever have been misconstrued. Careful examination of the reports and documents reveals a tale that has twists and turns worthy of a detective novel. These will be unraveled, and the “culprits” identified, as the real story unfolds.

iii. early stages of composition and first publication

Mahler’s biographers agree that he began work on his Sixth in 1903 while summering at his lakeside villa near Maiernigg, in the southern Austrian province of Carinthia. By the time his holiday ended and it became necessary to return to his administrative and conducting duties at the Vienna *Hofoper* (Court Opera), Mahler had completed the

5. Essen, May 27, 1906 (premiere); Munich, November 8, 1906; Vienna, January 4, 1907.

6. Berlin, October 8, 1906, conductor Oskar Fried (with Mahler in attendance); Munich, November 14, 1906, conductor Bernhard Stavenhagen; Leipzig, March 11, 1907, conductor Hans Winderstein; Dresden, April 5, 1907, conductor Ernst von Schuch (inner movements only, A-S).

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Particell (short score) of the Sixth Symphony's two inner movements and made sketches for its opening Allegro. The following summer he reviewed the scores of the Andante and Scherzo,⁷ completed the first movement and composed the Sixth's extensive Finale.⁸ When he had finished, he played the entire work through for Alma on the piano. "We both wept that day," she recalled.⁹

By September 9, Mahler could report to his friend Arnold Berliner that "my Sixth is finished."¹⁰ Mahler worked on its orchestration that winter, and by May 1, 1905, he was ready to entrust his autograph full score (Illustration 1) to a copyist.¹¹ It is here, in the autograph score, that Mahler's concern about the inner-movement order of the Sixth becomes apparent. The title page of each of these movements bears an Arabic numeral to indicate its position in the symphony—e.g., "Scherzo (2)" and "Andante (3)." Mahler overwrote these numerals, renumbering these pages "Scherzo (3)" and "Andante (2)" (Illustrations 2, 3).¹² It is not clear when he undertook to reorder these inner movements, for in the copyist's score the Roman numerals indicating the positions of these movements correspond to their original S-A order in

7. Mahler, who had forgotten to bring these scores with him to Maiernigg, asked Alma in a letter dated July 11, 1904, to bring them from Vienna when she joined him a few days later.

8. Eduard Reeser, *Gustav Mahler und Holland* (Vienna: Internationale Gustav Mahler Gesellschaft, 1980), 82, 84.

9. Alma Mahler, *Gustav Mahler: Memories and Letters*, 4th ed., ed. Donald Mitchell and Knud Martner, trans. Basil Creighton (London: Cardinal, 1990), 70.

10. Knud Martner, ed., *Selected Letters of Gustav Mahler*, trans. Eithne Wilkins, Ernst Kaiser and Bill Hopkins (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1979), 280.

11. Alma Mahler, 261. In a footnote referring to Mahler's letter to her of June 13, 1905, Alma claims to have copied the Sixth Symphony. This is unlikely, since Mahler had already urged her in a letter of June 23, 1904, to spare herself that effort. In any case, no such copy has come to light. The manuscript used by Kahnt to engrave the first edition was the work of a professional copyist, with Mahler's handwritten corrections.

12. It further appears that the original numerals were written in pencil but corrected with pen and ink similar to that used to write the movement titles. In addition, the first page of music for each of these movements bears its title, e.g., "Andante," "Scherzo," but no indication of its intended position in the symphony. However, in the upper right-hand corner of each page there is a penciled number—"75" for the Andante, "107" for the Scherzo—indicating that the autograph had been through-numbered with the movements in the A-S order.

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the autograph. But these Roman numerals are entered in pencil,¹³ not ink, leading us to wonder if that indicates some last-minute hesitation. In any case, Mahler’s decision to alter his original sequence of movements to A-S must have come too late to affect Kahnt’s publication of the Sixth.

This “fair copy” was sent that autumn to Mahler’s new publisher, C. F. Kahnt in Leipzig. Kahnt set about preparing to publish three scores of the new symphony: a large folio-format conducting score, a smaller quarto-size “study score” and a full-size four-hand piano reduction. Kahnt had commissioned the latter from the composer Alexander Zemlinsky, a close friend of both Gustav and Alma.¹⁴ Kahnt also engaged the musicologist and pedagogue Richard Specht to prepare a “Thematic Analysis” of the Sixth, to accompany the study and piano scores as a guide to concertgoers and students who would be encountering the symphony for the first time (Illustration 4). All three scores and Specht’s guide were ready in time for the premiere¹⁵ (Illustration 5).

That event was to be the concluding concert of a weeklong music festival of the Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikverein (German Music Association) held in Essen in May 1906. Previously Mahler, who for several years had been Principal Conductor of the Vienna Philharmonic until his near-fatal hemorrhage in 1901, had asked that orchestra as a favor to read through the symphony.¹⁶ On May 1, a year to the day after completing his autograph score, Mahler at last got to experience his Sixth in full orchestral garb.¹⁷ A fortnight later he left for Essen to begin rehearsals for the premiere.

13. A penciled note on this score states that it was copyrighted in 1905, although the published scores show the copyright date as 1906.

14. On April 17, 1906, Mahler wrote to Zemlinsky suggesting that they meet the following evening to play through the latter’s four-hand piano reduction of the Sixth. Martner 1979, 288.

15. The conducting and study scores were available in March; Zemlinsky’s four-hand piano reduction and the Specht booklet appeared at the beginning of May.

16. Henry-Louis de La Grange, *Gustav Mahler*, vol. 3, *Vienna: Triumph and Disillusion (1904–1907)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 402.

17. James Deaville, “The C. F. Kahnt Archive in Leipzig: A Preliminary Report,” *Notes* 42, no. 3 (March 1986): 513.

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iv. rehearsals and premiere in essen

Mahler's chosen assistant during the rehearsals was Klaus Pringsheim, already at 23 a vocal coach at the Vienna Opera. Pringsheim greatly admired Mahler and was thrilled to be asked to accompany him to Essen. He later recalled Mahler's feverish efforts to refine the symphony's orchestration in the course of the week of intensive rehearsals with the festival orchestra.¹⁸ At last Mahler's doubts about the order of the Sixth's inner movements would have to be resolved. Possibly he had experimented during that initial read-through in Vienna, although the renumbering of those movements in the autograph score suggests that Mahler might have entertained doubts as much as a year earlier. In any case the matter came to a head while rehearsing for the premiere in Essen. Mahler's initial indecision is evidenced by the reversed timings of these movements scrawled in blue pencil in a corner of the title page of his conducting score (Illustration 6). Here, the A-S timings of the inner movements are overwritten with those corresponding to S-A.¹⁹ These timings, radically different from those reported of the Essen premiere,²⁰ also differ from those given in Specht's "Thematic Analysis" and elsewhere.²¹ This suggests that they were taken during the rehearsals in Essen, since we know Mahler never again conducted from this score, which he revised and sent off to Kahnt a few months later.

Following the final rehearsal Mahler at last made the decision to exchange the positions of the Sixth's inner movements:²² The Andante would now precede the Scherzo. He reportedly requested that slips of

18. Klaus Pringsheim, "Zur Uraufführung von Mahlers Sechster Symphonie," *Musikblätter des Anbruch* 2, no. 14 (1920): 496–498.

19. The timing of the Finale was altered as well, from 32 to 31 minutes, but the total time was not corrected to 81 minutes to accommodate the change.

20. The movement timings of Mahler's Essen performance, according to the *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* 37 no. 25 (June 21, 1906): 462, were 20-15-15-40! These vary so much from Mahler's known timings taken on other occasions that it is likely that they were approximations, "rounded off" by the reporter.

21. These timings (22-14-11-30) may have been taken from the Vienna Philharmonic read-through, as Specht's "Thematic Analysis" was already available before the Essen premiere.

22. Pringsheim, op. cit., loc. cit.

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paper be inserted into the printed programs to advise concertgoers that the order shown there (and in the three scores published thus far) had been changed. Meanwhile, Alma had arrived in Essen, just in time for the last rehearsals. She describes in her biography of Mahler his agitation preceding the performance, which she attributes to his intuiting the “dark omen” underlying the “three great blows of fate” in the Finale.²³ However, she makes no mention of his reversal of the order of the inner movements.

v. revisions and republication

On May 27, 1906, Mahler conducted his Sixth Symphony for the first time in public. Following the concert, Mahler contacted his publisher to request that the scores Kahnt had already been selling for three months be updated and/or replaced. He asked that an erratum slip be inserted in each of the unsold copies of all three scores to advise buyers that the inner movements were now to be reversed. Mahler further requested that Kahnt prepare new editions of the study and piano reduction scores with the new order of middle movements, and also make the corresponding change in Specht’s “Thematic Analysis” booklet.²⁴

With the experience of the Essen rehearsals and premiere now behind him, Mahler started off his summer holiday by making extensive changes to his manuscript of the Sixth. He reordered its inner movements from S-A to A-S; his heavily marked score clearly indicates

23. Alma Mahler, 100.

24. In addition to Specht’s, other guides were available around the time of the premiere. Ernst Otto Nodnagel wrote an article on the Sixth a few days before its premiere, in which he listed the movements in the S-A order. He wrote another article following the premiere, a form analysis that appeared (with musical examples) in *Die Musik* as part of a General Report on the Festival, noting the new A-S sequence of movements. Dr. Karl Weigl also wrote an analysis of the Sixth, again A-S. Ernst Otto Nodnagel, “Gustav Mahlers A-moll Symphonie No. 6,” *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 73, no. 21/22 (May 23, 1906): 465–467; “Sechste Symphonie in A-moll von Gustav Mahler,” *Die Musik* 5, no. 16 (May 1906): 233–246. Karl Weigl, “Gustav Mahler/Sechste Symphonie/(A moll),” *Musikführer No. 320* (Berlin: Schlesinger’sche Musik-Bibliothek, undated).

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the changed order of movements (Illustrations 7, 8) as well as a number of refinements elsewhere in the orchestration (Illustration 9).²⁵ By August of 1906 Mahler was ready to send his revised conducting score to Kahnt to serve as the engraver's model for the publication of a new full score of the Sixth. Curiously, when referring to the Sixth in her memoirs, Alma seems to have been unaware not only of the reversal of its inner movements, but that Mahler had also deleted the last of the three fate-forecasting *Hammerschläge* (hammer-blows).

Kahnt acceded to Mahler's demands: Erratum slips were duly incorporated into unsold stock (Illustrations 10, 11), while new folio, study and four-hand piano scores were prepared with the inner movements reversed. This made it necessary for Kahnt to re-engrave the plates used to print those movements after reordering their page and rehearsal numbers. In all, some 72 pages in each of the two orchestral scores were altered (not including the pages of the remaining two movements Mahler had reworked for the folio score, in which his latest changes in orchestration had to be incorporated). Clearly, Mahler's request cost Kahnt considerable time, effort and additional expense.

The new scores made their appearance in November of 1906. One of the full scores went to Mahler's colleague and ardent supporter Willem Mengelberg, who had come to Essen for the premiere. Meanwhile, Mahler had traveled to Berlin to hear another valued colleague, Oskar Fried, introduce the Sixth there.²⁶ A month later Mahler conducted the Munich premiere of his Sixth (Illustration 12). A repeat performance a week later was also to be under Mahler's direction but had to be conducted by Bernhard Stavenhagen when Mahler was called back to Vienna. All performances followed the A-S order.

vi. the vienna premiere

With Kahnt's three revised scores now available, Mahler finally pre-

25. "That summer much of the instrumentation fell to Mahler's red pencil, the third hammer-blow included." Jonathan Carr, *Mahler* (Woodstock, NY: The Overlook Press, 1998), 135.

26. Fried conducted the Berlin premiere (A-S) on October 8, 1906. Mahler attended the rehearsals as well as the performance.

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sented the Sixth to the Viennese on January 4, 1907²⁷ (Illustration 13). Mounting criticism of what were perceived as Mahler’s autocratic demands as Director of the *Hofoper*, coupled with his frequent absences from Vienna to conduct his own works, had primed the pens of those critics already less than sympathetic to Mahler as man and musician. Nor would Mahler’s seemingly capricious last-minute switch of the Sixth’s inner movements escape the notice of an increasingly hostile press.

A total of 14 reviewers covered the event, their press notices mirroring the reactions of a divided and demonstrative audience. Two of the reviewers claimed that Mahler had switched the inner movements from the order printed in the program. Heinrich Reinhardt (*Neues Wiener Journal*, January 5, 1907) gave free rein to a sarcastic and openly savage attack on Mahler personally and as Director of the *Hofoper*. Although Reinhardt claimed that the Scherzo was played as the second movement, his description is so garbled that one is tempted to wonder if he was actually present at the concert. The other S-A reviewer, Carl Lafite (*Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, January 7, 1907), does describe the music more recognizably, though not more charitably.²⁸ In any case, their reports are at odds with those of a dozen other critics, who identified the movement order as agreeing with the concert program.²⁹ Writers who seize upon these two reviews as proof of Mahler’s continued uncertainty about the order of the Sixth’s inner movements either are unaware of or choose to ignore the overwhelming number of reports from the bulk of the critics, as well as the order of movements shown in the concert program.

27. This is the first appearance of the subtitle “Tragische” (Tragic) on a concert program of the Mahler Sixth.

28. The English Mahler scholar and biographer Donald Mitchell has pointed out that critics, faced with conflicting assignments, have often based their reviews on the *Generalprobe* (dress rehearsal) instead of the concert itself. Mahler, as conductors often do in rehearsal, may have exchanged or telescoped these movements in order to devote more time to problem areas. This could account for the disorientation of Reinhardt’s description and the inverted movement order of both his and Lafite’s reviews.

29. Reinhold Kubik has compiled a list of citations from the IGMG archives—a total of 14 reviewers and 16 published reviews.

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It is clear that Mahler once again—and, as it happened, for the last time—*did* conduct his Sixth Symphony still with its Andante preceding its Scherzo. However, the stage was now set for later confusion and misunderstanding. The disagreement among reviewers reflected and further compounded the disagreement between the two sets of scores by then in circulation, for Kahnt's original and subsequent publications were unfortunately identical in outward appearance. All were dated 1906, with no indication of which one had superseded the other. Both sets of orchestral scores bore the same plate number, 4162, and both scores of Zemlinsky's piano reduction had plate number 4649.

vii. last changes

Immediately after attending the Essen premiere, Willem Mengelberg had invited Mahler to conduct the Dutch premiere with the Concertgebouw Orchestra. They eventually agreed on the date, January 24, 1907, but just before the Vienna premiere Mahler wrote to Mengelberg that the event had to be postponed due to heightened pressures at the Opera. Mahler urged Mengelberg to conduct the Sixth in his stead, but Mengelberg demurred, preferring to wait until another date could be found.³⁰ Meanwhile, on January 17, 1907, just after the Vienna premiere, Mahler asked Mengelberg to send him his conducting score so that “a very important revision” in instrumentation could be incorporated into the Finale.³¹ Mengelberg complied, and his score was then returned to him with the revision neatly entered by Mahler's copyist in red ink.

Mahler's mounting difficulties in Vienna inevitably led to his resignation from the Opera later that year. Plans for a Dutch premiere of the Sixth faded in the face of his new conducting commitments in New York for the Metropolitan Opera's 1907–1908 season. By the time Mahler was finally able to return to Amsterdam in the autumn of 1909,

30. *Willem Mengelberg, 1871–1951: Dirigent/Conductor* (Exhibition Catalog published by the Haags Gemeentemuseum, The Hague, 1995, Foreword by its Curator, Frits Zwaart), 186–187.

31. Martner 1979, 299.

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he had composed two more symphonies. In a letter earlier that year he told Mengelberg that he had decided to premiere his latest purely orchestral symphony, the Seventh, instead of the Sixth. In the same letter Mahler asked Mengelberg to send him his score of the Sixth once again, so that he could enter some further changes.³²

This visit to Amsterdam and the Concertgebouw was to be his last. In the years since then, Mahler's own conducting score of the Sixth has disappeared. Mengelberg's score now preserves Mahler's last known changes to the Sixth. The order of its middle movements, unaltered by Mahler despite having made two sets of corrections to that score, remain Andante-Scherzo.

In 1910 Mahler signed a contract with Universal Edition not only to publish his newest works, but also to distribute his earlier scores, including those originally published by Kahnt. Among them was the Sixth Symphony, but Mahler did not seize the opportunity to request any change from the existing A-S order of Kahnt's three later scores.³³ In some cases they were given a new cover and a UE catalog number,³⁴ but in others, UE simply put its own imprint³⁵ on the scores as they changed hands. In so doing UE unknowingly distributed some of Kahnt's obsolete S-A stock, warehoused after being replaced by the revised versions of the scores. The implications of this are particularly interesting in the light of later events, since scores bearing the UE

32. Letter from Mahler to Willem Mengelberg, postmarked July 6, 1909: “Für dießmal lassen wir noch die 6.” (“Let us leave the Sixth for this time.”) Reeser, 95. Further on, Mahler requests that Mengelberg send him his score of the Sixth: “Dahin bitte ich Sie auch, mir die Partitur der 6. zu schicken.” (“I ask you please also to send me there [to Toblach] the score of the Sixth.”) Mahler's further red-inked corrections are added to those he had made previously in Mengelberg's score, which accounts for the more extensive markings to be seen in the score than those attributable to the single revision Mahler's copyist had originally entered.

33. Of the letters so far made public between Mahler and his new publisher (the last dated February 21, 1911, three months before the composer's death), none refer to the Sixth Symphony. Hans Moldenhauer, “Unbekannte Briefe Gustav Mahlers an Emil Hertzka,” in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, September 9, 1974, 544–549.

34. On September 24, 1910, Universal Edition published Zemlinsky's four-hand piano score with a new cover as UE 2775. The inner movements were sequenced A-S.

35. “In die Universal-Edition aufgenommen”

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stamp might appear to be a later publication. This could seem to support the notion that Mahler had changed his mind yet again about the order of the Sixth's inner movements.

Mahler died in Vienna on May 18, 1911, without having either heard or conducted his Sixth again.

viii. performances after 1911;
mengelberg, alma and s-a

After Mahler's death, biographers such as Guido Adler, Paul Bekker, Richard Specht and Paul Stefan accepted unquestioningly the A-S sequence of the Sixth's inner movements. In 1916 Willem Mengelberg at last introduced the Mahler Sixth to Holland. The concert program shows the middle movements to have been Andante second, Scherzo third (Illustration 14), in agreement with the score Mahler had corrected and returned to him twice before. This fact alone refutes any speculation that Mahler might have confided to Mengelberg any intention to revert to the earlier order. On October 11, 1919, Oskar Fried (who had introduced the Sixth to Berlin more than a dozen years earlier with Mahler in the audience) conducted the Sixth Symphony in Vienna. The following year, as other festivals began to program Mahler's music,³⁶ Fried undertook a cycle of all of the Mahler symphonies (except the Eighth) in Vienna. On both occasions, the inner movements were listed as Andante-Scherzo (Illustration 15).

There seemed little reason to expect that performances of the Sixth would ever deviate from this order or that today's concert audiences would ever have any reason to question whether Andante-Scherzo reflected Mahler's final intention. But the seeds of doubt that had been sown long before broke ground in October 1919, a few months prior to an elaborate *Mahlerfest* in Amsterdam. This festival, planned by Rudolf Mengelberg, Willem's cousin and manager of the Concertgebouw Orchestra, was to include all of Mahler's published music as well as a program of lectures and symposia by leading authorities.

36. Willem Mengelberg in Amsterdam, 1920 (VI: May 14, 1920); Carl Schuricht in Wiesbaden, April 13-25, 1923; Klaus Pringsheim in Berlin, 1923-1924 (VI: April 1, 1924).

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Just who or what raised the question is unknown but—despite his earlier performances of the Sixth with its A-S order of movements left untouched in the score that Mahler had twice corrected and returned to him in 1907 and again in 1909—Willem Mengelberg now became uncertain about the order of these movements. Possibly prompted by his musicologist cousin Rudolf, who may have shown him the earlier Kahnt score with the Scherzo as its second movement,³⁷ Mengelberg apparently decided to resolve the issue by consulting Mahler's widow. In a telegram dated October 1, 1919, Alma responded succinctly "*Erst Scherzo, dann Andante—herzlichst Alma*" ("First Scherzo, then Andante—most cordially Alma").³⁸

At the best of times not the most reliable of reporters,³⁹ Alma perhaps cannot be faulted for being a little confused herself. After all, she had first experienced the symphony 15 years earlier when Mahler played its first draft to her on the piano. The strength of that first impression may have obscured later, less potent memories, especially considering the years that had elapsed and the social and political upheavals that had taken place by the time she received Mengelberg's inquiry. Paradoxically, in Alma's account of her life with Mahler (which

37. On p. 77 of Mengelberg's conducting score, where the Andante begins, there is a neatly penciled note (not in his hand): "*In der kl. Partitur folgt hier das Scherzo*" ("In the small score the Scherzo comes here.").

38. Karel Philippus Bernet-Kempers, "Mahler und Willem Mengelberg," in *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress, Wien 1956* (Graz: Hermann Böhlaus, 1958), 45. A recent search of the Mengelberg Archives unaccountably failed to produce this telegram or any reference to it, although more than a dozen other letters and telegrams from Alma to Mengelberg were meticulously catalogued.

39. As La Grange himself has noted, in remarks found on the Internet web site <http://mapage.noos.fr/vincent/symph6.html>, "... au contraire de Nathalie Bauer-Lechner, Alma n'a jamais été un témoin très scrupuleux de la vie créatrice de son époux." (This is translated at <http://www.andante.com/profiles/Mahler/symph6.cfm>: "... unlike Natalie Bauer-Lechner, Alma Mahler was never a very scrupulous observer of her husband's creative life.") An example of this can be found in the liner notes for the first recording of Mahler's Third Symphony (F. Charles Adler conducting a "Vienna Orchestra" on SPA 70/71). Alma describes in vivid detail the furnishings and surroundings of Mahler's composing *Häuschen* "high up in the woods ... not too far from his newly built country home on the Woerthersee." In fact, Mahler had composed the Third at his lakeside cottage in Steinbach, long before summering in Maiernigg or having known Alma.

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she began writing a year or so after sending the telegram) she identified the Scherzo as the *third* movement of the Sixth.⁴⁰ Despite the opportunity presented by her attendance at performances of the Sixth⁴¹ for half a century thereafter, Alma seems never to have chided a conductor for performing the Sixth with its movements “in the wrong order.” Which leaves us to wonder: Whom are we to believe, Alma—or Alma?

Mengelberg, however, apparently saw no reason to doubt his source. Upon receipt of Alma’s telegram, with rehearsals for a performance of the Sixth on October 5 (Illustration 16) already in progress, he obediently scrawled across the title page of his conducting score (Illustration 17) “*According to Mahler’s instruction* II first Scherzo then III Andante” (italics added).⁴² This inscription from the hand of Willem Mengelberg, Mahler’s close friend and colleague, has since been quoted as evidence that Mahler’s final intention was to revert to his original ordering of movements. But Mengelberg had first performed the Sixth five years after Mahler’s death, in the A-S order, clearly unaware of any “instruction” to the contrary. That Mengelberg subsequently trusted the accuracy of Alma’s memory, rather than consulting Mahler’s close friends, musical associates or his publisher, seems surprisingly naïve. Regardless, it has since been responsible for fostering a “tragic” legacy.

Mengelberg, satisfied that he had resolved the matter (Illustrations 18, 19), performed the Sixth again a few months later at the Amsterdam Mahler Festival. Either he or his cousin Rudolf⁴³ may have shared

40. Alma Mahler, 70. This clear identification of the *Scherzo* as the third movement remains unaltered in all editions of *Memories and Letters*. Initially entitled *Mein Leben mit Mahler*, the manuscript was eventually published as *Gustav Mahler: Erinnerungen und Briefe* (Albert de Lange: Amsterdam, 1940). It was translated into English by Basil Creighton and published in an abridged version as *Gustav Mahler: Memories and Letters* (London: John Murray, 1946). It was revised, enlarged and edited by Donald Mitchell in 1968. A further-expanded third edition appeared in 1973, followed by a fourth (in collaboration with Knud Martner) in 1990.

41. Including a memorial concert conducted by Ferdinand Löwe in Vienna on November 18, 1911, six months after Mahler’s death.

42. “*Nach Mahlers Angabe II erst Scherzo dann III Andante.*”

43. In *Gustav Mahler*, published in 1923, Rudolf Mengelberg identifies the inner-movement order of the Sixth as S-A. He does not divulge his source. Rudolf Mengelberg, *Gustav Mahler* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1923), 56–57.

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Alma’s telegram with Paul Stefan, an invited lecturer at the festival, for Stefan also changed the order of the inner movements to S-A in a later edition of his Mahler biography.⁴⁴ However, Richard Specht, also a lecturer at the festival, made no such change in his biography of the composer when he revised it in 1925.

Mengelberg never again conducted the Sixth, but the much-quoted (and clearly misattributed) notation in his score has had far-reaching consequences. Cited more often than any other “evidence” in support of the S-A sequence of movements, it is regarded by program annotators and others unfamiliar with the circumstances of its origin as incontrovertible proof that Mahler meant to revert to his earlier ordering of the Sixth’s inner movements.

Nevertheless, most performances of the Sixth continued to observe the A-S order of inner movements. Alexander Zemlinsky, whose four-hand piano score of the Sixth remained in print and who conducted the Sixth several times in Prague during the 1920s, “invariably played the Andante before the Scherzo” (Illustration 20).⁴⁵ As recordings of the Sixth began to appear, first that of F. Charles Adler with a Vienna orchestra in 1952,⁴⁶ then Eduard Flipse with the Rotterdam Philharmonic (recorded live on June 25, 1955, at the Holland Festival),⁴⁷ the A-S order was maintained. This was also the case with other live performances of that era that were broadcast and have now become available. These include the July 12, 1955, Concertgebouw perfor-

44. Stefan initially accepted the A-S order in *Gustav Mahler: A Study of His Personality and Work* (New York: G. Schirmer, 1913), 108, but changed it to S-A in the 1920 edition, *Gustav Mahler: Eine Studie über Persönlichkeit und Werk* (Munich: R. Piper & Co. und Verlag, 1920), 131–133.

45. Antony Beaumont, *Zemlinsky* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), 288.

46. Gustav Mahler, *Symphony No. 6*, conducted by F. Charles Adler with an ensemble variously identified as “Vienna Orchestra” and “Vienna Philharmonia.” SPA Records SPA-59/60, 1953, on LP; and BMG/Conifer Records Ltd. 75605 51279 2, 1997, on CD.

47. Gustav Mahler, *Symphony No. 6*, Rotterdam Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Eduard Flipse, Epic SC 6012, 1956, on LP. The late Russian pianist Sviatoslav Richter refers to this performance in a passage from his recently published memoir: “But I beg you, I entreat you: the first movement should be followed by the Andante, not the Scherzo!! It’s better like this!” Bruno Monsaingeon, *Sviatoslav Richter: Notebooks and Conversations*, trans. Stewart Spencer (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 198.

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mance with Eduard van Beinum,⁴⁸ that of Dimitri Mitropoulos with the New York Philharmonic on April 10, 1955,⁴⁹ and Hermann Scherchen's abridged October 4, 1960, Leipzig performance.⁵⁰

ix. the "critical" editions

Among those who contributed to the latter-day re-inversion of movements to the S-A order was the respected writer and critic Hans Ferdinand Redlich. At first, in both his original and revised editions of *Bruckner & Mahler*,⁵¹ Redlich lauded as "insightful" Mahler's decision to reverse the Sixth's inner movements to A-S. A few years later he inexplicably changed his mind when writing the introduction to the Eulenburg miniature score of the Sixth. He went so far as to conjecture that

His intention to revert to the original sequence of movements as to re-instate the third hammer-stroke (possibly decided upon as late as 1910) was never incorporated in print because no further edition of the symphony was issued in his lifetime.⁵²

48. This is of particular interest, since van Beinum was Mengelberg's successor as conductor of the Concertgebouw Orchestra. For his performance van Beinum accepted the published score of the Sixth rather than adopting Mengelberg's Alma-instigated S-A "correction" to the order of its inner movements.

49. Gustav Mahler, *Symphony No. 6*, New York Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Dimitri Mitropoulos, Replica ARPL 32463, 1980, on LP; NYP Special Editions NYP 9806, 1998, on CD. However, he reversed the inner movements while preparing for a performance in Vienna on September 22, 1957. It would be surprising if Erwin Ratz, already an indefatigable opponent of the A-S order of movements, had not seized the opportunity to convince Mitropoulos that the change was justified. The latter's subsequent concert on August 31, 1959, in Cologne (preserved on Fonit Cetra LP DOC 5, Hunt CD 522, M&A CD-1021 "4 of 6", and EMI 724357547123) retained this S-A order of movements.

50. Gustav Mahler, *Symphony No. 6*, Leipzig Radio Orchestra, conducted by Hermann Scherchen, Tahra TAR 110-11, 1994, on CD.

51. Hans F. Redlich, *Bruckner & Mahler*, revised ed. (London: J. M. Dent, 1963).

52. Redlich went on to state, "I feel certain that many of these variants [in the last version of the C. F. Kahnt score] would have been ultimately rejected—like the temporarily changed position of the middle movements and the canceled third hammer-stroke—if Mahler had lived longer and had had further opportunities to hear the symphony in performance." Redlich, ed., introduction to Gustav Mahler, *Symphony No. 6* (Mainz: Ernst Eulenburg & Co., 1968), xxv-xxvi.

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Perhaps the best example of Redlich’s confusion of fact and supposition can be found in his 1966 article, “Gustav Mahler—Problems of a Critical Edition”:

Various reasons have been proposed for Mahler’s re-ordering of the movements in the Sixth Symphony: excessive thematic similarity between the first movement and the Scherzo; insufficient contrast among key regions; the influence of other people, etc. . . . [Mahler] rescinded the altered ordering of movements and re-instituted the original sequence in the third edition of the Symphony (i.e., with the Andante in the third position), in the course of a thorough revision of the entire work’s instrumentation. These instrumental touch-ups of the third edition, which were carried out around 1907 (i.e., at the same time as the instrumentation of the Eighth Symphony), also include eliminating the third hammer-blow in the Finale. . . . It is hard to understand why the original publisher of the Sixth Symphony could fail to make completely clear Mahler’s decision to return to the movement sequence of the original version, while incorporating significant changes in instrumentation both in the score and the parts.⁵³

The “third edition” Redlich refers to seems to be a confused attempt to describe Kahnt’s republication in late 1906 of the full score as revised by Mahler in late 1906. This “third” score, which embodies Mahler’s revisions including his excision of the third hammer-blow and with its inner movements reordered A-S, followed the re-release of the study score (Was this, with its transposed movement order, but without any other corrections, what Redlich considered to be a “second edition”?).

Redlich offered no real grounds for his often inaccurate statements. Nor was he alone in attempting to solicit a wider audience for his privately held views. In 1963 the IGMG issued the second volume of its Critical Edition, this time devoted to the Sixth Symphony. In it, Erwin Ratz unequivocally stated that Mahler had meant to revert to his origi-

53. Ibid., “Gustav Mahler—Probleme einer kritischen Gesamtausgabe,” *Die Musikforschung*, 19 no. 4 (1966), 394–395.

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nal S-A order of movements, but Ratz offered no evidence whatsoever to back up his dictum.⁵⁴ In its revised Critical Edition of the Sixth, issued some 35 years later,⁵⁵ the IGMG continued to defend Ratz's S-A ordering of inner movements. Its editors based their decision primarily on the inscription in the Mengelberg score, apparently unaware of the circumstances of its origin.

Prominent among those who persist in propagating the notion that Mahler not only was undecided about the order of the Sixth's inner movements but eventually intended to revoke his A-S decision is the eminent Mahler biographer Henry-Louis de La Grange. In his liner notes for the Pierre Boulez recording of the Sixth, La Grange states: "[At Essen] Mahler probably allowed himself to be influenced by a number of his friends . . . A few months later, in January 1907, *he decided to revert to the original order*"⁵⁶ (italics added). Peter Franklin, author of an excellent short biography of the composer, also wrote the article on Mahler for the second edition of *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*.⁵⁷ He echoes Redlich's baseless supposition that

54. "Jascha Horenstein told me that he distrusted Ratz's work . . . having known Ratz for many years Horenstein had some suspicion that Ratz manipulated facts to suit his theories, and that he was not the most trustworthy of editors." (Private correspondence from Joel Lazar, August 22, 2003). Horenstein's suspicions and misgivings are amply borne out by Reinhold Kubik's accompanying essay (p. 37).

55. Gustav Mahler, *Symphonie No. 6*, 1998.

56. Henry-Louis de La Grange, liner notes from Gustav Mahler, *Symphony No. 6*, Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Pierre Boulez, Deutsche Grammophon 445835-2, 1995, on CD. A more elaborate version currently appears on the previously cited web site, <http://mapage.noos.fr/vincent/symph6.html> (translated at <http://www.andante.com/profiles/Mahler/symph6.cfm>), devoted to a comprehensive listing of Mahler recordings. Appended to the discography of the Sixth Symphony is a commentary in which La Grange states that Mahler reverted to his original S-A order of movements during early rehearsals for the Vienna premiere and afterward advised Mengelberg that this order was to be regarded as definitive from then on. Similar allegations are found in the second volume of his Mahler biography, *Vienna: The Years of Challenge (1897-1904)*. He recently acknowledged his error regarding the supposed exchange of movements for the Vienna premiere. Only with the publication of the third volume, *Vienna: Triumph and Disillusion (1904-1907)*, does La Grange finally replace these earlier statements with the query, "Why would Alma lie?"

57. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (New York: Grove's Dictionaries, Inc., 2001). Peter Franklin has acknowledged to this author that he likely relied on H. F. Redlich's introduction to the Eulenburg miniature score (cited above).

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Mahler had decided shortly before his death to again reverse the inner movements of his Sixth.

x. final thoughts

Evidently the passage of nearly a century has obscured, rather than clarified, Mahler’s final decision about the order of inner movements in his A-minor “Tragic” symphony. The issue of why Mahler decided to alter his initial sequence for these movements lies beyond the scope of this paper. That he did so, recognizing the inconvenience and cost to his publisher and the embarrassment he would bring upon himself, suggests that this was no momentary whim but the inevitable outcome of a deeply felt conviction. A “last-ditch” attempt to justify the S-A order, put forward by one of the editors of the current Critical Edition,⁵⁸ purports to draw its “evidence” from the score itself. He contrasts and comments on the key relationships of the inner movements to their neighbors and concludes that “if the slow movement were to follow the first, then the thematic as well as the harmonic unity of the pairing of the movements would be destroyed. In addition, the Scherzo placed immediately before the Finale would, despite the same tonality, not form a pairing in the same sense.”⁵⁹

This argument might conceivably be of interest, at least on technical grounds, were it not for the fact that the composer *himself* transposed the movements. This simply turns the argument on its head, for if Mahler felt compelled to make the change, deliberately disregarding whatever importance he may have originally placed on these relationships, it further demonstrates the strength of his conviction that the A-S order is vital to the musical and emotional integrity of his composition.

A recently discovered letter, written by composer-conductor Berthold Goldschmidt to Erwin Ratz in 1962, sheds further light on this matter.⁶⁰

58. Karl Heinz Füssl, “On the Order of the Middle Movements in Mahler’s Sixth Symphony,” *News About Mahler Research* Nr. 27 (Vienna, IGMG, March 1992): 3–7.

59. Füssl further reflects on his predecessor’s accomplishment: “I marvel at Ratz’s intuitive decision to call on Mahler’s original idea, *even if Ratz nowhere says precisely what this is*” (italics added).

60. The letter is dated January 17, 1962, more than a year before the IGMG’s first Critical Edition of the Sixth (Vienna, IGMG Archives).

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It refers to his performance (with the BBC Symphony Orchestra) of the Mahler Sixth the preceding December, its inner movements played Andante-Scherzo. This performance was subsequently broadcast and disseminated worldwide by the BBC Transcription Service:

In a letter written a few weeks ago and presented to me for consideration, Bruno Walter says that Mahler never in his presence referred to any other movement order than the [A-S] one above, and that he [Walter] could never approve a reordering. What Paul Bekker brings up several times in his treatise on the Sixth on this point is also interesting.⁶¹

Those who reluctantly acknowledge the facts cited here but are still determined to have their Sixth S-A argue that there are really *two* Mahler Sixths, the one that he composed and the one he performed.⁶² If taken seriously, this subterfuge would grant a conductor the license to choose Mahler's original S-A version of the score in preference to his later A-S one. Of course, it ignores the simple fact that no one (including Mahler) ever performed the symphony using the first printed edition, which was soon supplanted by Kahnt's publication of the newly authorized revised version. Furthermore, it pries open a musical Pandora's Box in which we can find at least two First Symphonies (with and without "Blumine"), two Second Symphonies (Mahler once performed it with the Andante and Scherzo movements reversed!), a two- or three-movement *Das klagende Lied* (with and without *Waldmärchen*), and so on. As musicological curiosities, such

61. Bekker comments, in his chapter on the Sixth Symphony: "Perhaps it was the significant emergence of the Motto [from the first movement] in the Scherzo that caused Mahler to move this movement to the third position from its original second place, and thus to give an immediate preparation for the Finale. After the Scherzo, which dies away in eerily tense gloom, the outbreak of the Finale's beginning has the effect of a release." Paul Bekker, *Gustav Mahlers Sinfonien [Gustav Mahler's Symphonies]* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1921; reprinted 1969), 225 [unpublished translation].

62. This idea has been widely promoted by Benjamin Zander, whose liner notes for his recording of Mahler Six (Telarc 3CD-80586) argue that "these are, in a sense, two Mahler Sixths." Purchasers of the CD set have the option of programming their CD players to exchange inner movements as well as to select alternative Finales. A similar option is offered by the Colorado MahlerFest XVI CD set, compiled from performances given on January 11-12, 2003.

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performances may occasionally be of interest,⁶³ but in fairness to Mahler (as to any other composer) a concert audience should at least be advised in advance that what they are about to hear is not the form in which its composer left the work and meant it to be heard. Some might even consider it a questionable enterprise to rifle the wastebaskets of the icons of Western music in search of alternatives to works already ensconced as staples of the concert repertoire. Since Mahler went to such lengths to reorder the inner movements of his Sixth Symphony, surely it is incumbent upon the professional societies, scholars and biographers who support the cause of his music, and in particular those who address this score as performers, to see to it that Mahler’s final wishes are respected.

Beyond individual performances loom larger issues. One widely respected conductor, who always performs the Sixth A-S, admitted to this author that he has avoided programming the Sixth of late because of the barrage of criticism it provokes. This is downright alarming: Are we really at the mercy of errant musicology? Fortunately, despite 40 years of S-A Sixths in concerts and on recordings, there are some signs of change. Sir John Barbirolli remained adamant about the order of movements in his performances and recordings,⁶⁴ and Sir Simon

63. Nor is this a simple matter of exchanging movements and restoring the last hammer-blow to the Finale. As we have seen, Mahler began to make changes in the Sixth’s orchestration during the Essen rehearsals or even earlier, further revising the score later that summer. Since these changes are undated, any attempt to reconstruct an “original version” of the Sixth, as heard at its Essen premiere, is an impossible task. The compromises that are generally adopted are musicologically indefensible, based on personal preferences in lieu of Mahler’s.

64. Gustav Mahler, *Symphony No. 6*, the New Philharmonia Orchestra, conducted by Sir John Barbirolli. This studio recording from mid-August 1967 was first issued on LP as Angel Records SB-3725 and on Classics for Pleasure CFP 4424, then reissued twice more on CD by EMI. It was initially coupled with Richard Strauss’s *Metamorphosen* (EMI CZS 7 67816 2, 1994). As on the LP, the inner movements were put in the S-A sequence in deference to the IGMG Critical Edition. After objections were raised that Sir John never conducted the Sixth with its inner movements in that order, EMI recoupled the recording with Richard Strauss’s *Ein Heldenleben* (EMI 69349, 1996) and added this liner note: “The original LP release of this recording placed the *Scherzo* before the *Andante*. However, as it was Barbirolli’s custom to perform the *Andante* before the *Scherzo*, as the composer originally intended [sic], these two movements have been reordered for this CD reissue.” Two later live performances by Sir John Barbirolli (both A-S) were recorded and issued on CD: the first performed on January 13, 1966, with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra (Hunt CD 702, 1990), the other performed on January 22, 1969, with the New Philharmonia Orchestra (Hunt CD 726, 1990).

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Rattle has recorded and continues to perform the Sixth firm in his conviction that the inner movements must be heard A-S.⁶⁵ An earlier version of this paper influenced the performances and recording of Glen Cortese with the Manhattan School of Music Symphony Orchestra,⁶⁶ as well as performances of Leonard Slatkin with the National Symphony Orchestra.⁶⁷ Add to these the recent A-S performances by James Judd,⁶⁸ Leon Botstein,⁶⁹ Mariss Jansons,⁷⁰ Sir Charles Mackerras,⁷¹ Zubin Mehta,⁷² and Michael Tilson Thomas,⁷³ and we can dare to hope that Mahler may yet have the last word.

If Mahler ever meant to revoke his decision to have the Sixth's Andante precede its Scherzo, it must be regarded as one of the best-

65. Gustav Mahler, *Symphony No. 6*, City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Sir Simon Rattle, Angel CDCB 54047, 1989, on CD.

66. Gustav Mahler, *Symphony No. 6*, the Manhattan School of Music Symphony, conducted by Glen Cortese, Titanic Ti-257, 1999, on CD. An earlier version of this essay was included in the concert program book and in the CD liner notes.

67. Gustav Mahler, *Symphony No. 6*, National Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Leonard Slatkin, John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, Washington, D.C., May 20–22, 1999. The program annotator for these concerts was Richard Freed, who also contributed the notes to both the LP and the eventual CD releases of Harold Farberman's November 1979 recording of the Sixth. The original LP release (MMG 4D-MMG 107X) had the A-S order of inner movements, but for its 1999 CD re-release (VOX2 7212) this was changed to S-A without the conductor's knowledge or consent. On learning of the switch, Farberman emphatically endorsed his original A-S sequence verbally to the present author (July 14, 2002). In his liner notes for the CD, Freed acknowledges the present author's research and conclusions and suggests that the matter can be resolved to satisfy the individual listener by reprogramming his or her CD player.

68. Gustav Mahler, *Symphony No. 6*, the KBS (Korean Broadcasting System) Symphony Orchestra, conducted by James Judd, April 25–26, 2002.

69. Gustav Mahler, *Symphony No. 6*, the American Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Leon Botstein, Bard Music Festival, Bard College, New York, August 16, 2002.

70. Gustav Mahler, *Symphony No. 6*, the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Mariss Jansons, October 4 & 6, 2002. A CD set made from his performances with the London Symphony Orchestra on November 27–28, 2002, is available directly from the orchestra as LSO Live #LSO 0038.

71. Gustav Mahler, *Symphony No. 6*, the BBC Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Sir Charles Mackerras, November 16, 2002.

72. Gustav Mahler, *Symphony No. 6*, the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted on tour by Zubin Mehta, December 17, 2003 (New York City).

73. Gustav Mahler, *Symphony No. 6*, the Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Michael Tilson Thomas, December 11–14, 2003.

Undoing a “Tragic” Mistake

kept secrets in the annals of music history. Unless and until new evidence surfaces, no argument so far has refuted the simple fact that Mahler himself never performed his Sixth, or asked his colleagues to perform it, with its middle movements other than A-S, nor did he request either of his publishers to reorder the Sixth’s inner movements Scherzo-Andante.

The time is surely ripe to rectify a sadly misdirected, generation-old performance practice and restore to the musical public the experience of Gustav Mahler’s Sixth Symphony as he intended it to be heard.

I am particularly indebted to Professor Emeritus Edward R. Reilly of Vassar College in Poughkeepsie, New York, for setting me on the road to the discoveries in this paper by generously giving me his time as well as access to his library of books and papers. Above all, his scholarly advice and criticism guided my investigations and eventual conclusions and made an invaluable contribution to the final result.

I also thank Dr. Glen Barton Cortese, former conductor of the Manhattan School of Music Symphony Orchestra, for including my first draft of these notes in the Program Book for his performances of the Mahler Sixth in October 1998 (a CD compiled from these concerts is available on Titanic Ti-257).

Additional sincere thanks go to the staff of the Internationale Gustav Mahler Gesellschaft in Vienna and its Editor-in-Chief of the Complete Critical Edition, Dr. Reinhold Kubik, who made available to me many of the original documents from its archive. Thanks also to Dr. Morten Solvik, who contributed his valuable comments and insights to our discussions at the IGMG and afterward. Added to their efforts are those of Dr. Eveline Nikkels, President of the Gustav Mahler Society of Holland, and the staff of the Gemeentemuseum in The Hague, who made it possible for me to examine and photograph materials from the Willem Mengelberg Archive.

This manuscript was prepared with the invaluable editorial advice and assistance of Louise Bloomfield and Katherine Rousseau. In draft form it was read critically by Glen Cortese, Jeffrey Gantz, Joel Lazar, Niall O’Loughlin, David Pickett, Edward Reilly and Morten Solvik.

Finally, my thanks to that dedicated Mahlerian Gilbert Kaplan, Chairman of The Kaplan Foundation, for his encouragement and his decision to create this publication.

ANALYSIS VERSUS HISTORY

Erwin Ratz and the Sixth Symphony

reinhold kubik

The earliest document in the archives of the International Gustav Mahler Society (Internationale Gustav Mahler Gesellschaft) in Vienna attesting to Erwin Ratz's preoccupation with the philological problems of Mahler's Sixth Symphony is a letter, dated March 18, 1955, to Rudolf Mengelberg (1892–1959). Ratz was searching for materials for an essay he was updating about the problem of musical form in Mahler's Ninth and Sixth symphonies. He wondered if Mengelberg had any documents, or if there were some in the estate of his cousin, the conductor Willem Mengelberg.

Ratz, who became the first editor of the Critical Edition of Mahler and who wrote the standard textbook on the theory of musical form that is still in use today, was at the heart of his scholarly being an analyst, not a historian or a philologist. He was, however, completely convinced that he could make compelling—and accurate—determinations about content through formal analysis and vice versa. Should new facts alter the picture of a work, Ratz was not infrequently inclined to rearrange the facts slightly to maintain his analyses, as can often be seen if one compares Ratz's editorial decisions with the sources.

In his letter Ratz wrote: "You certainly know that Mahler made a revision of the score [of the Sixth Symphony] after the first performance in Essen in 1906. The second version appeared only in the full score. The third hammer-blow is deleted in this second version. When I got to know the second version, I was initially extremely surprised about this change and thought for a long time about the reasons that may have prompted Mahler to excise the third hammer-blow, because it appeared very meaningful to me from the point of view of the form. Now I believe I have found an explanation for it that is connected,

reinhold kubik

among other things, with the problems that preoccupied Mahler at that time; this was the time when he was writing the Eighth Symphony. If you are interested, I will gladly send you a copy of my essay. Now I would like to know—before I publish this explanation—if you know anything about this. I also wrote to Mrs. Mahler, but on the basis of information received from other sources I am afraid that Mrs. Mahler can no longer remember these things exactly. She thought it was a misprint; but I consider this completely out of the question. I also wrote to Kahnt [the music publisher] . . . Willem Mengelberg conducted the Sixth in 1920, and maybe you still have his conductor's score." [All letter excerpts are taken from originals or carbon copies in the Mahler Society's archives.]

On January 17, 1956, Ratz approached Maria Hoffmann of Kahnt and asked her the same question he had posed to Rudolf Mengelberg, adding the request to confirm "whether you have the score Mahler revised for reprinting." Here, too, Ratz's purpose is the verification of the formal analysis: "Mrs. Alma Mahler-Werfel maintains that this is an engraver's error. I am convinced that this is a memory lapse by Mrs. Mahler and that Mahler indeed removed this hammer-blow. I will be presenting the internal reasons in my essay."

Initially, then, the subject was the third hammer-blow. It has now been proven without any doubt—on the basis of sources that were not available to Ratz at the time—that Mahler had excised the hammer-blow. In our context, Ratz's attitude toward the reliability of Alma Mahler's statements is of interest: He thought that he could identify the "internal reasons" for the change through his analysis, and hence he readily attributed memory lapses to Alma Mahler. Later, as we shall see, he welcomed her as his star witness, accepting her recollections about the order of the inner movements as fact, which he also thought he could justify analytically.

The Kahnt music publishing house was unable to help Ratz further. But he received a response from Rudolf Mengelberg dated March 10, 1956, stating: "On the basis of Willem Mengelberg's large conductor's score and my small score, I can inform you that the *third* hammer-blow

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did not exist in the performances at the Concertgebouw. I fully concur with your opinion that this is *not* a misprint. This is clearly substantiated by the dynamic changes (*fp* instead of *ff*, etc.) and the new instrumentation.” Then, on his own initiative, Rudolf Mengelberg introduced the topic of the movement sequence, thus triggering the thinking and decision process that Jerry Bruck in his accompanying essay rightfully calls a “‘Tragic’ mistake”. “Incidentally,” Mengelberg continued, “a telegram from Mrs. Mahler dated October 1, 1919, is enclosed in the conductor’s score: ‘First Scherzo, then Andante—most cordially, Alma Mahler.’ The middle movements were consequently played in this order, contrary to the conductor’s score. Personally, I prefer this order for harmonic and architectonic reasons.”

On May 9, 1956, Ratz wrote back to Rudolf Mengelberg: “The news that Willem Mengelberg played the Andante in third place at the 1919 performance of the Sixth Symphony, prompted by a telegram by Mrs. Alma Mahler, was of extraordinary interest to me, but I would like to know Mrs. Mahler’s reasons for sending the telegram. Unfortunately, one can hardly expect to obtain any factual information from Mrs. Mahler. Therefore, it is naturally even more important for me if you have any knowledge about Mahler’s changing the movement order a second time.”

When Mengelberg failed to respond to this question, Ratz did turn to Alma Mahler after all, first on March 8, 1957. By now he was already planning the first volumes of the Complete Critical Edition (*Kritische Gesamtausgabe*), which would include the Sixth Symphony. (In 1960 the Seventh Symphony appeared as the first volume; the Fourth Symphony and Sixth Symphony were published in 1963, and the Fifth Symphony and *Das Lied von der Erde* in 1964.) In his letter to Alma, Ratz informed her about his correspondence with Rudolf Mengelberg and also mentioned the telegram of 1919: “I conclude from this that Mahler decided over the course of the years in favor of the original order. I would very much welcome this; also, the original version—that is, 1st Movement, Scherzo, Andante, Finale—appears to be the correct one for content-related reasons as well as musical ones. Accordingly, I

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would be very grateful if you would let me know which sequence we should use in the new printing.”

When Ratz received no response, he wrote again on May 23 and reiterated his request almost verbatim. On September 23 Ratz repeated his request for information a third time: “Dear and most highly respected lady, I am somewhat concerned that I have not heard from you for so long. As Dr. Mengelberg wrote to me, during his final years Mahler decided . . . in favor of the original sequence. It is a colossal tragedy that somehow the publisher failed to take heed of this . . . Now I would be very grateful to you for granting me the authority, in dealing with the publisher concerning the reprinting of the score, to demand that the sequence which Mahler finally decided upon shall be carried out once again.”

Ratz’s statement is not true: Rudolf Mengelberg never wrote that Mahler “decided during his final years in favor of the original sequence.” Ratz then continued: “In my research in the Mengelberg archive in Amsterdam, I saw your telegram in which you explicitly specified ‘First Scherzo, then Andante’ for the Mahler Festival performance in 1919. Just yesterday and the day before, we were able to experience the overwhelming impression made by the original order in the marvelous performance of the Sixth Symphony under Mitropoulos with the Vienna Philharmonic in the first Philharmonic concert [of the season].” This last passage sheds some possible light on where Mitropoulos got the idea of performing the Scherzo-Andante sequence as early as 1957 (and again with the Cologne Radio Orchestra in 1959), six years before the publication of the Complete Critical Edition. Most likely, Ratz had worked on him to that end.

Alma responded at last on October 9: “I will gladly help you to obtain an authorization, but for the past four months I am *very sick* and cannot go out. . . . The way Mahler played the Sixth in Amsterdam is definitely the right order!”

This statement exposes the already well-known unreliability of Alma’s information, whether caused by ill health or otherwise: Mahler never performed the Sixth Symphony in Amsterdam. It will never be clear to which performance Alma referred. However, Ratz interpreted

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Alma's response in a self-serving way, since he by now had become convinced that he could prove the superiority of the Scherzo-Andante order on analytical grounds. This is why Ratz took Alma's inaccurate information as proof and dropped his earlier request that she kindly inform him how she could be so sure that the proper order was Scherzo-Andante. Subsequently, Ratz turned to the publisher, Kahnt, writing on October 22: "May I take this opportunity to make you aware that the original order of the movements as in the first edition—namely: First Movement, Scherzo, Andante, Finale—is definitely the one to be restored. Though Mahler indeed changed the movement order for the second edition, apparently under the influence of others, he later realized that the original order was the only right one and the only one that corresponds to the internal structure of the work. Unfortunately, many conductors still perform the work in the order that [he] temporarily adopted."

Here Ratz departed once and for all from any basis in fact. First, he asserted that Mahler had changed the order "apparently under the influence of others." This is totally unimaginable and would have been utterly unique anywhere in all of Mahler's lifelong revision process. As far as we know, Mahler never made decisions as a composer on the basis of such influences, as Bruckner, for example, had done several times. The second assertion Ratz pulled out of the air was that Mahler "later realized that the original order was the only right one and the only one that corresponds to the internal structure of the work." There is—as Jerry Bruck shows in his essay—no documentation of any kind to indicate a second change of mind by Mahler. For these reasons, the reference to the "temporarily adopted order" is not factual. Rather, from 1906 to 1919, the "changed order" of the second version was used exclusively and unopposed.

The sole support for the restoration Ratz undertook is Alma's telegram of October 1, 1919. And Alma Mahler never answered the question as to the origin of her categorical ex-cathedra decision. One may safely assume that Alma would not have waited until 1919 if the decision had been based on any statement by her husband known only

to her. Between 1911 and 1919 there were no fewer than six performances of the Sixth Symphony in Europe, one of them in Vienna. The Wiener Konzertverein performed it on November 28, 1911, under Ferdinand Löwe in memory of the composer, who had died in May. It would have been amazing for Alma to have attended the concert and not have immediately registered her objection to the movement order if Mahler himself had given the original instruction. (Although Alma's life in Vienna at that time was rather secluded, she had appeared in public shortly before this performance of the Sixth, namely at the premiere of *Das Lied von der Erde* on November 20 in Munich.) For these reasons, Alma's telegraphed statement must be seen as unreliable at best. Whether it was a genuine mistake or an expression of her own preference remains an open question.

On May 9, 1958, a letter from Ratz to Alma Mahler stated that "the original order of the movements" indubitably "represented Gustav Mahler's last will in this matter," and "I conclude that the order has to be: 1st Movement, Scherzo, Andante, Finale, as it is written in the manuscript." But this, too, was incorrect, since the manuscript itself contains Mahler's handwritten changes "Andante 2" (page 107) and "Scherzo 3" (page 75). Ratz continued: "I find it truly intolerable that the work is again and again performed in the wrong order because of the music publisher's indolence. It should be the publisher's responsibility to correct the matter once and for all."

It can be seen from the increasingly sharp tone of Ratz's argument that he was gradually working himself into the delusion that the Scherzo-Andante order was right, and developing a "blindness" with regard to the facts that is of the utmost concern. As late as 1962, the year prior to the publication of the Critical Edition, Ratz became aware of a letter from Bruno Walter in which Walter wrote unequivocally that Mahler had never referred, in his contact with Walter, to any order other than Andante-Scherzo, and that Walter "could never approve a reordering." Walter was Mahler's closest confidant in musical matters, and the two were in continuous contact. Ratz once again disregarded an unwelcome contradiction to his theory. The sad thing is that this

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semiconscious maneuvering into self-deception had drastic consequences for both scholarship and performance practice. Everyone (among them, Henry-Louis de La Grange and Rudolf Stephan) accepted Alma Mahler's and Erwin Ratz's positions as gospel—and quickly invented something else in addition (see Jerry Bruck's essay). For example, Stephan in *Gustav Mahler, Werk und Interpretation*, Cologne, 1979, page 59, affirms, "Only after the publication of the Third Edition . . . did Mahler restore the original order and declare it binding." Mahler? No, Ratz! Researchers who otherwise are to be taken seriously have filled hundreds of pages with reflections on a problem that does not exist. One thing is sure: Since 1970 at the latest, the primary influence on the imagination and listening habits of music lovers and musicians via concerts and recordings has been this "'Tragic' mistake".

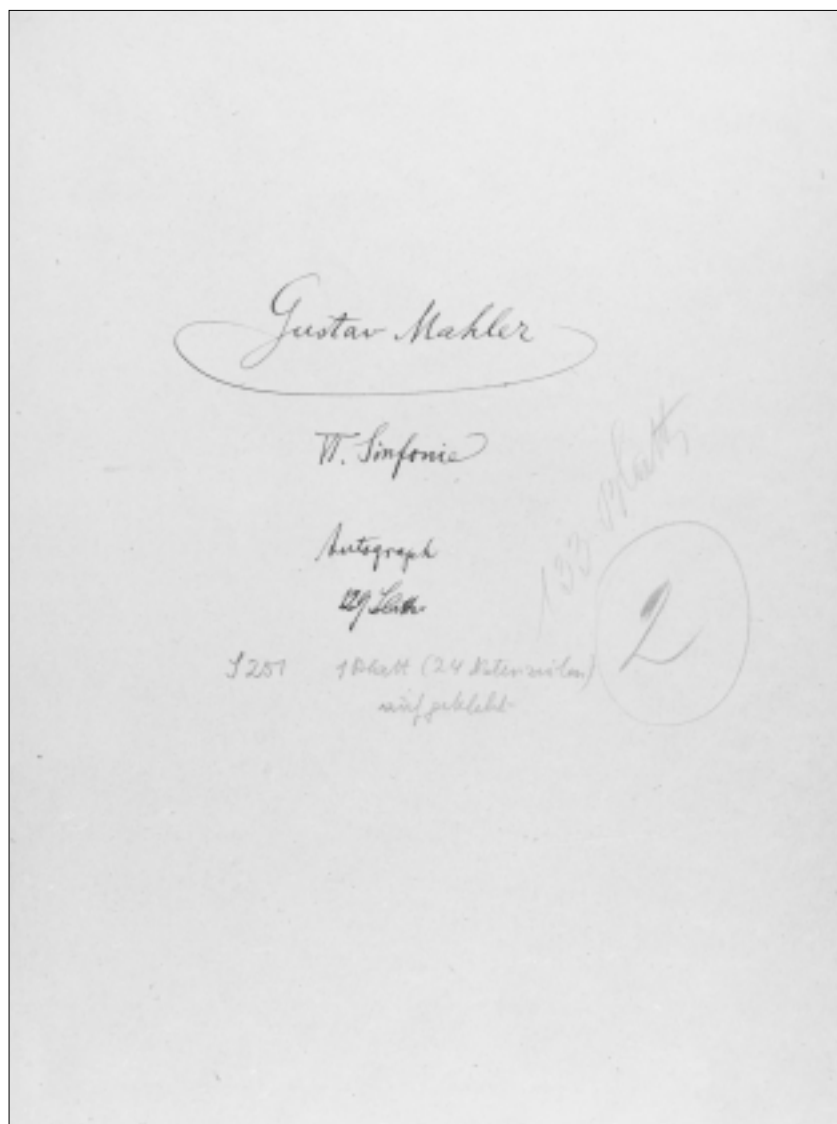
I hope that Jerry Bruck's account of the historical facts, together with this short survey of the history leading up to the Critical Edition by Erwin Ratz (and later by Karl Heinz Füssl) will, in the future, make it impossible to think that the order of the middle movements in the Sixth Symphony is "irresolvable" and belongs only in the realm of hypothetical debate. The historical truth is, without any doubt, that Mahler changed the order on the occasion of the premiere and never retracted the change. As the current Chief Editor of the Complete Critical Edition, I declare the official position of the institution I represent is that the correct order of the middle movements of Mahler's Sixth Symphony is Andante-Scherzo.

In closing, I consider it my duty to explain why I did not do this as early as 1998 on the occasion of the revision of the Füssl edition. At that time, I was concentrating only on the corrections that were evident in the main source (galley proofs with Mahler's revisions for the second edition) but that Füssl never fully transferred to the Critical Edition. The movement order had not been questioned by Füssl, and by the time Jerry Bruck's well-documented paper arrived, the revised reprint had already been completed. I have now informed C. F. Peters, the current publisher, that the score and parts should be corrected at the next available opportunity.

ILLUSTRATIONS

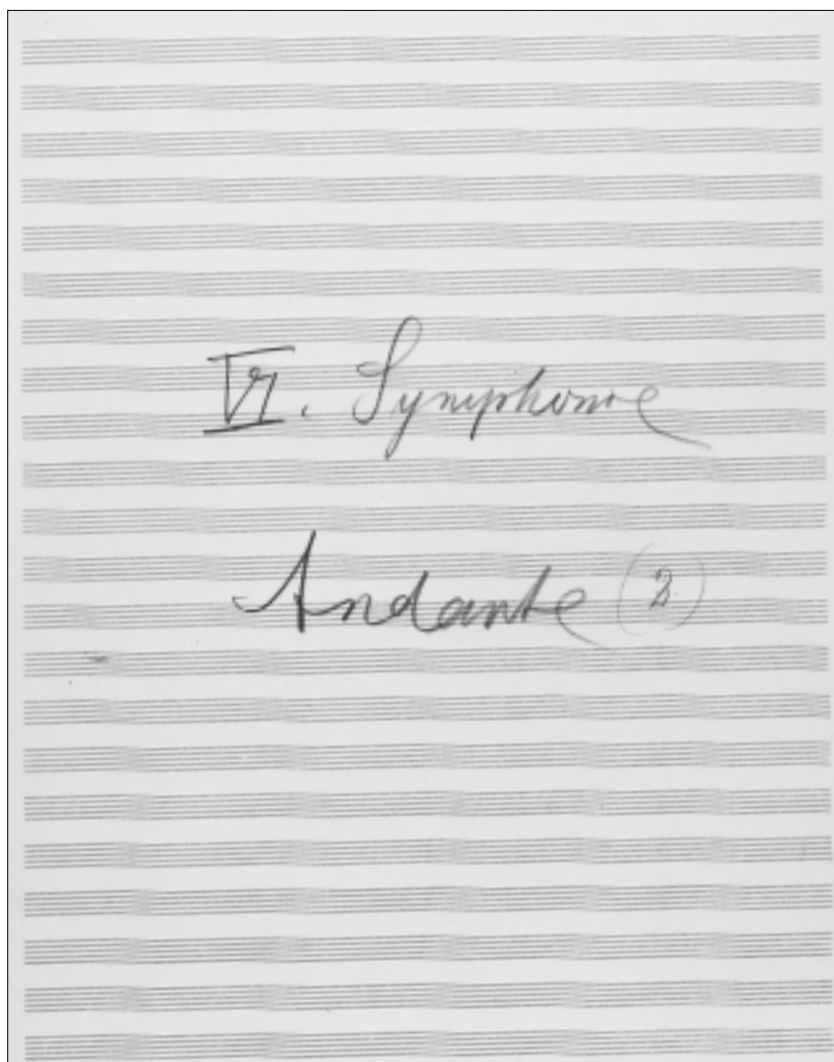
1. Title page of Mahler's autograph score of the Sixth Symphony
2. Autograph cover page of Andante, with "(3)" overwritten "2" in ink or dark pencil by Mahler
3. Autograph cover page of Scherzo, with "(2)" overwritten "3" in ink or dark pencil by Mahler
4. Title page of Richard Specht's "Thematic Analysis" pocket guide
5. C. F. Kahnt advertisement for its Mahler Sixth publications
6. Mahler's conducting score, showing altered timings of movements 2, 3 and 4
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9. Page from Finale of Mahler's conducting score, showing his deletion of the final hammer-blow
10. Kahnt's first publication of the study score, with erratum slip added
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12. Concert program for the Munich premiere of the Sixth
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14. Program of concert conducted by Willem Mengelberg following the Amsterdam premiere of the Sixth
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16. Concert program of Mengelberg's 1919 performance of the Sixth, after receiving a telegram from Alma Mahler
17. Mengelberg's conducting score with his annotation "According to Mahler's instruction II first Scherzo then III Andante," after receiving a telegram from Alma Mahler
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19. Mengelberg's conducting score, with his renumbering of the Scherzo from "III" to "II"
20. Concert program of the Czech Philharmonic conducted by Alexander Zemlinsky in 1923



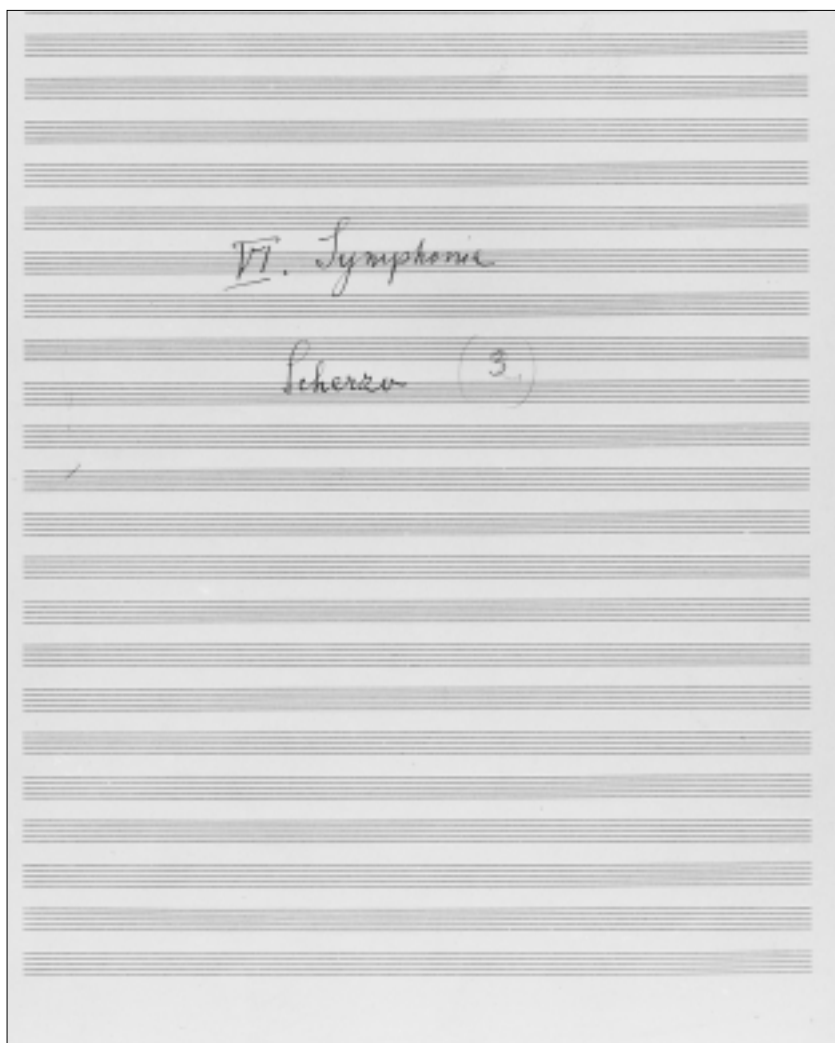
1. Title page of Mahler's autograph score of the Sixth Symphony (completed May 1, 1905) "129 pages"

Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien Archiv



2. Autograph cover page (#75) of Andante marked "(3)" in light pencil, over-written "2" in ink or dark pencil by Mahler

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3. Autograph cover page (#107) of Scherzo marked "(2)" in light pencil, over-written "3" in ink or dark pencil by Mahler

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GUSTAV MAHLER
SECHSTE SYMPHONIE.

THEMATISCHER FÜHRER
VON
RICHARD SPECHT.



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Verlag von
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4. Title page of Richard Specht's "Thematic Analysis" pocket guide
Edward R. Reilly, Poughkeepsie, New York

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Gustav Mahler

VI. Symphonie

für grosses Orchester.

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Orchesterstimmen nach Übereinkunft.

Kleine Partitur M. 6.— no.

Klavier-Auszug für 4 Hände von A. von
Zemlinsky M. 12.— no.

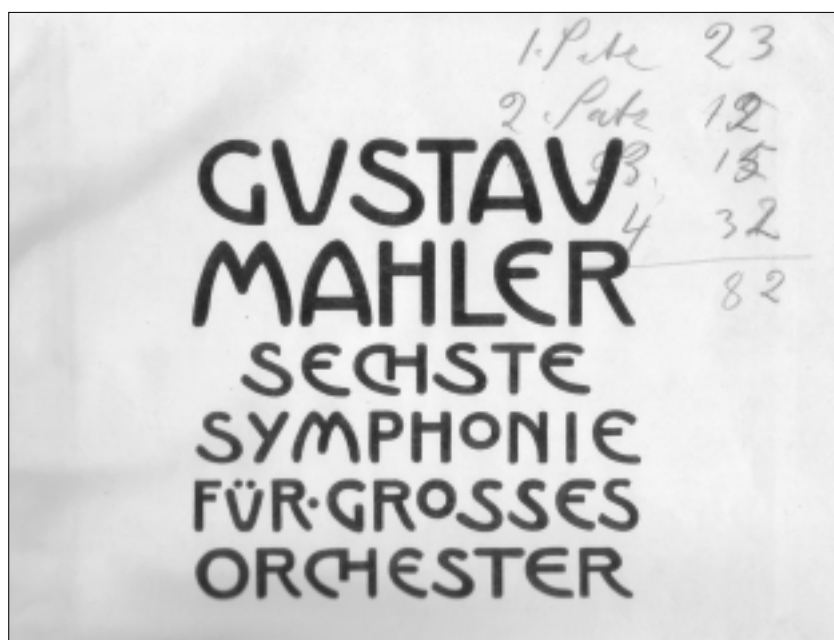
Thematischer Führer von Richard
Specht M. —30 no.

Die Uraufführung der Symphonie fand unter **Gustav Mahlers**
Direktion am 27. Mai 1906 zur Tonkünstlerversammlung des Allge-
meinen Deutschen Musik-Vereins in Essen statt.

Verlag von C. F. KAHNT, LEIPZIG

5. C. F. Kahnt's advertisement for its Mahler Sixth publications (back cover of Specht booklet)

Edward R. Reilly, Poughkeepsie, New York



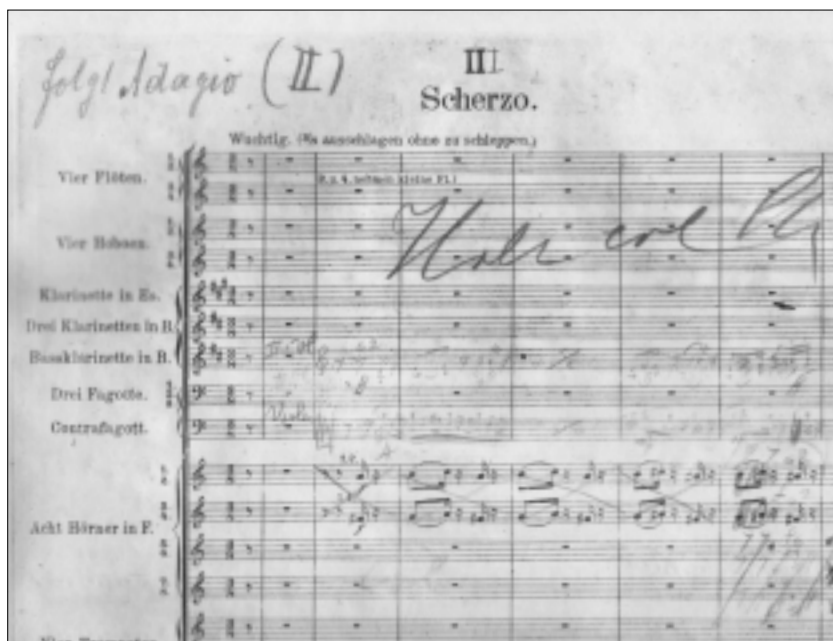
6. Cover of Mahler's conducting score at Essen, showing his altered timings of movements 2 (15/12), 3 (12/15) and 4 (32/31)—(Kahnt's first full score, revised by Mahler after the premiere for use as the engraver's model for their second publication)

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7. Mahler's conducting score, showing his renumbering of the Andante from "III" to "II" (Kahnt's first full score, used as the engraver's model for its second, revised publication)

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8. Mahler's conducting score, showing his renumbering of the Scherzo from "II" to "III" (enhanced digitally here for clarity) with his notation "follows Adagio (II)" ("Adagio" is used here in its generic sense to indicate a slow movement, in this case, actually the Andante) IGMG Archiv, Wien

The image shows a page from Mahler's conducting score for the Finale. The score is written for a large orchestra and includes staves for the following instruments and voices: Flute, Oboe, Engl. Horn, D-Clar., A-Clar., A-Bassoon, Bassoon, Contrab., F. Horn, F. Trump., Trombone, Tuba, Snare, (T. Snare), Cl. Tr., Bassoon, Horn, Erste Viol., Zweite Viol., Violon., Violon., and Basson. The score is heavily annotated with handwritten corrections and deletions, particularly in the woodwind and string sections. The notation includes dynamic markings like 'pp morendo' and 'ff', and various musical symbols for articulation and phrasing.

9. Page from Finale of Mahler's conducting score, showing his deletion of the third hammer-blow and reorchestration of the surrounding material (Kahnt's first full score, used as the engraver's model for its second, revised publication)

IGMG Archiv, Wien

1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26

[56]

GUSTAV MAHLER SECHSTE SYMPHONIE FÜR GROSSES ORCHESTER

Die Reihenfolge der Sätze in der
6. Symphonie von Gustav Mahler
wird folgendermaßen bestimmt:

- I. Allegro energico, ma non troppo. (22 Min.)
Wohlig, aber markig.
- II. Andante moderato. (24 Min.)
(In der dritten Fassung als dritte Satz bezeichnet)
- III. Scherzo. (21 Min.)
(In der dritten Fassung als zweite Satz bezeichnet)
- IV. Einleitung und Finale. (28 Min.)

G. F. Kahnt Nachfolger.

! 4 HÄNDE VON A. ZEMLINSKY.

ALLE RECHTE
VORBEHALTEN



EIGENTUM DES VERLE

CFKAHNT-NACHFOLGER-LEIPZIG

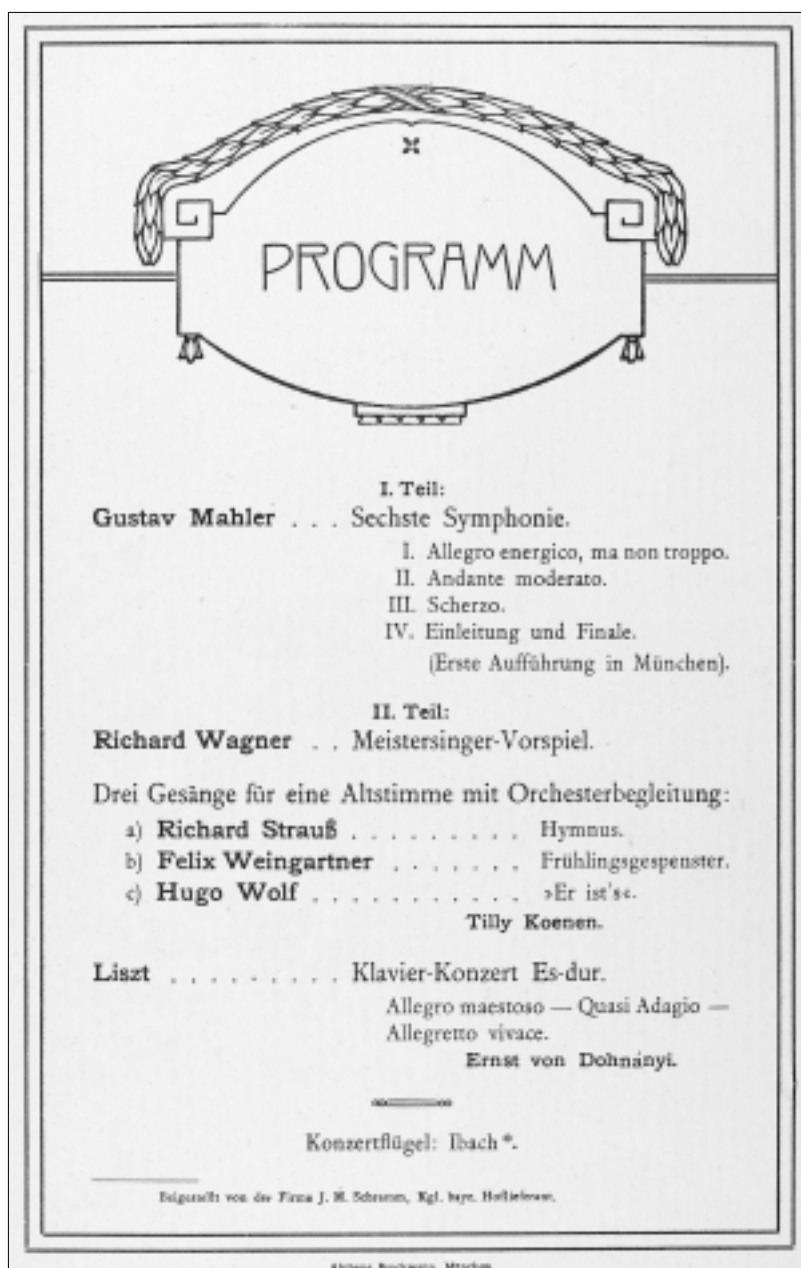
COPYRIGHT 1906 BY CFKAHNT-NACHFOLGER-LEIPZIG

PARTITUR : 1. 60.
STIMMEN : 2. 60.
CLAVIER-AUSSZUG
FÜR 4 HÄNDE : 1. 12.
KLEINE PARTITUR : 1. 6.

GERIS FÜR ALLE LÄNDER

11. Kahnt's first publication of Zemlinsky's four-hand piano reduction, with
erratum slip inserted at Mahler's request

Peter Franklin, Oxford



12. Concert program for the Munich premiere on November 8, 1906, with first half conducted by Mahler *Knud Martner, Copenhagen*

WIENER KONZERT-VEREIN.

FREITAG, DEN 4. JÄNNER 1907

PÜNKTLICH $\frac{1}{8}$ UHR ABENDS

AUSSERORDENTLICHES KONZERT

(NOVITÄTEN-KONZERT)

IM

GROSSEN MUSIKVEREINS-SAALE.

PROGRAMM:

GUSTAV MAHLER:

Sechste Sinfonie (Tragische).

Allegro energico, ma non troppo.

Andante moderato.

Scherzo.

Finale (Allegro moderato).

Unter Leitung des Komponisten.

Viertes Sinfonie-Konzert im Mittwoch-Zyklus

am 16. Jänner 1907, pünktlich $\frac{1}{8}$ Uhr abends.

PROGRAMM:

C. W. Gluck Ouvertüre zu: »Alceste« (mit dem Schlusse
von Felix Weingartner).

L. van Beethoven Vierte Sinfonie.

Edgar Istel Eine Singspiel-Ouvertüre.
(1. Aufführung in Wien.)

P. Tschalkowsky »Romeo und Julie«, Phantasie.

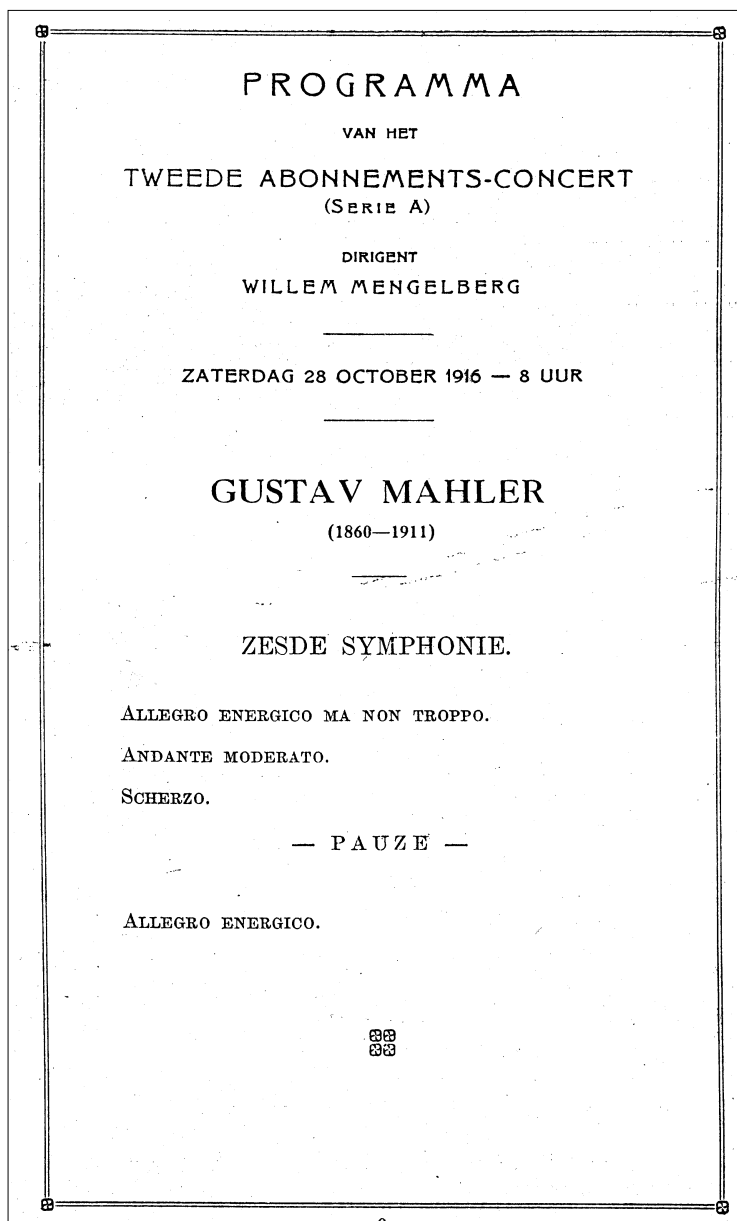
Das vierte Sinfonie-Konzert im Dienstag-Zyklus findet am 22. Jänner 1907,
pünktlich $\frac{1}{8}$ Uhr abends, statt.

== Dieses Programm unentgeltlich. ==

Verlag v. Schönbach, Wien

13. Concert program for the Vienna premiere on January 4, 1907, conducted
by Mahler

IGMG Archiv, Wien



14. Program of concert conducted by Willem Mengelberg in 's Gravenhage on October 28, 1916, following the Amsterdam premiere
Stichting Het Willem Mengelberg-Archief, OENederlands Muziek Instituut, Den Haag



KOMITEE ZUR FÖRDERUNG SINFONISCHER
MUSIK IN WIEN

GROSSER KONZERTHAUS-SAAL

Donnerstag, 7. Oktober 1920, abends 7 Uhr

MAHLER-ZYKLUS

V. KONZERT

Dirigent: OSKAR FRIED

Mitwirkend:

Kammersänger HERMANN WEIL
und das Sinfonie-Orchester

PROGRAMM:

Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen

VI. Sinfonie (Tragische).

Allegro energico, ma non troppo.

Andante moderato.

Scherzo.

Finale (Allegro moderato).

6. KONZERT: Montag, den 11. Oktober 1920, im Großen Musikvereinssaal

Kinder-Totenlieder und VII. Sinfonie

Kinder-Totenlieder HELGE LINDBERG.

7. KONZERT: Freitag, den 15. Oktober 1920, im Großen Konzerthausaal

Das Lied von der Erde

Solisten: ELEANOR REYNOLDS-SCHLOSSHAUER, RICHARD SCHUBERT.

8. KONZERT: Montag, den 18. Oktober 1920, im Großen Musikvereinsaal

IX. Sinfonie

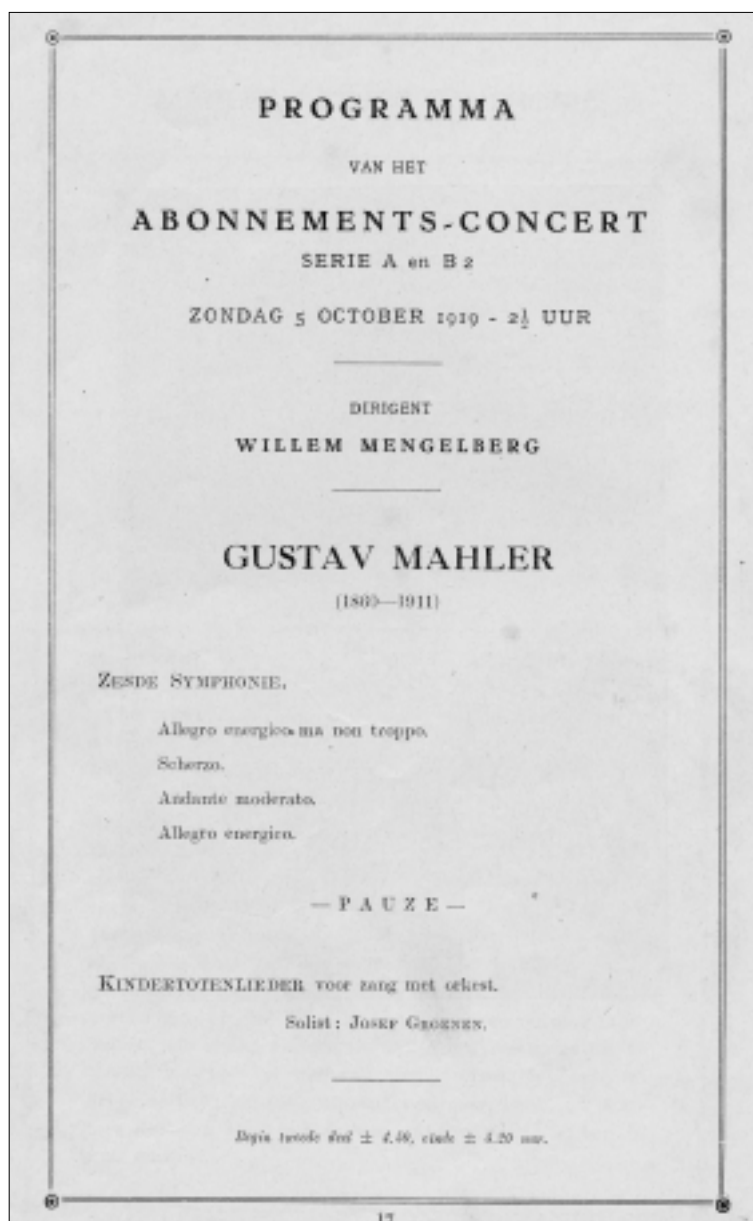
Verlag der Konzerthausprogramme Wien I, Karlsplatz 6 (Universal-Edition).

Preis K 3.—.

Stena & Scherzer, Wien.

15. Concert program from Mahler Cycle conducted by Oskar Fried in
Vienna on October 7, 1920

IGMG Archiv, Wien



16. Concert program of Mengelberg's second performance of the Sixth in Amsterdam, on October 5, 1919, adopting the Scherzo-Andante order of inner movements after receiving a telegram from Alma Mahler on October 1, 1919

Concertgebouwwerkst Archiv, Amsterdam



17. Mengelberg's conducting score (Kahnt's second, revised publication of the folio score) with his annotation "According to Mahler's instruction II first Scherzo then III Andante" (The "instruction" actually was given in a telegram from Alma Mahler, sent to Mengelberg eight years after the composer's death)

Stichting Het Willem Mengelberg-Archief, OENederlands Muziek Instituut, Den Haag



18. Mengelberg's conducting score, showing his renumbering of the Andante from "II" to "III," with the pencilled notation "In the small score the Scherzo comes here"


Stichting Het Willem Mengelberg-Archief, OENederlands Muziek Instituut, Den Haag



19. Mengelberg's conducting score, showing his renumbering of the Scherzo from "III" to "II"

Stichting Het Willem Mengelberg-Archief, OENederlands Muziek Instituut, Den Haag

**SYMFONICKÉ KONCERTY
ČESKÉ FILHARMONIE**

<p>Obecní dům Ročník XXI.</p>		<p>Smetanova síň Saison 1922—1923.</p>
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V SOBOTU A V NEDĚLI DNE 21. A 22. DUBNA 1923
O PŮL 8. HOD. VEČ.

**MIMOŘÁDNÝ
SYMFONICKÝ KONCERT**

Dirigent:
A. ZEMLINSKY j. h.
chef opery Německého divadla v Praze.

P O Ř A D:

G. MAHLER: Symfonie VI.

a) Allegro energico, ma non troppo.
b) Andante moderato.
c) Scherzo.
d) Allegro moderato.

Uvědomění mají příslušné nepoužítí nikoho za jednotlivých částí do koncertní síně.

V sobotu dne 21. dubna 1923 o půl 8. hod. večerní mimořádný symfonický koncert, Bedřich Smetana: Má Vlast. Dirigent L. V. Čelakovský.
V neděli dne 22. dubna 1923 o půl 8. hod. večerní mimořádný symfonický koncert, Dirigent A. Zemlinsky. Pořad: Smetana: Overture k op. „Prodaná nevěsta“, Fr. Schubert: Symfonie b-moll, L. v. Beethoven: Symfonie III. As-dur. Frotta.

20. Concert program of the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Alexander Zemlinsky in Prague, April 21–22, 1923

IGMG Archiv, Wien

A TIMELINE OF THE MAHLER SIXTH

	<i>Order of Inner Movements</i>	
	Scherzo- Andante	Andante- Scherzo
1903 summer: Mahler completes short scores of inner movements and makes sketches for first movement	?	?
1904 summer: Mahler completes draft of first movement, composes Finale, plays entire work for Alma on piano	?	?
1905 May 1: Mahler completes autograph score, originally (?) S-A, then corrected to A-S	X	X
1906 March 6: C. F. Kahnt publishes folio and study scores (S-A, later republished A-S)	X	
1906 April 17: Mahler writes to Zemlinsky to request that they meet to play through the latter's four-hand piano reduction	?	?
1906 May 1: Mahler has Sixth read by Vienna Philharmonic	?	?
1906 May 1: Richard Specht's "Thematic Analysis" booklet published by C. F. Kahnt (S-A, later republished A-S)	X	
1906 May: C. F. Kahnt publishes Zemlinsky's four-hand piano reduction (S-A, later republished A-S)	X	
1906 May 27: Essen premiere, Mahler conducts		X
1906: C. F. Kahnt inserts erratum slips in unsold copies of the two orchestral scores and the four-hand piano reduction		X
1906 October 8: Oskar Fried premieres Mahler Sixth in Berlin; Mahler attends rehearsals and performance		X
1906 November: C. F. Kahnt revises and republishes Richard Specht's "Thematic Analysis" booklet		X

A Timeline of the Mahler Sixth

Order of Inner Movements

	Scherzo- Andante	Andante- Scherzo
1906 November: C. F. Kahnt publishes revised editions of the folio and study scores		X
1906 November: C. F. Kahnt publishes revised edition of Zemlinsky's four-hand piano reduction		X
1906 November 8: Munich premiere, Mahler conducts		X
1906 November 14: Second Munich performance, conducted by Bernhard Stavenhagen in Mahler's absence		X
1907 January 4: Vienna premiere, Mahler conducts		X
1907 January 17: Mahler asks Mengelberg to send him his score in order to enter "an important revision"		X
1907 January 30: Mahler returns updated score to Mengelberg (score remains A-S)		X
1907 March 11: Leipzig premiere, Hans Winderstein conducts		X
1907 April 5: Dresden "premiere," Ernst von Schuch conducts middle movements only		X
1909 July 6: Letter from Mahler to Mengelberg requesting return of the latter's conducting score		X
1910: Mahler signs contract with Universal Edition		X
1910 September: Universal Edition publishes score of Zemlinsky four-hand piano reduction (UE 2775)		X
1911 May 18: Mahler dies in Vienna	—	—
1911 November 28: Ferdinand Löwe conducts Mahler's Sixth with Vienna Konzertverein (Alma attends)		X
1916 September 14: Amsterdam premiere, Mengelberg conducts		X
1919 October 1: Telegram from Alma Mahler to Mengelberg: "First Scherzo, then Andante"	X	
1919 October 5: Mengelberg conducts Mahler Sixth again	X	
1919 October 11: Oskar Fried conducts Sixth in Vienna		X

A Timeline of the Mahler Sixth

	<i>Order of Inner Movements</i>	
	Scherzo- Andante	Andante- Scherzo
1920 May 14: Mengelberg conducts Sixth again at Amsterdam Mahler Festival	X	
1920 October 7: Oskar Fried conducts Sixth in Vienna Mahler cycle		X
1940: <i>Gustav Mahler: Erinnerungen und Briefe</i> , by Alma Mahler, published in Amsterdam		X
1946: <i>Gustav Mahler: Memories and Letters</i> , by Alma Mahler, in abridged English translation, published in London		X
1947 December 11: Mitropoulos conducts U.S. premiere in New York		X
1963 Summer: IGMG publishes Critical Edition, edited by Erwin Ratz	X	
1998 October 16 & 18: Glen Cortese conducts Manhattan School of Music Orchestra in New York; CD recording released 1999 (Titanic Ti-257); concert program and CD booklet incorporate first draft of Bruck's paper		X
1998: IGMG publishes revised Critical Edition, edited by Karl Heinz Füssl and Reinhold Kubik, first available 2000	X	
1999 May 20–22: Leonard Slatkin conducts National Symphony Orchestra at the John F. Kennedy Center, Washington, D.C., crediting an early draft of this publication		X
2002 November 27–28: Mariss Jansons conducts London Symphony Orchestra at Barbican Centre, London, after reading a draft of this publication, live recording (LSO 0038)		X
2003 December 11–14: Michael Tilson Thomas conducts Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra in Walt Disney Concert Hall, Los Angeles, after reading a draft of this publication		X
2003 December 17: Zubin Mehta conducts Israel Philharmonic at Carnegie Hall, New York, after reading a draft of this publication		X

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THE CORRECT MOVEMENT ORDER IN MAHLER'S SIXTH SYMPHONY

Gilbert Kaplan

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facsimiles of the musical sketches are printed as 200-line screen halftones.
The cover is 300 gsm Gmund Sverige Cover.*

THE KAPLAN FOUNDATION has been a leader in Mahler research since its founding in 1985. It has produced a wide range of publications and historical recordings, including facsimile editions of the autograph scores of Mahler's Second Symphony and the Adagietto movement from the Fifth Symphony, as well as *Mahler Discography* about the more than 1,000 recordings of Mahler's music, and the award-winning *The Mahler Album*, an illustrated biography containing more than 300 photographs, paintings, drawings, cartoons and sculptures. Recordings have included *Mahler Plays Mahler*, created from piano rolls Mahler made of his own compositions for the Welte-Mignon reproducing piano—the only documents that exist of Mahler as a performer—as well as *Mahler Remembered*, recollections of musicians who played under Mahler. The Foundation is just completing its most ambitious project to date, a revised Critical Edition of Mahler's Second Symphony, edited by Renate Stark-Voit and Gilbert Kaplan, as part of the complete Critical Edition of Mahler (Reinhold Kubik, Chief Editor), to be published in the winter of 2004/2005 by Universal Edition and The Kaplan Foundation.

THE KAPLAN FOUNDATION

NEW YORK

2004