

**PAUL WITTGENSTEIN IN
GREAT BRITAIN**

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ABSTRACT

Most of the existing research on Paul Wittgenstein (1887–1961) focuses on his performing career in central Europe as a left-hand pianist and his commissions from the most prominent composers of the 20th century such as Richard Strauss and Maurice Ravel, and his favourite composer, Franz Schmidt. His British performing career and the compositions Ernest Walker, Norman Demuth and Benjamin Britten composed for and dedicated to him, however, remain relatively unexplored. By examining a variety of primary sources that are disclosed here for the first time, this thesis offers the first scholarly research into Wittgenstein's performing activities in Great Britain in the 1920s–50s and his British commissions in order to fill a major research gap in Wittgenstein studies.

Chapter 1 explores Wittgenstein's self-recognition as a member of the Viennese aristocracy and the shaping of his musical identity, conception and taste, followed by an overview of the related primary sources that are currently located in Hong Kong and the United Kingdom, a detailed summary of his performing activities in Great Britain and a discussion of the British reception of him as a left-hand pianist. Chapter 2 focuses on Walker and the three compositions he wrote for piano left-hand, two of which he composed before meeting Wittgenstein and one after, and the pianist's attitude towards them. Chapter 3 brings to light the much-neglected composer Demuth and the two works he composed for Wittgenstein and discusses possible reasons why the pianist never performed them. Chapter 4 examines Wittgenstein's first and only official British commission, the *Diversions*, Op. 21 by Britten, and investigates the interaction between composer and pianist in the compositional process and their differing conceptions of the work.

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INTRODUCTION

Wittgenstein was neither the first one-armed pianist nor the first music patron in history, but he was the first and only person who, after losing his right arm in the First World War, resolutely decided to continue his pursuit of a pianistic career with an extensive repertoire he commissioned for his exclusive use.¹ His music collection includes more than twenty orchestral and chamber works by composers such as Franz Schmidt, Maurice Ravel, Richard Strauss, Benjamin Britten, Josef Labor, Erich Wolfgang Korngold, Serge Bortkiewicz, Eduard Schütt, Rudolf Braun, Walter Bricht, Ernest Walker and Hans Gál among others, which he commissioned at different stages in his musical career.² Wittgenstein was extremely protective of his commissions and he tried every possible measure to prevent others from accessing, publishing or performing his repertoire during his lifetime. Following his death, his widow Hilde Schania continued to safeguard his extensive music collection by locking it up in a warehouse. It was not until 2001 when Hilde passed away that Wittgenstein's music library was rediscovered, and its subsequent auction by Sotheby's in London in 2003 made archival research on Wittgenstein and his music possible for the first time.

¹ Besides the works he commissioned, Wittgenstein also played a great variety of solo pieces he arranged and transcribed for the left hand. These transcriptions include works by Bach, Haydn, Mozart, Schubert-Liszt, Wagner-Liszt, Mendelssohn, Schubert, Henselt, Grieg and Brahms among many others, of which 27 of them were compiled as the third volume of his *School for the Left Hand*, which Universal Edition published in 1957. The first volume contains technical exercises and the second includes excerpts of transcriptions of works he never intended for concert use. For more descriptions of Wittgenstein's three-volume *School for the Left Hand*, see Georg A. Predota, 'Badgering the Creative Genius: Paul Wittgenstein and the Prerogative of Musical Patronage' in Irene Suchy, Allan Janik and Georg A. Predota, eds. *Empty Sleeve: Der Musiker und Mäzen Paul Wittgenstein* (Innsbruck: StudienVerlag, 2006), 71.

² The composers listed here are the ones whose works Wittgenstein had actually performed in public. Other composers who had composed for him include Alexander Tansman, Sergei Prokofiev, Paul Hindemith and Norman Demuth, whose works Wittgenstein never performed.

In the last decade, scholarly studies have been carried out on various aspects of Wittgenstein, including his personal life, performing career in central Europe and the United States, as well as his commissioning pieces from several composers such as Richard Strauss, Maurice Ravel and Franz Schmidt. His performing career in Great Britain and the musical works three British composers composed for and dedicated to him, however, have not to date received the sustained attention they deserve. These two unexplored aspects of Wittgenstein's career provide the incentive for the present project, which will fill a major research gap in Wittgenstein studies.

A number of existing publications on Wittgenstein and/or his commissions, the history of composing for and/or performing with the left hand as well as the concert tradition and musical scene in Oxford provided the essential literature needed for this present project. Among them, *Empty Sleeve: Der Musiker und Mäzen Paul Wittgenstein* and *The House of Wittgenstein: A Family at War* are the two most significant publications with Wittgenstein as the sole subject. Edited by Irene Suchy, Allan Janik and Georg A. Predota and published in 2006, *Empty Sleeve* is the proceeding of the symposium Suchy organised to commemorate the world premiere of Hindemith's Piano Concerto for the Left Hand, Op. 29 in 2004, which Wittgenstein commissioned in 1923, with Simon Rattle conducting the Berlin Philharmonic and Leon Fleisher taking up the role of soloist. This very first major publication on Wittgenstein contains nine essays in German and English, the two languages that he extensively used in his life, and provides unprecedented discussions of Wittgenstein's biography and personalities, interactions with his siblings and students, musical career

and several of his commissions. Of the whole volume, the essay ‘Badgering the Creative Genius: Paul Wittgenstein and the Prerogative of Musical Patronage’ by Predota, currently curator of the Wittgenstein archive, is of the most special importance to this present project. It offers an overview of the nature and scope of the Wittgenstein collection and the first insights into Wittgenstein’s habits of intervening and reshaping the works he commissioned, providing the necessary guideline for the discussion of Wittgenstein’s reception and handling of his British commissions in this project. Published two years later, in 2008, *The House of Wittgenstein* by Alexander Waugh tells the stories of the entire Wittgenstein family with a focus on Paul Wittgenstein in the style of a novel. This is one of the very few publications that devoted a considerable portion to Wittgenstein’s experiences with Margaret Deneke, a music patroness in Oxford, which most importantly provides the basis for this present project’s investigation of Wittgenstein’s performing career in Great Britain and his relationship to the music circle in Oxford.

Published in 1994, Theodore Edel’s *Piano Music for One Hand* is not a Wittgenstein-themed book but a very important item as it specifically deals with the history and development of music written for the left hand. It also discusses the four possible causes for the emergence of a vast repertoire written for the left hand and offers brief accounts of four one-armed pianists including Alexander Dreyschock, Adolfo Fumagalli, Geza Zichy and lastly, Paul Wittgenstein. In addition, it also contains a catalogue that is divided into four categories: solo works for the left hand alone, solo works for the right hand alone, works for one hand and orchestra and chamber music. Although this

catalogue is reasonably detailed, it unfortunately includes several mistakes and ambiguous information especially regarding the compositions written for Wittgenstein, possibly due to the fact that the author did not have access to Wittgenstein's music collection when the book was written.

The second volume of *Letters from a Life: Selected Letters and Diaries of Benjamin Britten* edited by Donald Mitchell and Philip Reed, and Clare Hammond's D.M.A. dissertation 'To Conceal or Reveal: left-hand pianism with particular reference to Ravel's *Concerto pour la main gauche* and Britten's *Diversions*' are both Britten-specific materials. First published in 1991, the second volume of *Letters from a Life* covers the period 1939–45 and lists the letters Britten sent to his publisher and friends in which he revealed the creative process of the *Diversions* as well as his negotiations and interactions with Wittgenstein over the work. The letters that Wittgenstein sent to Britten during 1940–50, however, were excluded from the second volume and are still unpublished today. Hammond's D.M.A. dissertation of 2012 is the most recent scholarly work on Britten's *Diversions*, in which she, as a pianist, analysed the composition from the performer's point of view using the primary sources housed in the archives of the Britten-Pears Foundation (*GB-Alb*) in Aldeburgh, United Kingdom. Hammond's contribution is important because it offers the first study of Wittgenstein's additional sketches to Britten's *Diversions*. Yet there are some mistakes in the accreditation for the sources, which will be clarified later in Chapter 4.

Of all journal articles that are associated with Wittgenstein, E. Fred Flindell's 'Paul Wittgenstein (1887–1961): Patron and Pianist' in the *Music Review* of 1971 was the most important contribution because it is the first scholarly study on Wittgenstein in print. Flindell was the first and only scholar who received permission to access Wittgenstein's music library and archives during his widow's lifetime, which allowed him to provide the first insights into Wittgenstein's life and career in four perspectives: as a Viennese bourgeois, pianist, teacher and musical patron. Although this article did not investigate these aspects in great detail, it contains all essential knowledge that in turn serves as the foundation for all subsequent researches on Wittgenstein. Susan Wollenberg's essay, 'Pianos and Pianists in Nineteenth-Century Oxford' in *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, was among the first few studies to discuss the roles of the pianos and pianists, both local and visiting, in the concert life in 19th-century Oxford; and her article 'Remnant of a lost civilisation? Margaret Deneke and Music in Oxford (and elsewhere)' in *CHOMBEC News* presents a brief biography of Margaret Deneke and examines her contributions to the musical developments in Oxford. Both essays provided valuable references for the discussion of Wittgenstein's performing career and relationship with the music personalities in Oxford.

The second volume of the *Margaret Deneke Memoir*, which Deneke wrote in 1966, remains unpublished today. It is essentially her autobiography but it also consists of chapters with specific titles and references to her activities or the people she knew, including different members of the Wittgenstein family. In the section specifically devoted to Paul Wittgenstein, Deneke wrote about his

life, career and personalities based on both the stories Wittgenstein told her and her own experiences with him. Some of the information she included here was unknown before, but since she talked about Wittgenstein from a friend's point of view and wrote this volume according to her memories, her portrayal of him might have been biased and unreliable. Most of the flaws found in Deneke's *Memoir* were the dates of significant events in Wittgenstein's life, which can easily be clarified through other available sources.

In 2010 the Paul Wittgenstein Music Library and Archives of the Octavian Society (*Hk-pwa*)³ in Hong Kong and the Viennese publisher Josef Weinberger together published the three quintets Schmidt composed for Wittgenstein in their original, left-hand version. I was responsible for the editorial work involved,⁴ and although these publications have no direct connection to this present project, the experiences, skills and knowledge I acquired through the editing process of these quintets informed the approaches I adopted to edit and transcribe the source materials of Wittgenstein's British commissions and the way I read and interpreted Wittgenstein's annotations in them in this study.

Aiming to offer a detailed account of Wittgenstein's performing career in Great Britain in the 1920s–50s and a thorough study of the compositions Ernest Walker, Norman Demuth and Benjamin Britten wrote specifically for him, this thesis is chiefly a source study based on a variety of primary sources that are

³ The Paul Wittgenstein Music Library and Archives is a private archive and so it does not have an official abbreviation. The one used in this current thesis, '*Hk-pwa*' was adopted from the suggestion of Philip Weller, Assistant Professor at the Department of Music, University of Nottingham. I am grateful to Philip for his suggestion.

⁴ These include the Piano Quintets in G major (1926), B-flat major (1932) and A major (1938). Before this, these Quintets were only available in a two-hand version edited by Schmidt's student, Friedrich Wührer, which were also published by Weinberger despite Wittgenstein's strong opposition.

unveiled here for the first time. These include original concert programmes, autograph manuscripts and letters, documents and newspaper clippings that are housed in different libraries and archives in both Hong Kong and the United Kingdom. Of all the aspects to be explored in this thesis, only the composition Britten composed for Wittgenstein, the *Diversions*, Op. 21, has been studied previously, and although Hammond had already studied the *Diversions* sources housed at the BPF, I am, however, the first researcher who has been given permission to access the only set of instrumental parts of the first version of the *Diversions* that are kept in the PWMLA, and reproduce a number of them in this thesis as illustrations.

Due to both copyright and practical reasons, it is impossible to reproduce images of autograph manuscripts as illustrations for all of my discussions of the pieces by Walker, Demuth and Britten in this thesis. Therefore, a recent version of the music notation programme Finale™ was used to reproduce them as musical examples in Chapters 2, 3 and 4, which I transcribed directly from the autograph manuscripts without making any changes in order to preserve their original appearance. Images of autograph manuscripts are reproduced only when they show features that cannot be replicated in finale-typed notation. Since this thesis contains image reproductions of original sources that are housed in different libraries and archives, formats of accreditation will vary to comply with the different requirements specified by the organisations.

Wittgenstein's annotations found in the source materials of his British commissions can be classified as: 1) fingerings; 2) in-score addition and/or

deletion of notes; 3) additions and/or changes of performing instructions such as dynamic, articulation and tempo markings and pedalling in word and/or symbol forms; 4) appropriation of orchestral pages for piano solo; and 5) additional pages of musical sketches as inserts. The first three types of annotations are typical markings that can be found in all of Wittgenstein's music, and they reflect the way he approached, studied and interpreted the works from a left-hand pianist's point of view. The last two types of annotations, which are applicable to Britten's *Diversions* only in this thesis, reveal not only Wittgenstein's understanding of the piece as a pianist but also his self-assumed role as composer who enjoyed the sole ownership of and absolute authority over the commission.

If Wittgenstein's annotations in his British compositions are a direct reflection of his conception of composing for the left hand and his expertise in performing them, the letters he sent to his acquaintances and the composers he collaborated with did not necessarily represent his true thoughts. The letter he sent to Britten on 10 October 1940, which will be disclosed in Chapter 4, is a convincing example. Wittgenstein stated in the letter that the composer's ideas should be prioritised and that his small pianistic alterations, if Britten would accept them, could be included as an annex. In reality, however, the five pages of additional musical sketches Wittgenstein composed for the *Diversions* are not merely 'small pianistic alterations' as he claimed. Rather, they were extensive and would seriously alter Britten's score both musically and structurally, if the composer approved them. In addition, if Wittgenstein really meant what he said about respecting and prioritising Britten's ideas, he would

not have gone so far as to send an ultimatum to the composer on 31 July 1941 to insist on his making corrections as requested. This letter, which will also be provided in Chapter 4, is one of the letters in which Wittgenstein said exactly what he meant to say. He confessed to Britten that he was not sure if he should inform him in advance that he might personally build a *Fangsthul* (a chair used to trap people in the Middle Ages) for him to sit in and let him out only if he agreed to make the corrections he suggested. Although Wittgenstein would not have done this in reality, he probably did not intend this simply as a joke either. Instead, this was his last warning to Britten which concurrently expressed his annoyance, impatience and persistency.

This thesis has four chapters, and will provide answers to the following research questions that were proposed prior to the commencement of this present project:

- 1) Why did Wittgenstein establish a performing career in Great Britain?
What strategies did he use to introduce himself to British audiences in the early 20th century? How was he received as a left-hand pianist?
What were the musical trends and favourite repertoire in Britain in the 1920s, and how did Wittgenstein fit in with his music?
- 2) How did the musical, cultural, intellectual and court mannerism of the Viennese aristocracy shape Wittgenstein's personality, musical aesthetic and taste? Wittgenstein considered himself 'royalty'. How did

this self-identification affect the way he interacted with others, particularly the British composers who composed for him?

- 3) Before knowing Wittgenstein, Walker had already composed several piano pieces for the left hand, including his Study for the Left Hand of 1901. What prompted Walker to compose music for the left hand at that time, and why did he rededicate his Study to Wittgenstein at a later time, rather than writing some new piano solo pieces for him?
- 4) What was Walker's reception of Wittgenstein as a left-hand pianist who, at the same time, was also a personal friend and a performing partner?
- 5) Why did Walker choose to write a chamber work for Wittgenstein, but not a concerto? How did Walker address Wittgenstein's special ability in his Variations and how successful was he in doing so? How did Wittgenstein understand Walker's Variations and what was his judgement on the work?
- 6) Did Wittgenstein and Demuth know each other? What were the motivations for Demuth to compose Three Preludes for the left hand and the Concerto for Piano (Left Hand) and Orchestra and dedicate them to Wittgenstein in March and November 1946 respectively?

- 7) How did Demuth tackle Wittgenstein's special ability in his two compositions? Did Demuth treat the piano differently in these two distinctive musical settings? Why did Wittgenstein never perform the compositions by Demuth? Were the musical language and styles of Demuth too complicated and incomprehensible to Wittgenstein?
- 8) Britten's musical language and styles obviously deviated from the musical tastes of Wittgenstein. What prompted Wittgenstein to commission Britten and how did the composer approach this challenge?
- 9) Wittgenstein demanded of Britten to make abundant changes in the *Diversions*. What were the changes, and how did they alter the work structurally and musically? How did Britten interact and respond to Wittgenstein's insistent involvement in the compositional process? Britten revised the *Diversions* in 1954 and published his edition in 1955. How did the 1955 version differ from the version Wittgenstein performed in 1942?

The first section of Chapter 1 opens with a discussion of Wittgenstein's self-identification as a member of the Viennese aristocracy, or even 'royalty', his endorsement of its musical, cultural, intellectual and court mannerisms that helped shape his musical conception, aesthetic and taste and the reasons behind his launching of a commissioning campaign. The second section provides a brief overview of the Wittgenstein sources, especially the materials that are related to his British friends, performing career and commissions that form the

necessary basis for this thesis. Looking into the possible reasons for Wittgenstein's wish to establish a performing career in Great Britain and the strategies he used to introduce himself to the British musical scene, the third section will examine his involvement in the aristocratic and intellectual circle in Oxford, which occupies a large portion of his entire performing career in Britain, and offers a complete outline of his public and private performances across Britain and the repertoire he performed. The final section will explore the reception of Wittgenstein as a left-hand pianist and how this paved the way for the emergence of the British compositions.

Chapter 2 is divided into four sections. The first section will provide a short introduction to Ernest Walker and his acquaintance with Wittgenstein, while the second and third sections will examine the two solo pieces Walker composed for piano left-hand before he met Wittgenstein, namely the Study for the Left Hand (1901) and the Prelude for the Left Hand (undated). The last section is devoted to the Variations on an Original Theme for Pianoforte, Clarinet, Violin, Viola and Violoncello, which Walker wrote specifically for Wittgenstein at the pianist's suggestion in 1933. By studying the source materials of these compositions, I will explore Walker's conception of writing for piano left-hand and musical styles as well as investigate Wittgenstein's understanding of, approaches to and reception of these works based on the annotations he marked in the sources and his correspondence with Walker.

Chapter 3 opens with a concise biography of Norman Demuth, followed by a discussion of the Three Preludes (1946) and the Piano Concerto (1946) he

wrote for Wittgenstein, possibly without being commissioned. Succinct analyses of Demuth's treatment of the piano, musical styles and use of harmonic devices in his two compositions will be carried out to reveal the composer's approaches to composing for piano left-hand. Since none of the source materials of these two compositions bears any markings by Wittgenstein and no correspondence between the two musicians can be found, the discussion of the pianist's reception of these works is of necessity largely conjectural.

Divided into five sections, Chapter 4 will centre on Wittgenstein's collaboration with Benjamin Britten and his only official British commission: the *Diversions*, Op. 21. The first section will explore Wittgenstein's intention to commission Britten and the composer's response to this challenge, and the second section will list and describe the *Diversions* sources that are currently held at the *HK-pwa* and the *Gb-Alb*. Using four selected *Diversions* sources—Britten's composition draft, the photographic two-piano score used by Wittgenstein, two facsimiles of the autograph full score of the first version (1941) and two printed full scores of the revised version (1955)—as the basis, the third section will first detail Britten's composition and revision process of the work between 1940 and 1954, and then discuss Wittgenstein's and Britten's interactions and negotiations over the original scoring in the first version, the changes Britten made to both scoring and solo part in the revised version, as well as Britten's approaches to composing for piano left-hand and his handling of the piano/Wittgenstein's left-handedness in the *Diversions*. The fourth section will provide a thorough examination of the musical sketches,

both in-score and on five additional pages that Wittgenstein composed and imposed upon Britten's score, and discuss how Wittgenstein's changes structurally and musically affected and altered the work's nature. The final section will explore Wittgenstein's assumed authority, authorship and ownership over the *Diversions* and Britten's responses to Wittgenstein's insistent involvement in the compositional process.

CHAPTER 1

Paul Wittgenstein in Great Britain: A Prelude

Born on 5 November in Vienna, Paul Wittgenstein (1887–1961) was the fourth son of Karl and Leopoldine Wittgenstein. He and his younger brother Ludwig, musician and philosopher respectively, stood out clearly from their other siblings and became the two members for whom the Wittgenstein family is predominantly remembered today.¹ The two brothers shared a great many similarities in many regards. For example, Karl intended for all his five sons to enter either a business or industrial profession, but both Paul and Ludwig stood in complete opposition to his wishes and devoted themselves entirely to the arts and humanities. Both of them were closely connected to Great Britain and had a career there: Paul performed across Great Britain but made Oxford as his private base, while Ludwig was based entirely in Cambridge for his philosophical career. While Ludwig himself and his philosophical career in Cambridge have been widely studied and documented, Paul's British performing career and connections are, compared to that of Ludwig, virtually unknown.

By running an iron and steel business in Austria, Karl Wittgenstein made himself a stupendously rich and influential industrialist, gaining himself a flattering nickname—*österreichische Eisenkönig*—the 'Iron King of Austria'. He led his family to stand at the forefront of the cultured bourgeoisie in the

¹ In this section, members of the Wittgenstein family are referred to by their first names for ease of differentiation.

imperial city of Vienna alongside the Arnsteins, Dumbas, Wertheimsteins and the Bösendorfers. Consciously mimicking the mannerisms of the aristocracy, these Jewish or recently converted upper middle-class families eagerly participated in the practice of artistic patronage. For example, Karl not only paid a substantial amount of money to support the construction of the Secession building on the Friedrichstraße in Vienna, he also commissioned the Secession artists to furnish his Hochreit property in Lower Austria in 1905.² In addition, Karl owned an extensive collection of classical and contemporary artworks, including paintings by Gustav Klimt and an extraordinarily lavish silver vitrine by Carl Otto Czeschka,³ as well as an enormous amount of musical autographs of the Viennese classical composers. All these artistic and musical treasures were on constant display in his extravagant Winter Palais in the Alleegasse in Vienna.⁴ Functioning as a central hub for all the arts and cultures in Vienna, the Palais Wittgenstein was frequently packed with the most important and distinguished celebrities and professionals: among them critics such as Eduard Hanslick and Max Karlbeck, the famous violinist Joseph

² Karl's name is engraved on a dedication board as one of the benefactors at the entrance to the Secession building as acknowledgment of his financial contribution. Josef Hoffmann and Carl Otto Czeschka were two of the Secession artists who were involved in the renovation project of Karl's Hochreit property. Many of Karl's children would follow his footstep in the practice of patronage. For example, his daughter Margaret Stonborough-Wittgenstein posted for Gustav Klimt in 1904 (the portrait is now housed in the Neue Pinakothek in Munich), had her Berlin apartment furnished by the Wiener Werkstätte [Vienna Workshop] in 1905 and part of her wardrobe came from the Wiener Werkstätte fashion department. For further details, see Allan Janik and Hans Veigl, *Wittgenstein in Vienna: a biographical excursion through the city and its history* (Vienna: Springer-Verlag, 1998), 59–60 and 74–80 and Gabriele Fahr-Becker, *Wiener Werkstätte 1903–1932* (Köln: Benedikt Taschen Verlag, 1995), 38–9 and Ursula Prokop, *Margaret Stonborough-Wittgenstein: Bauherrin, Intellektuelle, Mäzenin* (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2003), 36–41, 44–50 and 55–6 and Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981).

³ Decorated with moonstone, enamel and other scarce materials, the silver cabinet was produced by the Wiener Werkstätte and Karl purchased it at the *Kunstschau* [Vienna Art Show] in 1908. See Janik and Veigl, *Wittgenstein in Vienna*, 77 and Predota, 'Badgering the Creative Genius: Paul Wittgenstein and the Prerogative of Musical Patronage', 99.

⁴ The Alleegasse is now known as the Argentinierstrasse. The Palais Wittgenstein was sold for development after Hermine Wittgenstein, the eldest child and daughter of Karl Wittgenstein, died in 1950. See Alexander Waugh, *The House of Wittgenstein: A Family at War* (London: Bloomsbury, 2008), 296.

Joachim and his string quartet, the renowned clarinettist Richard Mühlfeld, and the most eminent contemporary composers including Johannes Brahms, Clara Schumann, Arnold Schoenberg, Richard Strauss, Alexander von Zemlinsky, Gustav Mahler and many others.⁵ The general atmosphere in the Palais could be extremely intense as all the family members, according to their regular visitor Brahms, ‘seemed to act with one another as if they were at court’.⁶

The Wittgenstein family has always assumed some kind of court mannerisms of the Viennese royalties and aristocracies. Hermann Christian Wittgenstein, Karl’s father, was a merchant from Leipzig who moved to Vienna in 1851 and subsequently rented the Laxenburg Palace near the Austrian capital. Karl and his ten siblings spent their adolescent years in the Laxenburg Palace and were brought up under strict paternal rules.⁷ Regardless of whether Karl consciously or subconsciously inherited this paternal approach from his father, he governed his family with very stern, almost authoritarian precepts. As a result, severe tensions generated and intensified within the family, and the pressure that Karl imparted to his children, particularly his sons, would only cause them permanent psychological, mental and nervous problems. These psychological tensions were perhaps reflected in Paul’s tempestuous temper and aggressive piano playing, Ludwig’s self-struggling and philosophical writing, and most

⁵ Ibid. 32. Gustav Mahler insulted his host during his first visit to the Palais and thus was never invited back.

⁶ Quoted in E. Fred Flindell, ‘Paul Wittgenstein (1887-1961): Patron and Pianist’, *Music Review* 32 (1971), 109. Original quotation in German printed in Flindell, ‘Ursprung und Geschichte der Sammlung Wittgenstein im 19. Jahrhundert’, *Musikforschung*, 24 (1971), 307.

⁷ Karl was rebellious in nature and he never got along with his father. He ran away from home twice, and when he escaped for the second time in January 1865, he went to New York. He worked there first as a waiter, then as a violinist in a minstrel band and a barman. He then became a teacher in Manhattan and Rochester. He returned home in the spring of 1866. See Waugh, *The House of Wittgenstein*, 9–14.

significantly, the suicide of his three elder sons.⁸ There were occasions, however, for these suffocating tensions to be moderated, and the key was the presence of music and the process of music-making. Margaret Deneke, a family friend of the Wittgensteins, witnessed at one of the musical gatherings in the Palais that the whole family ‘rocked with the rhythm of the dance, their fresh renderings showed how much they [were] delighted in the works they sang’.⁹

In his Palais, Karl hosted numerous private concerts in its Hall but more often in the extravagant Musiksaal. Ranging from small and intimate musical soirées to grand concerts that catered for approximately 300 guests,¹⁰ these musical gatherings were, according to Hermine, the eldest child and daughter of Karl, ‘always festive occasions, almost solemn, and the beautiful music was the essential thing’.¹¹ The central repertoire of these musical evenings included compositions by Ludwig van Beethoven, Anton Bruckner and Felix Mendelssohn among many others, as well as those by the living composers including the family’s ‘house composer’, the blind pianist, organist and composer Josef Labor, and Brahms, who witnessed the premiere of several of

⁸ Hans, Kurt and Rudolf were the first three sons of Karl. No records can be found to prove whether Hans had really committed suicide or died in a canoe accident, but he was neither seen nor heard after 1902 and was generally thought to have killed himself. Rudolf, a student in Berlin studying chemistry, was in fear that his disposition towards homosexuality might have been revealed and so he killed himself in a Berlin restaurant with a glass of milk that he mixed with potassium cyanide in 1904. Kurt committed suicide while fighting at the Italian front in 1918. His motivation for committing suicide was a mystery and remains unknown. See Waugh, *The House of Wittgenstein*, 22–30 and 125–9.

⁹ Margaret Deneke, ‘The Wittgensteins’, in *Margaret Deneke Memoirs*, vol. 2, Deposit 1, Lady Margaret Hall Archives, University of Oxford, 28. The Wittgenstein family was singing Brahms’s *Liebesleider Waltzes* and a Cantata by J.S. Bach when Deneke arrived at the Palais Wittgenstein.

¹⁰ J.F. Penrose, ‘The Other Wittgenstein’, *American Scholar*, 64/3 (1995), 398. Leopoldine Wittgenstein was responsible for organising these musical concerts in the Palais.

¹¹ Quoted in Waugh, *The House of Wittgenstein*, 32.

his compositions there.¹² The formation of this combined repertoire of late classical, early and late Romantic music was a result of the unanimous admiration that the whole Wittgenstein family held for these composers and their music.¹³ It was in these musical gatherings that the young Paul shaped his initial musical conceptions, aesthetics and tastes. He would first express his preferences and fondness for these music in his two-handed debut in 1913, then maintained them throughout his entire performing career, and re-asserted them again and for one last time by publishing a transcription volume as part of the trilogy of his *School for the Left Hand* in 1957, in which he compiled twenty-seven left-hand transcriptions of music by J.S. Bach, J.S. Bach–Brahms, Franz Josef Haydn, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Schubert–Liszt, Mendelssohn, Robert Schumann, Edvard Grieg, Wagner, Wagner–Liszt—a repertoire central to his pianistic career of forty years.¹⁴

As were all the Wittgenstein children, Paul was highly musical. He took his first piano lessons with a family friend, Marie Baumayer. Very soon after he went on to study with Malvine Brée, the teaching assistant to Theodor Leschetizky, who was considered as the best piano pedagogue of his time and whose students included the world-famous pianists such as Ignacy Jan Paderewski and Arthur Schnabel. Under the tutelage of Miss Brée, Paul progressed very quickly, and his piano skills were so advanced that he was even allowed to accompany Joachim and to play duets with Strauss on their

¹² This includes the private premiere of his Clarinet Sonatas, Op. 120, performed by Richard Mühlfeld.

¹³ Irene Suchy, 'Sein Werk—Die Musik des Produzenten-Musikers Paul Wittgenstein' in Suchy, Janik and Predota, eds. *Empty Sleeve*, 24.

¹⁴ Works by Adolf Henselt, Giacomo Meyerbeer, J.S. Bach–Gounod and Giacomo Puccini are also included in the transcription volume, but they were less performed than the others. For a complete list of works, see Paul Wittgenstein, 'Contents', in *School for the Left Hand*, Vol. III Transcriptions (Wien: Universal Edition, 1957), 86.

visits to the Palais. After completing his military service in the autumn of 1910, Paul transferred to Leschetizky for piano learning and concurrently commenced his music theory lessons with Labor. While Leschetizky elevated Paul's piano skills and techniques with his unique teaching methodology, Labor, who acted as both a mentor and a teacher to Paul, broadened his views on all subjects in the humanities. This pedagogical combination exerted a considerable amount of powerful, crucial and everlasting influences on the musical development of the aspiring Paul. Under the guidance of his two teachers, Paul not only confirmed his musical identity as a pianist and musician of the nineteenth century whose musical preference was clearly Germanic, he would also and ultimately become what Jim Samson called a 'Romantic Virtuoso'. According to Samson, a romantic virtuoso 'was no mere technician; nor was he a slave to the musical work... He stood for freedom, for Faustian man, for the individual in search of self-realisation—free, isolated, striving, desiring. Heroically overcoming his instrument, he was a powerful symbol of transcendence'.¹⁵ This was exactly what Paul advocated, strove for and exhibited as his performing career advanced. His self-recognition as a romantic virtuoso and its associated qualities would in turn determine how he placed and directed himself as pianist, composer and musical patron in the twentieth century, which greatly affected his interactions with the composers whom he would commission.

From a very young age, Paul had contemplated a career as a concert pianist. However, his decision to enter the music profession stood in complete

¹⁵ Jim Samson, *Virtuosity and the Musical Work: The Transcendental Studies of Liszt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 75.

opposition to his father's wishes. Despite being an outstanding violinist and a generous patron for both music and the arts himself, Karl would never permit Paul to embark on a musical career. Instead, he insisted that Paul should enter the banking profession, which he dutifully did for a while. Yet, his determination to become a pianist did not waver. While Karl firmly opposed Paul's desire for a pianistic career, the rest of the Wittgenstein family was also constantly arguing about whether Paul should or should not become a concert pianist. On the one hand, they were concerned that it would only cause damage to the family's prestige if Paul were to become a concert pianist rather than a banker or similar professional; on the other, almost all the family members were doubtful about his piano playing. His mother often asked, '*Man muss das Piano ja nicht so bearbeiten?*'¹⁶ [Does he [really] have to pound the piano like this?] Being jokingly named 'the *Saitenknicker* [string-breaker]',¹⁷ Paul's aggressive playing may have been a reflection of the nervous intensity that he generated and a consequence of the heavy stress that his father had imposed on him since his early childhood. This immense nervousness, as Trevor Harvey rightfully described, 'led [Paul] often to play insensitively and loudly and not

¹⁶ Quoted in Matthias Kroß, 'Paul und Ludwig Wittgenstein', in Thomas Karlauf, ed. *Deutsche Brüder: Zwölf Doppelporträts* (Berlin: Rowohlt Berlin, 1994), 298. English translation quoted in Waugh, *The House of Wittgenstein*, 38. Although Leopoldine did not give her comment in the form of a question, she said it in an ironic and teasing tone. Therefore, Waugh's translation and interpretation of it as a question fittingly capture and express her sarcasm. The reference Waugh provided in his notes and bibliography for this commentary is incorrect and incomplete, however.

¹⁷ Quoted in E. Fred Flindell, 'Paul Wittgenstein (1887-1961): Patron and Pianist', 111. Flindell wrote the following: 'Inscribed on a photograph of Theodor Leschetizky given to Paul one reads: "In friendly remembrance of Theodor Leschetizky, to his dear pupil Paul Wittgenstein, the mighty key smasher [*Saitenknicker*]"'. Vienna 26th June [1913]'. Here I have retained Flindell's loose but suggestive translation 'key smasher' for *Saitenknicker* in the quotation, while adopting a more literal translation 'string-breaker' in the main text. It has been widely accepted that it was Leschetizky who dubbed Wittgenstein as *Saitenknicker*. However, the identity of the person who wrote this message on a photo of Leschetizky and subsequently gave it to Wittgenstein is not mentioned in Flindell's quote. And since Flindell did not give a reference to this quote in his article, this question remains answered.

always with great accuracy'.¹⁸ Although Paul's piano playing did not get much approval from his family and friends, his long-awaited debut eventually took place in the Großer Musikvereinssaal in Vienna on 1 December 1913, with the Wiener Tonkünstler playing under the baton of Oskar Nedbal. Yet this monumental event might arguably not have happened if his father had not died earlier in January of the same year.

Eager to introduce himself to the Viennese audience as a serious piano virtuoso, Paul performed four concertos in succession at his debut, including the Piano Concerto No. 2 in A major by John Field, the *Serenade and Allegro giocoso* by Felix Mendelssohn, the *Variations and Fugue on a Theme of Czerny* by Josef Labor and the E-flat major Piano Concerto by Franz Liszt. This courageous programme, which was also excessively long and demanding, was received with a mixture of positive and negative comments.¹⁹ Max Kalbeck, the Brahms biographer, was the first critic to publish a review in the *Neues Wiener Tageblatt* dated 6 December 1913:

Any young man, a member of Viennese high society, who launches himself on the public in the year 1913 as a piano virtuoso with a concerto by John Field must either be a fanatical enthusiast or a very self-confident dilettante. But Herr Paul Wittgenstein – for it is he of whom we speak – is neither one nor the other but (better than either as far as we are

¹⁸ Trevor Harvey, 'Paul Wittgenstein: A Personal Reminiscence', *Gramophone* (June 1961), 120.

¹⁹ The reception and critical accounts of Paul Wittgenstein as a pianist playing with either two hands or just the left hand have always been controversial, and for most of the time there were more criticisms than praise. Prokofiev, who had heard Paul's playing (as a left-hand pianist), made a very interesting comment in 1930: 'I do not see any extraordinary brilliance in his left hand [per se]; it may even be that his misfortune has unexpectedly been transformed into a blessing because as [such] he is unique, but with the usual two hands he could well not stand out from the crowd of averagely gifted pianists'. Sergey Prokofiev, *Sergey Prokofiev diaries, 1924–1933: Prodigal Son*, trans. Anthony Philips (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013), 968.

concerned) a serious artist... A dryly written composition had unexpectedly blossomed into a poem. Inside that immaculately clean technique, which seems to us today as cool as inorganic matter, lives a tender and sensitive soul and we felt its warm breath.²⁰

As mentioned above, Kalbeck was a family friend of the Wittgensteins and so his commentaries could have been biased. His description of Paul's piano technique as 'immaculately clean', in particular, contradicted with the opinions seen in an unsigned review that appeared in *Das Fremdenblatt* four days after Kalbeck's on 10 December. The unknown critic wrote, 'further practice would add greater perfection to his abilities and refine his performance...' and carried on saying that Paul's performance was 'particularly careful and exceedingly cautious'.²¹ Julius Korngold, one of the most influential music critics at that time, finally published his review in the *Neue Freie Presse* on 22 December, three weeks after Paul's debut. He commented: 'The debut of the young pianist Paul Wittgenstein aroused lively interest ... his freshly acquired technique, his sheer joy in music making and his classically trained feeling for style could all be sympathetically indulged without the need for taking further risks'.²² With this gratifying review written by one of the most leading music critics of his time, Wittgenstein victoriously overcame his family's objection to his pursuing a career as a concert pianist. However, in less than a year's time his blooming

²⁰ Quoted in Waugh, *The House of Wittgenstein*, 58–59. Original review in German can be found in Flindell, 'More on Franz Schmidt and Paul Wittgenstein and their triumph with the E-flat Concerto' in Suchy, Janik and Predota, eds. *Empty Sleeve*, 160–1, note 15A.

²¹ Ibid., 59; original review in German can be found in Flindell, 'More on Franz Schmidt and Paul Wittgenstein and their triumph with the E-flat Concerto' in Suchy, Janik and Predota, eds. *Empty Sleeve*, 161, note 15C.

²² Ibid., 59; original review in German can be found in Flindell, 'More on Franz Schmidt and Paul Wittgenstein and their triumph with the E-flat Concerto' in Suchy, Janik and Predota, eds. *Empty Sleeve*, 161, note 15B.

performing career was dramatically cut short by unfortunate events in the First World War.

Serving as a second lieutenant in the Austro-Hungarian Army, Paul was severely wounded at Topola in 1914 and eventually suffered the amputation of his right arm. During his internment as a prisoner of war in Russian camps, Paul quickly and firmly decided to continue his performing career with only his left hand. His determination was initially inspired by two significant musical figures, Count Géza Zichy and Leopold Godowsky. Zichy lost his right arm in a hunting accident at the age of fourteen, but he continued his musical career and eventually became a celebrated piano virtuoso who even appeared on stage with Liszt.²³ Zichy's achievement undoubtedly appealed to Paul and encouraged him to think he could also do the same. In fact, he was to surpass his predecessor in a number of years. Godowsky, on the other hand, provided for Paul a left-hand repertoire ready to use. Not only was he a dominating piano virtuoso of his time, Godowsky was also hailed as 'the only composer to have added anything of significance to keyboard writing since Liszt',²⁴ and that surely included his 53 Studies on the Chopin Études, written and published between 1894 and 1914. Godowsky's left-hand arrangements of the Chopin Studies impressed Paul greatly because he had performed a number of them in their original form before the war, including the challenging

²³ John S. Weissmann and Maria Eckhardt. 'Zichy, Count Géza'. *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press. Web. 22 Jan. 2015.

<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/30948>>. For a more detailed discussion on Zichy's musical career as a left-hand pianist, see Theodore Edel, *Piano Music for One Hand* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994), 26–9.

²⁴ Charles Hopkins, 'Godowsky, Leopold'. *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press. Web. 22 Jan. 2015.

<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/11344>>.

‘Revolutionary’.²⁵ These Chopin–Godowsky Studies not only supplied an immediate repertoire that catered for Paul’s special disability, they also and more importantly offered a model to him to begin a process of transcribing and arranging two-handed repertoire for the left hand alone. While waiting for a chance to be returned to Vienna on a prisoner exchange, Paul laboriously rearranged as many pieces he remembered as possible for his left hand and practised industriously. Finally returning to Vienna in November 1915, Paul immediately immersed himself in practising the piano, including the *Konzertstück* in D major [Concert Piece in D major] that Labor composed for him upon receiving his request from Russia several months before, to prepare the ground for the establishment of his performing career as a left-hand pianist. On 12 December 1916, Paul appeared on stage once again in the Großer Musikvereinssaal with the same orchestra and conductor with whom he had made his two-handed debut three years before. This time, however, Paul was going to astound his audience with only his left hand. On this special occasion, he played Labor’s *Konzertstück*, three Chopin–Godowsky Studies, his own arrangement of Verdi–Liszt’s *Rigoletto Paraphrase*, and a number of pieces by J.S. Bach and Mendelssohn. Regardless of whether the audience were just being sympathetic and curious about the special physical condition of the performer, the concert hall was full and Paul’s re-debut turned out to be a great triumph. Just when everyone in the family assumed he would immediately take this opportunity to launch a performing career, he surprised them all by re-joining the Austro-Hungarian Army in August 1917. Paul’s military service this time did not last long and he was discharged from the Army in August

²⁵ For more details on Paul’s public performance of the original Chopin etudes, see Flindell, ‘Paul Wittgenstein (1887-1961): Patron and Pianist’, 114 and Waugh, *The House of Wittgenstein*, 87–8.

1918. During 1918–22 Paul was rather inactive as a performer, and the handful performances in which he participated were mostly private occasions. One obvious reason for Paul to have a limited number of concert engagements was the lack of a suitable left-hand repertoire. Although Labor had been diligently supplying new concerto compositions for him, he knew however, as Alexander Waugh observed, that ‘he could not survive off Labor alone’.²⁶ Therefore, he rummaged through libraries and second-hand music stores in hope of collecting piano works for the left hand, but it was not very successful. Most of his discoveries, as E. Fred Flindell summarised, were either antiquated or poor, except for the Chopin–Godowsky Studies, Brahms’s arrangement of J.S. Bach’s Chaconne and a few compositions by Camille Saint-Saëns, Max Reger, Aleksandr Nikolayevich Skryabin and A. Hollaender.²⁷ With the notion of virtuosity and its development in the nineteenth century, deliberate attention was given to the training of the left hand. Composers from all ranks were eager to compose music to increase the facilities of the left hand, resulting in abundant exercises and etudes for the left hand.²⁸ However, due to their didactic nature, these compositions were rather limited in scope. And Paul, who yearned for a performing career as a virtuosic pianist of international renown, was conscious about the fact that he would never achieve his goal by performing only these pedagogical pieces. Also, even though there was a variety of existing transcriptions for the left hand available, and Paul himself had also fashioned a copious amount of left-hand arrangements, he ‘was

²⁶ Waugh, *The House of Wittgenstein*, 158.

²⁷ Flindell, ‘Paul Wittgenstein (1887-1961): Patron and Pianist’, 114.

²⁸ For an extensive list of piano works written for one hand, see the four catalogues in Edel’s book, *Piano Music for One Hand*, 39–121 and Hans Brofeldt’s website, *Piano Music for the Left Hand Alone*. Web. 20 May 2011. <<http://www.left-hand-brofeldt.dk/index.htm>>.

among the first to recognise that they were not especially good'.²⁹ In addition, Paul knew clearly that if he wanted to become an internationally acclaimed piano virtuoso, he needed to have a tailor-made repertoire that not only would allow him to showcase his techniques, but also and more importantly his artistic and musical merits. With this consideration in mind, Paul began an extensive commissioning programme that would fulfil his ultimate goal to become a unique and distinguished piano virtuoso, which at the same time also left a remarkable legacy in the history of musical patronage.

With the vast fortune Paul inherited from his late father, he could in theory commission any composers he favoured to write music for his special disability. However, the first commissions did not come until 1923, seven years after Paul's one-handed debut. Waugh argued that Labor was the reason why Paul's commissions were delayed, because if the Wittgenstein family 'felt a sense of "owning" Labor, the same certainly pertained in reverse. Paul was *his* prodigy, and the old man did not approve of his "ever faithful" former pupil's plan to commission new works from a raft of other composers more distinguished than himself'.³⁰ This argument, to some extent, can be considered plausible. Nevertheless, the question of whom to commission would have been problematic for Paul as well. On the one hand, the prospective composer to be commissioned needed to be sufficiently well known and prominent that Paul could assure that both their work and he himself could reach a wide audience. On the other hand, as the programme of both his two-handed and one-handed debut showed, he clearly identified himself as a pianist and musician of the

²⁹ Waugh, *The House of Wittgenstein*, 159.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 160.

nineteenth century. This self-identification was so strong and deeply rooted that it prevented him from developing a taste for the music written by most of his avant-garde contemporaries. This meant that Paul simply would not consider engaging Arnold Schoenberg of the Second Viennese School with a commission despite their personal acquaintance, for example. And although he did attempt to commission a few modern composers, including Paul Hindemith and Sergei Prokofiev among others, he never managed to understand and appreciate their music, and these composers were aware of the difficulties in pleasing their commissioner, too. Prokofiev, for instance, wrote in hopeless fear in 1931 that he wished ‘the concerto will prove satisfactory to you [Paul] from a pianistic point of view... You are a musician of the 19th Century—I am one of the 20th’.³¹ Needless to say, the composer’s wish was not granted and the pianist never performed the concerto.

Although the history of composing for piano left-hand does not begin nor end with Paul Wittgenstein, the considerable number of musical works he commissioned left an extraordinary legacy in this tradition. Franz Schmidt and Erich Wolfgang Korngold were among the first composers who received a commission from Paul between December 1922 and Easter 1923.³² Schmidt responded to Paul’s commission with the *Concertante Variationen über ein Thema von Beethoven* [Concertante Variations on a theme of Beethoven] and the work was premiered on 2 February 1924 in Vienna and received excellent reviews. This work marked a crucial point in Paul’s performing career not only

³¹ Quoted in Waugh, *The House of Wittgenstein*, 189. The original letter in French is quoted in Flinedell, ‘Dokumente aus der Sammlung Paul Wittgenstein’, *Musikforschung*, 24 (1971), 428.

³² The other two composers who also received a commission were Paul Hindemith and Sergei Bortkiewicz.

because it brought him his very first success, it also and more significantly increased his self-confidence in developing his career as a concert pianist with his own commissions. Paul thought very highly of Schmidt and his music, as he altogether commissioned six works from the composer, including three Piano Quintets, a Piano Concerto and a Toccata after the *Concertante Variations*.³³ He also described the composer in an interview with the *Musical Courier* in 1939 as ‘the greatest Austrian composer of the last twenty years’.³⁴ However, Schmidt’s reputation was quite localised: both he and his music were virtually unknown to audiences outside Austria. Be that as it may, Paul did acquire a good reputation with the *Concertante Variations* in his native Vienna that prepared him to expand his exposure to a much wider audience, which he succeeded in doing so with the piano concerto he commissioned from Korngold.

Korngold, son of the leading music critic Julius Korngold who attended Paul’s two-handed debut in 1913 and famously left the concert hall after hearing only the opening Piano Concerto of John Field, was already a composer of world renown when Paul approached him for a commission in 1923. The young Korngold quickly responded with a piano concerto written in a musical style that was perhaps slightly more modern than Paul would have expected. However, it was the orchestration and the balance between the ensemble and the solo piano of the concerto that prompted Paul to complain to Korngold, as

³³ The other five Schmidt commissions included the Piano Quintet in G major (1926), the Piano Quintet in B-flat major (1932), the Piano Concerto in E-flat major (1934), the Piano Quintet in A major (1938) and the Toccata in D minor (1938).

³⁴ K.H., ‘Paul Wittgenstein tells of Franz Schmidt, who dedicated major works to him’, *Musical Courier*, 26 (December 1939).

he habitually did to all other composers he commissioned.³⁵ Eventually, the composer and the pianist-patron reached a compromise, and the premiere of Korngold's Piano Concerto in C-sharp major, Op. 17, took place on 22 September 1924 at the Großer Musikvereinssaal in Vienna, achieving a phenomenal success that greatly surpassed that of the *Concertante Variations* several months earlier.

The elevating successes with Schmidt and Korngold encouraged Wittgenstein to approach Richard Strauss, one of the leading German composers at that time with whom he was personally acquainted, to compose music for his left hand. In 1925, Strauss composed the *Parergon zur Symphonia Domestica*, Op. 73 as a companion piece to his *Symphonia Domestica*, Op. 53, and dedicated it to Wittgenstein. The pianist grumbled about the lack of solo display in the work, and eventually forced a substantial amount of structural and musical alterations upon Strauss's original endeavour. Two years later in 1927 Strauss composed another piece for the left hand, the *Panathenäenzug*, Op. 74, which was also dedicated to Wittgenstein. It is not known, however, whether Wittgenstein commissioned this from Strauss, or the composer simply composed the work for Wittgenstein unasked.

If Schmidt's *Concertante Variations* of 1924 laid a foundation for Wittgenstein's performing career as a left-hand pianist, Korngold's Piano Concerto and the two Strauss commissions contributed to the pianist's rise to

³⁵ Paul had arguments with all the composers he commissioned. Both Schmidt and Strauss were eager to please Paul and so they agreed to the many alternations that he made to their scores. However, many other composers such as Maurice Ravel and Benjamin Britten were less inclined to allow Paul to 're-compose' their music and thus serious disputes broke out between them. For Paul's arguments with Britten over the *Diversions*, Op. 21, see Chapter 4.

international fame. By the end of the 1920s Wittgenstein had appeared on stage with a great number of leading conductors in almost all the music cities all over Europe.³⁶ His already blooming performing career was further advanced by his collaboration with Maurice Ravel who, despite suffering bitterly from the serious arguments he had with Wittgenstein, composed the Piano Concerto for the Left Hand in 1929–30 that would stun their contemporary audiences worldwide and remain popular to the present day.

³⁶ These include Vienna, Paris, London, Berlin, Dresden, Leipzig, Amsterdam and many more European cities.

The Paul Wittgenstein Sources

Most of the Paul Wittgenstein sources and related materials can be found in two main geographical locations, the United Kingdom and Hong Kong. At the University of Oxford, the Department of Special Collections and Western Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library currently houses a Deneke Collection that includes not only the Wittgenstein concert programmes kept by Deneke, but also and more importantly a large number of letters from Wittgenstein to Deneke from the 1920s to the 1960s, vividly telling of Wittgenstein's performing career in Great Britain. The Music Collections of the Bodleian Library (*Gb-Ob*), on the other hand, keeps several boxes of original concert programmes of the performances in which Wittgenstein participated. The Balliol College Library (*Gb-Obc*) preserves a handful of correspondence between Ernest Walker and Wittgenstein pertaining to his performance of the Variations on an Original Theme for Pianoforte, Clarinet, Violin, Viola and Violoncello (1933), and the Lady Margaret Hall Archives holds two volumes of *Margaret Deneke Memoirs* by Deneke that provide valuable insights into Wittgenstein's life and career, character and personality, and other members of the Wittgenstein family from a close friend's point of view. The Britten–Pears Foundation in Aldeburgh (*Gb-Alb*) has a limited correspondence between Benjamin Britten and Wittgenstein, a number of printed scores and source materials of Britten's *Diversions on a Theme*, Op. 21, including (most significantly) the photographic copy of the two-piano reduction of the hitherto lost first version of the work. In addition, the British Newspaper Archive of the British Library in Colindale, London, the Times Archive Online, the BBC

Proms Archive Online and the BBC Written Archives Centre (WAC) offer concert programmes and reviews as well as broadcasting materials of the public performances in which Wittgenstein personally participated, and the WAC holds several files of letters and documents of Wittgenstein and Norman Demuth. The Donald Francis Tovey Collections in the Department of Special Collections of the Edinburgh University Library keep the concert programme of the presumably first public performance by Wittgenstein in Great Britain, as well as a number of letters from Wittgenstein to Tovey.

Throughout his long performing career, Wittgenstein obsessively safeguarded his commissions in every possible way. For the works that he publicly performed, he would collect all the music, including conductor scores and instrumental parts, after each and every rehearsal and performance.³⁷ For the compositions that he did not play, for example the concertos by Prokofiev, Hindemith and many others, he simply kept them in his private music archive. Not only did he prohibit anybody from having access to his private collection, he also refused to let any other pianists perform these works. Siegfried Rapp, a German pianist who lost his right arm during the Second World War, wrote to Wittgenstein in 1950 asking for permission to perform some of his commissions but was refused.³⁸ Wittgenstein replied to him saying: ‘You don’t build a house just so that someone else can live in it. I commissioned and paid

³⁷ These scores and parts are all housed in the *HK-pwa*, which I have personally consulted. In the conducting scores different annotations and markings by different hands can be seen; and in the orchestral parts a variety of signatures are found with different rehearsal and performance dates. The collection of different signatures, dates and other annotations found in the scores and parts suggested that conductors and players got them right at the rehearsals and they had to return the materials to Wittgenstein after the performance.

³⁸ The work that Rapp eventually and posthumously premiered in 1956 in Berlin was the Piano Concerto No.4 in B-flat major for the left hand, Op. 53, which Prokofiev composed for and dedicated to Wittgenstein in 1931. Yet, it is unknown if Rapp specifically asked for Wittgenstein’s permission to play this Concerto or not.

for the works, the whole idea was mine ... Constructing this house has cost me a great deal of money and effort ... once I am dead or no longer give concerts, then the works [all his commissions] will be available to everyone because I have no wish for them to gather dust in libraries to the detriment of the composers'.³⁹ Here in this letter Wittgenstein's conception of (his own) musical patronage is made explicit: it was his very own idea to launch this special commission campaign for his left hand and thus the compositions he commissioned were – in effect and in reality – his properties.⁴⁰ Therefore, even though he claimed that his commissions would be made available to others, it turned out to be the complete opposite. After his death in 1961 his widow, Hilde Schania, acted in accordance with his will and locked his entire music library in a factory warehouse for an additional forty years. It was only in 2001 when Hilde passed away that Wittgenstein's extensive music library was rediscovered. In 2003, the Paul Wittgenstein Music Library and Archives (*HK-pwa*) was auctioned by Sotheby's London,⁴¹ and in 2004 the vast majority of the Paul Wittgenstein sources made their way to the Octavian Society in Hong Kong. The Archive currently houses, among many other primary musical and

³⁹ Quoted in Waugh, *The House of Wittgenstein*, 293–4. For the original letter in German from Wittgenstein to Rapp, see Giselher Schubert, 'Hindemiths Klaviermusik mit Orchester für Paul Wittgenstein' in Suchy, Janik and Predota, eds. *Empty Sleeve*, 172. The original letter is housed at the Hindemith-Institut in Frankfurt.

⁴⁰ The concept of taking his commissions as his own properties explained the reason why Wittgenstein insisted on and persisted in bringing the conductor's score and instrumental parts to each and every rehearsal and performance and collecting them afterwards because this would allow him to prevent anyone from taking his properties away from him. This concept also guided him to consider himself as the sole person who had the absolute authority to decide what his commissions should be like, and if they did not meet his expectations, then he of course had the power and the rights to command the composers to make changes to suit his needs, or even took up the role as composer to 're-compose' his commissions to the most extreme. This certainly placed a great impact on his interactions with the composers he commissioned, with whom he entered into extremely serious arguments. For more details on how Wittgenstein dealt with his collaborators and commissions, see my discussions in Chapters 2, 3 and 4, and the Conclusion.

⁴¹ For a list of materials included in the Paul Wittgenstein Music Library and Archives, see '214: Wittgenstein, Paul. The Music Archive and Library of Paul Wittgenstein' in Sotheby's London catalogue (22 May 2003), and Predota, 'Badgering the Creative Genius: Paul Wittgenstein and the Prerogative of Musical Patronage', 71–102.

non-musical sources, a great number of original concert programmes of Wittgenstein's performances in Great Britain, the autograph manuscripts and copyist's parts for Walker's *Variations on an Original Theme*, the autograph manuscripts and professional copies of the *Study for the Left Hand* (1901) and the *Prelude for the Left Hand* (undated), the autograph manuscripts of Norman Demuth's *Three Preludes* (1946) and *Concerto for Piano (Left Hand) and Orchestra* (1946) and one complete set of photographic reproductions of the instrumental parts of the first version of Britten's *Diversions*, Op. 21. All of these valuable source materials in both Hong Kong and the United Kingdom provide the incentive, necessary basis and evidence for a discussion of the musical career of Wittgenstein.

The Establishment of Paul Wittgenstein's British Performing Career

Wittgenstein's extensive commissioning programme has encouraged researchers to study his associations with the composers he commissioned along with his highly remarkable performing career. Besides performing in all major music cities of continental Europe, Wittgenstein also made concert appearances in Great Britain. However, this British branch of his performing career has not received the scholarly attention it deserves.

After establishing a career as a left-hand pianist in his native Vienna and securing a reputation as a serious and distinguished virtuoso in central Europe, Wittgenstein was ready to venture beyond the Continent. And Britain, not without reasons, was his next target. First of all, the middle class in Britain was, as in Austria, very influential, wealthy and cultured. This allowed Wittgenstein, who came from an upper middle-class family and had always considered himself quasi-royalty at the most extreme end, to easily situate himself in the British middle class and become part of its community. Also, Britain had a long and well-established concert history and tradition and its capital, London, one of the most important musical capitals in Europe alongside Vienna and Paris,⁴² had always offered 'greater encouragement and rewards to foreign than to native musicians'.⁴³ Starting from the eighteenth century, a significant number of foreign musicians came to London to participate in its musical

⁴² William Weber, *Music and the Middle Class: The Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris and Vienna* (London: Croom Helm Ltd, 1975), 3. Weber reported that the history of concert in these three musical capitals began in the late seventeenth century, and in London concerts grew earlier and more numerous than in Paris or Vienna.

⁴³ Peter Horton, 'William Sterndale Bennett, Composer and Pianist' in Therese Ellsworth and Susan Wollenberg, eds. *The Piano in Nineteenth-Century British Culture: Instruments, Performers and Repertoire* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 119.

activities on a regular basis, exerting a considerable influence on the musical development in the whole of Britain.⁴⁴ Among these continental connections, as Therese Ellsworth and Susan Wollenberg pointed out, ‘the German influence was particularly strong’;⁴⁵ and it was further consolidated and intensified by the continuing influx of German musicians in the early to mid-nineteenth century.⁴⁶ Felix Mendelssohn, who frequently visited Britain between 1829 and 1847, was adored by the British audiences for both his music and pianistic skills, and the leading critic George Hogarth acclaimed that Mendelssohn was ‘among the greatest masters of the day’.⁴⁷ Believed to be first performed by William Sterndale Bennett in London in 1838, Mendelssohn’s famous *Songs without Words* was not only ‘destined to become phenomenally popular in Britain’,⁴⁸ but was also regarded as the ‘best-selling piano music of all time’.⁴⁹ The Mendelssohn craze not only left the British audience with an insatiable appetite for German music, it also helped facilitate the career of any forthcoming pianists with a repertoire featuring works from the German musical canon. While the German influence was intensifying, a new concert tradition, the solo recital, had emerged in Britain and was rapidly growing in both frequency and popularity. According to William Weber, ‘the

⁴⁴ The earliest musicians of the Austro-German canon who visited Britain included George Frideric Handel, J.C. Bach, Franz Josef Haydn and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, among others. Both Handel and Bach settled permanently in London, and were unofficially adopted as British composers.

⁴⁵ See Ellsworth and Wollenberg, ‘Introduction’, in Ellsworth and Wollenberg, eds. *The Piano in Nineteenth-Century British Culture*, 4. The editors directed readers to Rosemary Ashton’s *Little Germany: Exile and Asylum in Victorian England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986) for details on the influx of the cultured German into Britain in the nineteenth century, 139–187, esp. 176–9 for a discussion devoted to musicians, such as Richard Wagner and Charles Hallé.

⁴⁶ Many German artists and musicians were refugees who came to Britain around the 1848 revolution.

⁴⁷ George Hogarth, *Musical History, Biography, and Criticism: being a general survey of music, from the earliest period to the present time* (London: John W. Parker, 1935), 151.

⁴⁸ See Ellsworth and Wollenberg, ‘Introduction’, 5.

⁴⁹ Ronald Pearsall, *Edwardian Popular Music* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1975), 131.

solo recital emerged as a major new performing strategy, chiefly in Britain, initially done almost entirely by pianists'.⁵⁰ By giving two solo concerts in London in 1840 Liszt, who was generally accepted to be the first pianist to perform alone, defined the piano recital as a 'performance from memory, a predominance of works for solo piano and few, or not, associate artists'.⁵¹ Pianists who followed Liszt's practice to give solo recitals in London included Charles Hallé, Clara Schumann and Arabella Goddard, and they all helped the consolidation and maturing of the piano recital in Britain. The sophisticated solo-recital tradition and the German-friendly atmosphere assured by Mendelssohn's success made Britain a favourable place to launch a performing career, and Wittgenstein was certainly aware of this. When he finally did so a century later, he paid tribute to both Mendelssohn and Liszt by including a number of their compositions in his performances.

Besides performing in London, Wittgenstein followed the tradition established by Liszt also to include provincial cities, such as Edinburgh, Birmingham, Bournemouth and Oxford, in his concert tours. Among all these places, Wittgenstein appeared most frequently in Oxford,⁵² which he had been visiting since the 1920s. This was undoubtedly a result of his personal acquaintance with Deneke, who was an honorary Fellow of Lady Margaret Hall of the University of Oxford. Although it is unknown where, when and how

⁵⁰ William Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 247.

⁵¹ Janet Ritterman and William Weber, 'Origins of the Piano Recital in England, 1830–1870' in Ellsworth and Wollenberg, eds. *The Piano in Nineteenth-Century British Culture*, 178–9.

⁵² See Susan Wollenberg, *Music at Oxford in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) for the musical history, development and environment in Oxford. Many of the musical traditions developed in the nineteenth centuries were retained and still in practice when Wittgenstein joined the Oxford music circle in the early twentieth century.

Wittgenstein and Deneke first met each other and formed a friendship, they were connected in many musical ways. Deneke was a fine pianist herself and had studied with Eugenie Schumann, whose mother Clara Schumann had been a regular guest at the Palais Wittgenstein in Vienna and the piano teacher of Wittgenstein's elder sisters. Deneke was, as C.S. Lewis wrote, 'chosen by the Mendelssohn family as the owner and guardian of a collection of musical manuscripts',⁵³ of which Wittgenstein possessed several too. In addition, her personal friends included the clarinettist Richard Mühlfeld and the violinist Marie Soldat-Roeger,⁵⁴ who were regular performers and guests at the Palais Wittgenstein. Born into a German banking family that settled first in London and then Oxford, Deneke and her sister Helena Deneke dutifully practised and maintained the musical and cultural habits initiated by their parents. This included hosting regular musical evenings at their home at Gunfield, 19 Norham Gardens, Oxford. Their guests included local musicians such as Ernest Walker and Donald Francis Tovey, and the distinguished violinists Jelly d'Arányi and Adila Fachiri, the great-nieces of Joseph Joachim, among others.⁵⁵ The Deneke family's origin and their passion for providing musical entertainments at home prompted Wollenberg to suggest that one may 'wonder if they modelled their lifestyle on that of the Mendelssohn family'.⁵⁶ While this commentary could be plausible, the Deneke family's enthusiastic endeavours

⁵³ Quoted in Susan Wollenberg, 'Remnant of a lost civilization? Margaret Deneke and Music in Oxford (and elsewhere)', *CHOMBEC News*, 2 (2006), 5. This quotation came from a testimonial C.S. Lewis wrote for Deneke. It is now housed at the Special Collections and Western Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, and is catalogued under Modern Papers, Deneke Papers (Box 12).

⁵⁴ Soldat-Roeger could have well been the person who introduced Wittgenstein to Deneke as the latter revealed in her *Memoir* that she 'knew much about Paul from Soldat'. For more details on the formation of a friendship between Wittgenstein and Deneke, see Deneke, 'The Wittgensteins', 2.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid. note 9.

to offer private musical gatherings could also be just a reflection of a common practice among the middle classes in Britain. This tradition was first established by the royal family led by Queen Victoria and his husband Prince Albert, which was immediately imitated by the aristocracies and middle classes who then passed it on to the Edwardians.⁵⁷

The Deneke musical soirées unquestionably enriched Wittgenstein's performing career in Britain. They provided him with the earliest performing opportunities in Britain, as well as allowing him to re-engage in the practice of domestic music making that he had enjoyed in his childhood. In addition, Wittgenstein had, as Deneke recalled in her *Memoir*, 'found musical friends in England through his annual visits',⁵⁸ among them Walker and Tovey. In fact, Wittgenstein thought very highly of making music with his British friends in these musical gatherings. He once wrote to Tovey that he had 'enjoyed the afternoon in your house extremely, I am still remembering it with greatest pleasure, Bach, the Intermezzo of your Violoncello concerto and the D-minor Haydn'.⁵⁹ This seems to suggest that the prime reason for Wittgenstein to come to Britain every year, except when political circumstances did not let him, was to make music with his Oxford friends. Subsequently, Wittgenstein's lifelong friendships with Deneke, Walker and Tovey helped the establishment and

⁵⁷ According to Pearsall, Queen Victoria frequently hosted private musical soirées in her Palace, and she invited the most leading musicians of the day, and many of them were pianists including Clara Schumann and Liszt. The author also mentioned that Prince Albert was a music lover who loved German music, especially the difficult ones. For further details on music making in the home in Victorian and Edwardian England, see Ronald Pearsall, *Victorian Popular Music* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1973), 74–97, and *Edwardian Popular Music*, 119–31.

⁵⁸ Deneke, 'The Wittgensteins', 29.

⁵⁹ Edinburgh University Library, Centre for Research Collections, Donald Francis Tovey Collections, E.2001/37, Letter L1951 (Letter, 14 September 1935).

proliferation of his performing career in Britain and paved the way for the emergence of his British commissions.

Paul Wittgenstein's Performances in Great Britain in the 1920s–50s

The following discussion will present a preliminary study of Wittgenstein's performances in Great Britain from the 1920s to the 1950s, which are listed chronologically in Table 1 below. This study is based mainly on the primary sources such as original concert programmes, letters and documents, and memoirs housed at various libraries and archives in both Hong Kong and the United Kingdom that have been discovered so far.

Most of the surviving original concert programmes do not bear a year of performance. Therefore, the year of performance in square brackets is conjectured from the year calendar, Deneke's *Memoirs*, correspondence between Wittgenstein, Deneke and Walker, and the similarities found in the repertoire of each concert. Standard spellings have been adopted for composition titles, which are given in their full form and in their original language when they first appear in the text, with an English translation provided in square brackets if appropriate. In their subsequent appearances they are presented as abbreviations in either their original language or English. Some compositions appeared in two or more concert programmes and their titles were written in either German or English. In this case, the language used in the concert programme is retained in the text for ease of reference. Composer names have been tacitly amended to standard spelling according to the *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*; and Wittgenstein's surname has been added as part of the composer name for his transcriptions for clarification. Composition dates are generally not given, except for unpublished works and their date of composition is given in parentheses. In

Wittgenstein's letters and correspondence, obvious spelling mistakes have been silently corrected to avoid being mistaken as typographical errors. Very often he used German spelling and grammar in his letters (even more often he would write in both German and English at the same time in one sentence), and this feature has been retained and clarified by the English equivalents given in square brackets. Misspellings are retained only to preserve the character and flavour of Wittgenstein's sometimes idiosyncratic and ironic writing, and they are indicated by the conventional [*sic*].

Date	Venue	Orchestra / Ensemble / Conductor(s) / Associate performer(s)	Programme
7 July 1926	Wigmore Hall, London (private performance)	Madame Radnitsky-Nandlick, second piano	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. S. Bortkiewicz's Piano Concerto No. 2, Op. 28 (written for and dedicated to Paul Wittgenstein) 2. Chopin–Godowsky, Two Studies 3. R. Strauss, <i>Parergon zur Symphonia Domestica</i>, Op. 73 (written for and dedicated to Paul Wittgenstein)
22 May [1927]	Mrs Emile Mond's Home, 22 Hyde Park Square, London (private performance)	The London Chamber Orchestra; Anthony Bernard, conductor	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. R. Strauss, <i>Parergon zur Symphonia Domestica</i>, Op. 73 2. E. Walker, Prelude for the Left Hand 3. Piano solos
23 May 1927	New House, Airlie Gardens, London, W8 (private performance)	Margaret Deneke, piano; Marie Soldat[-Roeger], violin	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. J. Brahms, Sonata for Pianoforte and Violin in D minor, Op. 108 2. Mozart–Wittgenstein, Sonata in B-flat major, 'Andante' 3. L. Spohr, Concerto No. 9 'Adagio' 4. E. Walker, Study for the Left Hand 5. R. Braun, 3 <i>Klavierstücke</i>, 'Serenata' (written for and dedicated to Paul Wittgenstein) 6. Chopin–Godowsky, Two Etudes 7. J.S. Bach, Sonata for Piano and Violin in E major
28 May [1927]	Mrs Deneke's Home, Gunfield, 19 Norham Gardens, Oxford (private performance)	Miss Ida Bellerby, second piano	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. R. Strauss, <i>Parergon zur Symphonia Domestica</i>, Op. 73 2. E. Walker, Study for the Left Hand 3. R. Braun, 3 <i>Klavierstücke</i>, 'Serenata' 4. Chopin–Godowsky, Two Etudes

Table 1 Wittgenstein's performances in Great Britain in the 1920s–50s (to be continued)

Date	Venue	Orchestra / Ensemble / Conductor(s) / Associate performer(s)	Programme
20 October [1927]	Ockham School, Kingsley (school performance)	Mrs Thornely Gibson, singer ⁶⁰	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Schubert–Wittgenstein, ‘Du bist die Ruh’ and ‘Meeresstille’ 2. Chopin–Godowsky, Three Studies 3. W.A. Mozart, The Marriage of Figaro, ‘Voi, ché sapete’ and ‘non so più’ 4. F. Mendelssohn, <i>Songs Without Words</i>, Three Selections 5. R. Braun, 3 <i>Klavierstücke</i>, ‘Serenata’ and ‘Perpetuum mobile’ 6. J. Brahms, <i>Feldeinsamkeit</i> and <i>Thèrese</i> 7. H. Hughes (Irish arr.), She moved through the Fair and I know where I’m goin’ 8. Schumann–Wittgenstein, <i>Album für die Jugend</i>, Op. 68, ‘Schlummerlied’ and ‘Albumblatt’ 9. Verdi–Liszt–Wittgenstein, <i>Rigoletto Paraphrase</i>
27 October 1927	Edinburgh (public performance)	Reid Symphony Orchestra; Donald Francis Tovey, conductor	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. R. Strauss, <i>Don Juan</i>, Op. 20 2. R. Strauss, <i>Parergon zur Symphonia Domestica</i>, Op. 73 Op. 73 3. F. Liszt, Symphonic Poem No. 4, ‘Orpheus’ 4. F. Schmidt, <i>Concertante Variationen über ein Thema von Beethoven</i> (1923) (written for and dedicated to Paul Wittgenstein) 5. W.A. Mozart, Symphony No. 36 in C major, K. 425
4 November 1927	The King’s High School for Girls, Warwick (school performance)		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Schubert–Wittgenstein, ‘Thou art Rest’, ‘Ocean Stillness’ and ‘Erl King’ 2. Chopin–Godowsky, Four Studies 3. Mendelssohn–Wittgenstein, <i>Songs Without Words</i>, Three Selections 4. E. Walker, Study For the Left Hand 5. R. Braun, 3 <i>Klavierstücke</i>, ‘Serenata’ and ‘Perpetuum mobile’ 6. Schumann–Wittgenstein, <i>Album für die Jugend</i>, Op. 68, ‘Slumber Song’ and ‘Melody & Study’ 7. Verdi–Liszt–Wittgenstein, <i>Rigoletto Paraphrase</i>

Table 1 Wittgenstein’s performances in Great Britain in the 1920s–50s (to be continued)

⁶⁰ The original concert programme for this concert (reproduced in Fig. 1.5 on page 64) does not include the name of the accompanist for Mrs Thornely Gibson.

Date	Venue	Orchestra / Ensemble / Conductor(s) / Associate performer(s)	Programme
6 November [1927]	Mrs Deneke's Home, Gunfield, 19 Norham Gardens, Oxford (private performance)	Dr. Ernest Walker, second piano	1. F. Schmidt, <i>Concertante Variationen über ein Thema von Beethoven</i> (1923)
22 July [1928]	Mrs Deneke's Home, Gunfield, 19 Norham Gardens, Oxford (private performance)	Dr. Ernest Walker, second piano	1. Mendelssohn–Wittgenstein, <i>Songs Without Words</i> , Two Selections 2. Chopin–Wittgenstein, Prelude in B minor 3. J.S. Bach–Wittgenstein, Prelude in D major and Prelude in A minor 4. J.S. Bach–Wittgenstein, Prelude on the Chorale 'Our Father in Heaven' 5. Haydn–Wittgenstein, 'Adagio' 6. F. Schmidt, <i>Concertante Variationen über ein Thema von Beethoven</i> (1923) 7. E. Walker, Study for the left hand alone 8. R. Schumann, 'Des Abends' 9. Chopin–Godowsky, Study in C sharp minor
25 August 1928	Queen's Hall, London (public performance)	Henry Wood Symphony Orchestra; Sir Henry Wood, conductor; Dennis Noble, baritone; Berkeley Mason, piano; Theresa Ambrose, soprano	1. H. Berlioz, <i>La damnation de Faust</i> , Op. 24, 'Menuet des follets', 'Ballet des sylphs' and 'Marche hongroise' 2. G. Sampson, Symphony in D major (Proms premiere) 3. J. Massenet, <i>Cid</i> – Aria 'Pleurez mes yeux' Act 3 4. R. Strauss, <i>Parergon zur Symphonia Domestica</i> , Op. 73 (UK premiere) 5. G. Verdi, <i>ballo in maschera</i> , Recitative & aria 'Alzati! ... Eri tu che macchiavi!', Act 3 Scene 1 6. R. Wagner, <i>Tannhäuser</i> WWV70, 'Overture' and 'Venusberg Music', Act 1 Scene 1 7. S. Rachmaninov, 6 Songs, Op. 4 No. 3, 'V molchan'! noch taynoy' 8. E. Horsman, <i>Bird of the Wilderness</i> (Proms premiere) 9. M. Shaw, <i>Conjuration</i> (Proms premiere) 10. M. Shaw, <i>Annabel Lee</i> 11. G. Rossini, <i>Semiramide</i> , 'Overture'

Table 1

Wittgenstein's performances in Great Britain in the 1920s–50s (to be continued)

Date	Venue	Orchestra / Ensemble / Conductor(s) / Associate performer(s)	Programme
14 February 1929	Winter Gardens, Bournemouth (public performance)	Bournemouth Municipal Augmented Orchestra; Sir Dan Godfrey, conductor; Dr. John Ivimey, conductor (for his own composition)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A. Dvořák, <i>Carnival Overture</i> 2. J. Ivimey, <i>Symphony in C</i> major, Op. 13 (First performance) 3. F. Schmidt, <i>Concertante</i> <i>Variationen über ein Thema</i> <i>von Beethoven</i> (1923) (First performance in Bournemouth) 4. M. Ravel, <i>Valses Nobles and</i> <i>Sentimentales</i> 5. E. Chabrier, <i>Spanish</i> <i>Rhapsody</i>, 'Espana' 6. Mendelssohn–Wittgenstein, 'Gondellied' and 'Suleika' 7. Schumann–Wittgenstein, 'Des Abends' and 'Schlummerlied' 8. Chopin–Godowsky, Two studies
17 February 1929	West End Cinema, Birmingham (public performance)	City of Birmingham Orchestra; Adrian C. Boult, conductor; W.H. Reed, conductor (for his own compositions)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. R.V. Williams, <i>The Wasps</i>, 'Overture' 2. W.H. Reed, <i>The Lincoln Imp</i>, 'Phantasy' 3. R. Schumann, <i>Symphony No.</i> 4 in D minor, Op. 120 4. F. Schmidt, <i>Concertante</i> <i>Variationen über ein Thema</i> <i>von Beethoven</i> (1923) 5. W.H. Reed, <i>Æsop's Fables for</i> <i>Orchestra</i> 6. G. Rossini, <i>The Barber of</i> <i>Seville</i>, 'Overture'
16 August 1932	Queen's Hall, London (public performance)	BBC Symphony Orchestra; Sir Henry Wood, conductor; Thorpe Bates, baritone; Josephine Wray, soprano; Berkeley Mason, piano	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. H. Berlioz, <i>Béatrice et</i> <i>Bénédict</i>, 'Overture' 2. C. Gounod, <i>Faust</i>, No.6 Recitative & Cavatina 'O sainte médaille... Avant de quitter ces lieux' Act 2 3. M. Ravel, <i>Piano Concerto for</i> the Left Hand (first performance in England) 4. C. Debussy, <i>enfant prodigue</i> – Recitative & aria 'L'anné en vain chasse l'anné... Azaël! Azaël! 5. H. Berlioz, <i>Symphonie</i> <i>fantastique</i>, Op. 14 6. P. Hindemith, <i>Neues vom Tage</i> <i>Overture</i> 7. R. Strauss, <i>Songs</i>, Op. 27, No.3, 'Heimliche Aufforderung' 8. D.F.E. Auber, <i>Fra Diavolo</i>, 'Overture'

Table 1 Wittgenstein's performances in Great Britain in the 1920s–50s (to be continued)

Date	Venue	Orchestra / Ensemble / Conductor(s) / Associate performer(s)	Programme
16 April 1937	BBC Studio (BBC radio broadcast)	BBC Orchestra (Section D); Clarence Raybould, conductor; Paul Beard, Leader	1. A. Bax, <i>Overture to a Picaresque Comedy</i> 2. R. Strauss, <i>Parergon zur Symphonia Domestica</i> , Op. 73 3. A. Glazunov, <i>The Seasons</i> , Op. 67
22 April 1937	Alexandra Palace, London (BBC television broadcast)	None	Piano solos ⁶¹
13 February 1949 ⁶²	Gunfield, 19 Norham Garndes, Oxford (private performance)	Elsie Hall, violin; Herman Salomon, piano	1. M. Reger, Prelude and Fugue in E-flat minor 2. J.S. Bach–Brahms[– Wittgenstein], Chaconne [in D minor] 3. Verdi–Liszt–Wittgenstein, <i>Rigoletto Paraphrase</i> 4. L. v. Beethoven, Sonata No. 9 in A major for violin and piano, Op. 47, ‘ <i>The Kreutzer</i> ’ 5. E. Walker, Sonata in E-flat major for violin and piano, Op. 32
20 February 1949	Balliol College, Oxford (public performance)	The Philharmonic String Trio; David Martin, violin; Max Gilbert, viola; James Whitehead, cello; Jack Brymer, clarinet	1. E. Walker, Variations on an Original Theme for pianoforte, clarinet, violin, viola and violoncello (1933) (written for and dedicated to Paul Wittgenstein) 2. F. Haydn, String Trio in G, Op. 53 3. M. Reger, Prelude and Fugue composed for the Left Hand 4. J.S. Bach–Brahms[– Wittgenstein], ⁶³ Chaconne in D minor 5. F. Schmidt, Quintet in B-flat major for Piano left-hand, Clarinet in B-flat, Violin, Viola and Cello (1932) (written for and dedicated to Paul Wittgenstein)

Table 1 Wittgenstein’s performances in Great Britain in the 1920s–50s (to be continued)

⁶¹ No information can be found to disclose the pieces Wittgenstein played in the television broadcast. The contract, reproduced in Fig. 1.15 below, shows that he was to play some piano solo pieces.

⁶² No concert programme of this performance can be found. The programme is revealed in the concert review published in the *Oxford Magazine* on 17 February 1949. Although none of the composition titles was given in full except for Walker’s, the hints were sufficient enough for me to restore their titles in full here. For more details, see my discussion of this concert on pages 114–16 in this Chapter.

⁶³ J. Brahms arranged J.S. Bach’s Chaconne for piano left-hand and Wittgenstein further transcribed Brahms’s arrangement for his own use. Although the original concert programmes (20 February 1949 and 24 October 1950) do not specify which version Wittgenstein performed, it is likely that he played his own transcription as he usually did.

Date	Venue	Orchestra / Ensemble / Conductor(s) / Associate performer(s)	Programme
14 October 1950	Winter Gardens, Bournemouth (public performance)	Bournemouth Municipal Orchestra; Trevor Harvey, guest conductor	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. G. Bush, Yorick, 'Overture' 2. B. Britten, <i>Diversions on a Theme</i>, Op. 21 (written for and dedicated to Paul Wittgenstein) 3. F. Haydn, Symphony No. 99 in E-flat major
24 October 1950	Holywell Music Room, Oxford (public performance)	David Galliver, tenor ⁶⁴	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. M. Reger, Prelude and Fugue in E-flat minor 2. J.S. Bach–Brahms[–Wittgenstein], Chaconne [in D minor] 3. F. Schubert, Selected Songs 4. C.V. Stanford, <i>The Fairy Lough</i> 5. R.V. Williams, <i>The Water Mill</i> 6. G. Finzi, <i>The Sigh</i> 7. P. Warlock, <i>The Fox</i> 8. E.C. Bairstow, <i>The Oak Tree Bough</i> 9. Chopin–Godowsky, Two studies, D-flat major and C-sharp minor 10. E. Walker, Prelude for the Left Hand and Study for the Left Hand 11. Verdi–Liszt–Wittgenstein, <i>Rigoletto Paraphrase</i>
29 October 1950	Royal Albert Hall, London (public performance)	The London Symphony Orchestra; Sir Malcolm Sargent, conductor; Max Rostal, violin	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A. Bax, <i>The Happy Forest</i> 2. B. Bartók, Violin Concerto, Op. 117 3. B. Britten, <i>Diversions on a Theme</i>, Op. 21 <p>J. Sibelius, Symphony No. 3 in C major, Op. 52</p>
13 August 1951	Royal Albert Hall, London (public performance)	BBC Symphony Orchestra; John Hollinsworth and William Walton, conductors; Marko Rothmüller, baritone	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. F. Schubert, Overture in C major 'in the Italian Style', D 591 2. G. Verdi, <i>Otello</i>, Aria 'Credo in un Dio crudel', Act 2 3. M. Ravel, Piano Concerto for the Left Hand (written for and dedicated to Paul Wittgenstein) 4. W. Walton, Symphony No. 1 in B flat minor 5. B. Britten, <i>Diversions on a Theme</i>, Op. 21 <p>N. Rimsky-Korsakov, <i>Capriccio espagnol</i>, Op. 34</p>

Table 1 (Cont'd)

Wittgenstein's performances in Great Britain in the 1920s–50s

⁶⁴ The original concert programme for this concert (reproduced in Fig. 1.19 on page 124) does not include the name of the accompanist for David Galliver.

The record of Wittgenstein's possible first performance in Britain survives in the form of an original concert programme (Fig. 1.1). It shows that Wittgenstein, on 7 July 1926, gave a private recital at the famous Wigmore Hall in London, organised by the Imperial Concert Agency.⁶⁵ Wittgenstein opened the concert with Sergei Bortkiewicz's Piano Concerto No. 2, Op. 28, followed by two Chopin Studies arranged for the left hand by Leopold Godowsky, and concluded it with Richard Strauss's *Parergon zur Symphonia Domestica*, Op. 73.⁶⁶ At this occasion, Radnitsky-Nandlick, an old family friend who always accompanied Wittgenstein on his concert tours, provided the orchestral part in both the Bortkiewicz Concerto and the *Parergon* on a second piano.

⁶⁵ The Imperial Concert Agency was established in 1905, founder unknown. From the 1920s it was operated by Gladys Crook and Tilly Connely. The Agency had no exclusive artists, and this was how they promoted themselves: 'The Imperial Concert Agency have long experience in recommending artists for special works and programmes..... The Agency are always glad of the opportunity to suggest outstanding young artists at moderate introductory fee: none are recommended without personal knowledge of their work'. Quoted in Christopher Fifield, *Ibbs and Tillett: The Rise and Fall of a Musical Empire*, Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate (2005), 301. Wittgenstein never needed a concert agency in Vienna but in London, a foreign place to him, he probably thought he could use one to help him establish his performing career. This promotion material of the Imperial Concert Agency would have appealed to Wittgenstein because he was a fairly 'outstanding young artist' who had in his music collection a number of 'special works' that were ready to be introduced to the British audience. Wittgenstein had hired altogether three agencies in his 25 years of musical career in Great Britain, and the Imperial Concert Agency was his first, and later on he switched to Ibbs & Tillett and Harold Holt Ltd.

⁶⁶ In the programme, the composition title was misspelt as 'Sinfonia Donestica'.

WIGMORE HALL

WIGMORE STREET :: W.1

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, JULY 7 at 3.30

Private Recital

BY

PAUL WITTGENSTEIN

PROGRAMME

I.

Concerto - - - *Bortkiewicz*

Second Piano: Mme. RADNITSKY-NANDLICK

II.

Two Studies - - - *Chopin—Godowsky*

III.

Parergon to the Sinfonia Donestica *Richard Strauss*

(Dedicated to PAUL WITTGENSTEIN)

BÖSENDORFER GRAND PIANOFORTES



In accordance with the requirements of the London County Council.

1. The public may leave at the end of the performance or exhibition by all exit doors and such doors must at that time be open.
2. All gangways, passages and staircases must be kept entirely free from chairs or any other obstruction.
3. Persons must not be permitted to stand or sit in any of the gangways intersecting the seating or to sit in any of the other gangways. If standing be permitted in the gangways at the sides and rear of the seating, sufficient space must be left for persons to pass easily to and fro and to have free access to exits.

Fig. 1.1

Programme of Wittgenstein's private recital at the Wigmore Hall [Studios] on 7 July [1926]. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

At the turn of the century, private recitals in London were a ‘common feature of upper-class social life’;⁶⁷ yet, Wittgenstein’s private recital was not intended for socialising purposes but professional reasons, as there were no other listeners but a handful of music critics. Reviewers from the *London Daily Telegraph*, the *Evening News*, the *Star*, the *Era*, the *Observer*, *Sunday Express*, *Daily Mail* and *Daily News* were invited, and *Daily News* and the *Evening News* even conducted an interview with Wittgenstein after the recital.⁶⁸ By inviting only music critics to his recital suggested that Wittgenstein probably saw this concert as a testing ground to explore the possibilities of launching a performing career in London. Wittgenstein’s strategy could be considered successful because all the critics eulogised about his pianistic skills and techniques; however, it could also be deemed to be unsuccessful as they unanimously condemned both Strauss’s compositional approach and the *Parergon*. Besides making complaints about the compositional deficiency of the work, the reviewers also criticised the fact that the work was heard as a two-piano arrangement as it ‘naturally loses a great deal’⁶⁹ and that ‘one tried in vain to guess what it would sound like on the orchestra’.⁷⁰ Also, the recital actually took place in the Wigmore Studios⁷¹—not the Wigmore Hall as

⁶⁷ E.D. Mackerness, *A Social History of English Music* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), 206.

⁶⁸ I have consulted a wide range of newspapers at the British Newspaper Archive of the British Library in Colindale, and found the eight relevant newspapers as stated here. However, this is by no means a complete list of newspapers who produced a concert review of Wittgenstein’s private recital at the Wigmore Studios and/or an interview with the pianist. For a detailed discussion on these reviews and interviews, see the following section, ‘The reception of Paul Wittgenstein as a left-hand pianist in Great Britain’.

⁶⁹ Crescendo, ‘One-armed Pianist—Mr. Paul Wittgenstein’s recital at Wigmore Studios’, *The Star*, 8 July 1926.

⁷⁰ A.H. Fox-Strangways, ‘Music of the Week—Paul Wittgenstein’, *The Observer*, 11 July 1926.

⁷¹ Paula Best, Head of Archive at the Wigmore Hall, provided me with the following information about the Wigmore Studios: ‘the Wigmore Studios were in the building next door to the Wigmore Hall (numbered 36–40 Wigmore Street) and were part of the original Bechstein showrooms run by Mr Winchester Berridge, who was the receiver when the

printed on the concert programme—where ‘street traffic interfered’⁷² and the ‘two grand pianos in a small studio were a little overpowering’.⁷³ Among all the concert reviews, the one produced by the *London Daily Telegraph* appeared to be the most comprehensive as it commented on all the pieces Wittgenstein performed. However, it was also and perhaps the most negative one because its critic not only voiced a slight concern about Wittgenstein’s determination to establish himself as a one-armed pianist by saying that ‘he was not obviously bent on making one hand do the work of two’, he also disparaged the *Parergon* and said that ‘the work failed to arouse anything like the interest which attaches as a rule to all Strauss’s music’.⁷⁴ In addition, this particular review was singled out from the others as it was republished in *New York Times* in September of the same year, meaning that these unenthusiastic commentaries on both Wittgenstein and the *Parergon* were not only read by the London audiences but those across the Atlantic, too.⁷⁵ Although Wittgenstein appeared to hold an indifferent attitude towards or even disdain any concert reviews as he once described them to Deneke as ‘uninteresting opinions of uninteresting persons, written moreover with the presumption & the arrogance of an infallible pope’,⁷⁶ in reality he probably took them very seriously. In order to prove the *Parergon*’s merits, not only did Wittgenstein

Bechstein firm was taken over during the First World War. The studios existed until 1991 when there was a major refurbishment of the building’. In her correspondence she also clarified that the Wigmore Hall has no record of Wittgenstein performing at the Hall. I am grateful to Professor Paul Banks for suggesting I to get in touch with Paula Best, to whom I am also thankful for this very valuable information.

⁷² Crescendo, ‘One-armed Pianist—Mr. Paul Wittgenstein’s recital at Wigmore Studios’, *The Star*, 8 July 1926.

⁷³ Anonymous, ‘The Realm of Music—Paul Wittgenstein’, *The Era*, 21 July 1926.

⁷⁴ Anonymous, “‘Music of the Day’—Strauss’s “Parergon””, *The London Daily Telegraph*, 10 July 1926.

⁷⁵ Anonymous, ‘Music Events in England’, *New York Times*, 19 September 1926.

⁷⁶ Bodleian Libraries, Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Modern Papers, Deneke Papers, Ms. Eng. Lett. c. 620, fo. 117 (Letter, 21 March 1928).

play the work again at his Edinburgh debut in 1927, he also performed it at his first official London appearance in a Promenade Concert in 1928 and once more on a BBC radio broadcast programme in 1937.

After his private recital at the Wigmore Studios, Wittgenstein did not immediately launch any performing activities in Britain. According to a BBC internal memo dated 21 February 1927, Wittgenstein was said to be ‘coming to London for a Concert at the Queen’s Hall on May 26th’, and that he ‘could broadcast on an adjacent date’.⁷⁷ Presumably Wittgenstein did not get any responses from the BBC and so his agent, the Imperial Concert Agency, wrote another letter enclosing press notices of Wittgenstein’s private recital to the BBC again, and the Corporation finally replied on 17 May saying that ‘if it is at all possible to fix up a date for him [Wittgenstein] to broadcast, I will let you know’.⁷⁸ In another internal memo circulated on the same day, it is revealed that Wittgenstein had suggested playing a ‘new work by Franz Schmidt’, which he could ‘perform with a good string quartette [*sic*]’; however, the BBC thought their listeners would perhaps ‘be more interested in his solo work’.⁷⁹ The BBC wrote to Wittgenstein on 29 May that they were ‘glad to include you [Wittgenstein] in a Ballad Concert on Monday, June 27th, between 7.45 and 8.30 p.m.’, and asked him to give them his ‘suggestions for a 12 minute recital group of the smaller type of piano solo’,⁸⁰ if he would accept the offer. This broadcast offer could have been a good opportunity for Wittgenstein to

⁷⁷ BBC Written Archives Centre (WAC), RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948; Internal memo, 21 February 1927).

⁷⁸ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948; Letter, 17 May 1927).

⁷⁹ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948; Internal memo, 17 May 1927). The new work by Franz Schmidt mentioned here is the Piano Quintet in G major that Schmidt wrote for and dedicated to Wittgenstein in 1926.

⁸⁰ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948; Letter, 20 May 1927).

introduce himself to the British audiences; yet, he thought ‘it would not be worth his while to stay until June 27th’ for the broadcast.⁸¹ Therefore, he turned it down and went on to ask for another engagement in October as he would be going to Britain at that time and thought ‘it would be better to postpone his broadcasting until then’, and that he hoped the BBC ‘may be able to give him a public appearance, or to arrange for him to play with orchestra or string quartet’.⁸² This very first and unrealised BBC broadcast offer clearly showed that the Corporation was interested in Wittgenstein and his playing, but the pianist, seemingly ambitious and eager to set up a performing career in Britain though, was not satisfied with a 12-minute broadcast in which he was asked to play just some piano solos. Wittgenstein’s bold rejection not only demonstrated his confident and perhaps arrogant character, it also and more significantly revealed his only goal, and that was to play his commissions in public.

Wittgenstein gave altogether three performances in May 1927 but there is no record of his performing at the Queen’s Hall on 26 May as his agent told the BBC. It was either unrealised in the end or, if it had happened, evidence of its existence might have been lost or is yet to be found. Be that as it may, Wittgenstein’s next British performance took place ten months after his private recital, which was also a private occasion as shown in a photocopy of an invitation card (Fig. 1.2). According to Deneke, this engagement was the result of a visit that she and a number of British friends made to the Palais Wittgenstein in Vienna during the Beethoven Festival in 1927. Wittgenstein entertained his guests, among them Sir Hugh Allen, Dr Colles of *The Times*,

⁸¹ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948; Letter, 23 May 1927).

⁸² Ibid.

Pablo Casals and Mrs Emile Mond, by playing Strauss's *Parergon*, Walker's Prelude for the Left Hand and a number of other piano solos. This informal musical gathering must have impressed Mrs Emile Mond, because her 'ambition as a hostess was stirred and she engaged Paul to repeat the programme with Mr Anthony Bernard in her drawing room in Hyde Park Square'.⁸³

On 22 May 1927, a Sunday, Wittgenstein was present in Mrs Emile Mond's home,⁸⁴ repeating the same programme with the London Chamber Orchestra executing the orchestral part of the *Parergon* under the baton of Anthony Bernard. At the top of the invitation card there is a caption that reads, 'First performance in England of the pianoforte concerto by Richard Strauss written for and dedicated to Paul Wittgenstein' (Fig. 1.2). Although it was clearly not the first time that Wittgenstein played the *Parergon* in Britain, it was nevertheless the first time he performed the piece with an orchestra. Therefore, Mrs Emile Mond was, as Deneke wrote, 'justified in claiming that she had staged the first performance in England of Richard Strauss's *Parergon Domestica*'.⁸⁵

⁸³ Deneke, 'The Wittgensteins', 15.

⁸⁴ The year of performance, 1927, is my conjecture based on Deneke's *Memoirs*, as well as the fact that 1927 is the only year in the 1920s when 22 May falls on a Sunday. In 1932, 22 May also falls on a Sunday; however, since Wittgenstein would have played the *Parergon* at a Promenade Concert in 1928, this 'first performance of the *Parergon*' had to take place before then.

⁸⁵ Deneke, 'The Wittgensteins', 15.

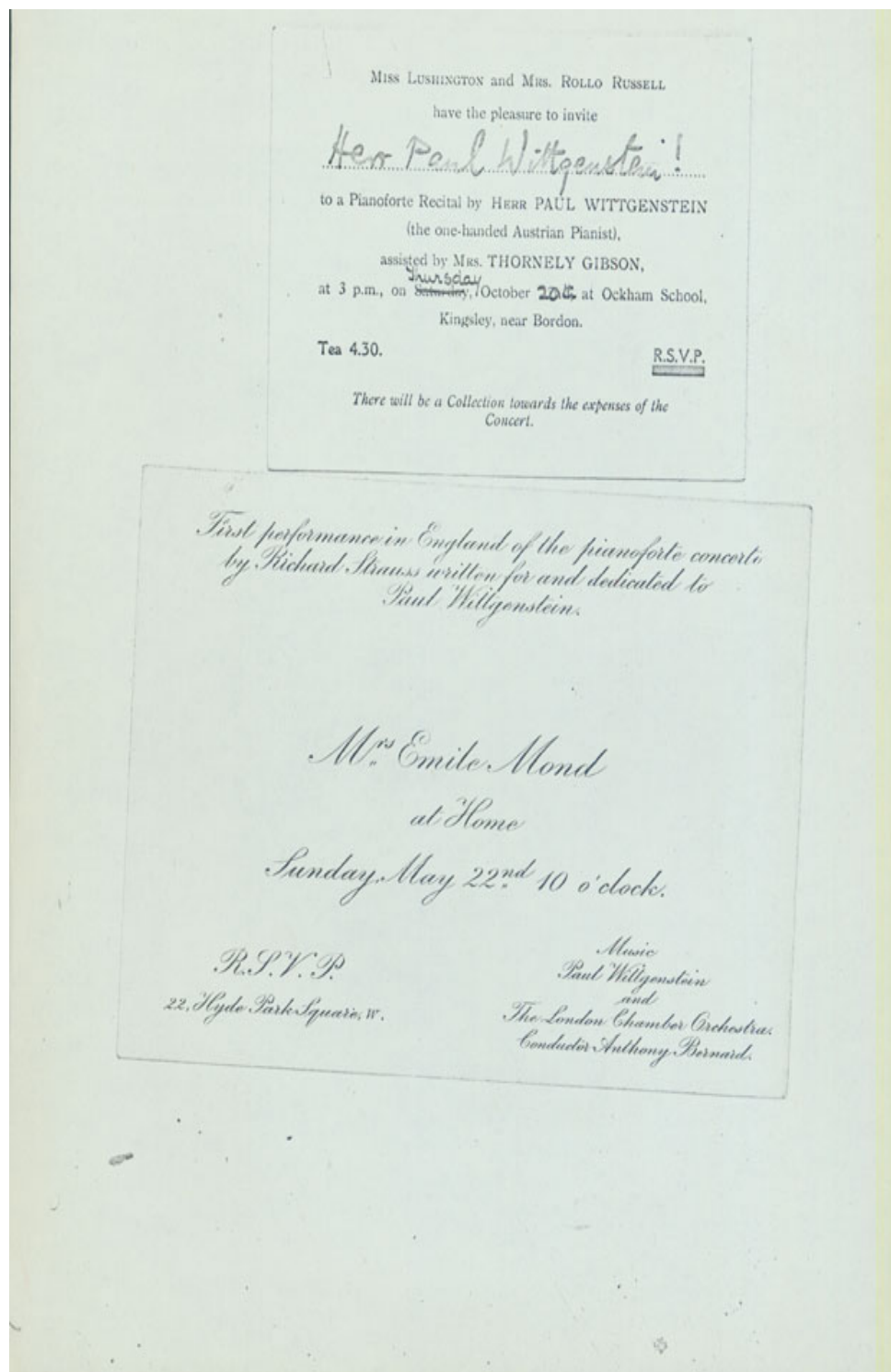


Fig. 1.2

Above: Invitation card to Wittgenstein's performance at the Ockham School performance at Kingsley on 20 October [1927]. Below: Invitation card to Wittgenstein's performance at Mrs Emile Mond's home on 22 May [1927]. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

On 23 May, the very next day after performing at the home of Mrs Emile Mond, Wittgenstein played in yet another house concert, this time at the home of Mrs George Booth in Airlie Gardens. He participated in this musical gathering because two of his friends, Deneke and the renowned violinist Marie Soldat-Roege, were ‘invited to play at a concert in George Booth’s London house in Airlie Gardens...’ and that they asked him ‘to add a group of solos’.⁸⁶ The original concert programme shows that Wittgenstein played five solo pieces consecutively in the middle of the concert (Fig. 1.3). He started with two of his own left-hand transcriptions, the ‘Andante’ from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart’s Piano Sonata in B-flat major and the ‘Adagio’ from the Ninth Concerto by Louis Spohr, followed by Walker’s Study for the Left Hand, the ‘Serenata’ from Rudolf Braun’s *3 Klavierstücke* and finished off with two Chopin–Godowsky Studies.⁸⁷ The other two compositions heard at the beginning and the end of this concert were Johannes Brahms’s Violin Sonata in D minor, Op. 108 and J.S. Bach’s Violin Sonata in E major, respectively. According to Deneke, Wittgenstein volunteered to be the page-turner for the accompanist in the first place, but eventually joined the ensemble by doubling ‘the bass notes an octave lower ... giving a grand pianistic background to the violin’s broad rendering of the A major Brahms Sonata’.⁸⁸ If Deneke’s memory can be trusted, it simply means that there was a change of programme in which Brahms’s A-major Violin Sonata replaced his D-minor.

⁸⁶ Ibid. 14.

⁸⁷ Both Mozart’s B-flat Piano Sonata and Spohr’s Ninth Concerto need to be identified and clarified exactly. The ‘Serenata’ is the third piece of Braun’s *3 Klavierstücke*, composed in 1922. The first piece of the set is entitled ‘Scherzo’ and the second ‘Perpetuum mobile’. It is impossible to identify which two Chopin–Godowsky Studies were played at this concert, and the same applies to many other occasions.

⁸⁸ Deneke, ‘The Wittgensteins’, 14.

Lady Margaret Hall Appeal

CONCERT at the

NEW HOUSE, Airlie Gardens, W.8.

(By kind permission of Mrs. George Macaulay Booth)

May 23rd, 5.30—6.30 p.m.

SONATA for Pianoforte and Violin in D minor.

Opus 108 - - - - - *Brahms*

Allegro

Adagio

Un poco presto e con sentimento

Presto agitato

ANDANTE from Sonata in B flat - - - *Mozart*

ADAGIO from ninth Concerto - - - *Spohr*

STUDY for the left hand alone - - *Ernest Walker*

SERENATA - - - - - *Braun*
(written for Mr. Wittgenstein)

TWO ETUDES - - - - - *Chopin Godowsky*

SONATA for Pianoforte and Violin in E major - *Bach*

Adagio

Allegro

Adagio ma non tanto

Allegro

MARIE SOLDAT.

PAUL WITTGENSTEIN.

MARGARET DENEKE.

The Pianoforte has been provided by the courtesy of
Messrs. Steinway and Sons.

Fig. 1.3

Programme of Wittgenstein's performance at the New House, Airlie Gardens, W.8., on 23 May 1927. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

Neither the original concert programme nor Deneke's *Memoirs* gives the year of performance of this concert, but this important information is found in the *Brown Book*—the annual journal of college news for the alumni of the Lady Margaret Hall. Under the 'Report of the Appeal Fund' section published in the December 1927 issue, it was said that 'Miss Margaret Deneke gave a delightful concert with Marie Soldat and Paul Wittgenstein on May 23rd at the New House, Airlie Gardens...'⁸⁹ Therefore, it is clear that this Airlie Gardens performance took place on 23 May 1927, which in turn marks the first and only record of Wittgenstein performing on two consecutive days in Britain.

Merely five days after the house concert at Mrs George Booth's home in London, Wittgenstein appeared in the home of Mrs Deneke at Gunfield, 19 Norham Gardens, Oxford, on 28 May 1927, a Saturday.⁹⁰ The original concert programme of this concert demonstrates a typical choice of repertoire for almost all private/house concerts in which Wittgenstein participated: one work for piano left-hand and orchestra, sometimes preceded or followed by a group of piano solos (Figs. 1.4a and 1.4b).⁹¹ Wittgenstein began the concert with Strauss's *Parergon*, with Miss Ida Bellerby providing the orchestral accompaniment on a second piano. He then performed Walker's Study for the Left Hand, Braun's 'Serenata' and two Chopin–Godowsky Studies. Among the three house concerts that took place in the first half of 1927, this musical gathering at Gunfield was perhaps the most significant one. Initiating Wittgenstein's long-term participation in the Gunfield concert series, this

⁸⁹ Hilda Sophia Davies–Colley, 'Report of the Appeal Fund', *Brown Book* (December 1927), 11. Lady Margaret Hall Archives, University of Oxford.

⁹⁰ 1927 is the only year in the 1920s when 28 May falls on a Saturday.

⁹¹ At some other occasions Wittgenstein was more ambitious and performed two or more concertos or works for piano left-hand and orchestra.

performance would not only grant him other performing opportunities in Oxford and elsewhere in Britain in the following three decades, but also and more importantly allured him to make Oxford a musical sanctuary which he would loyally visit on almost a yearly basis.

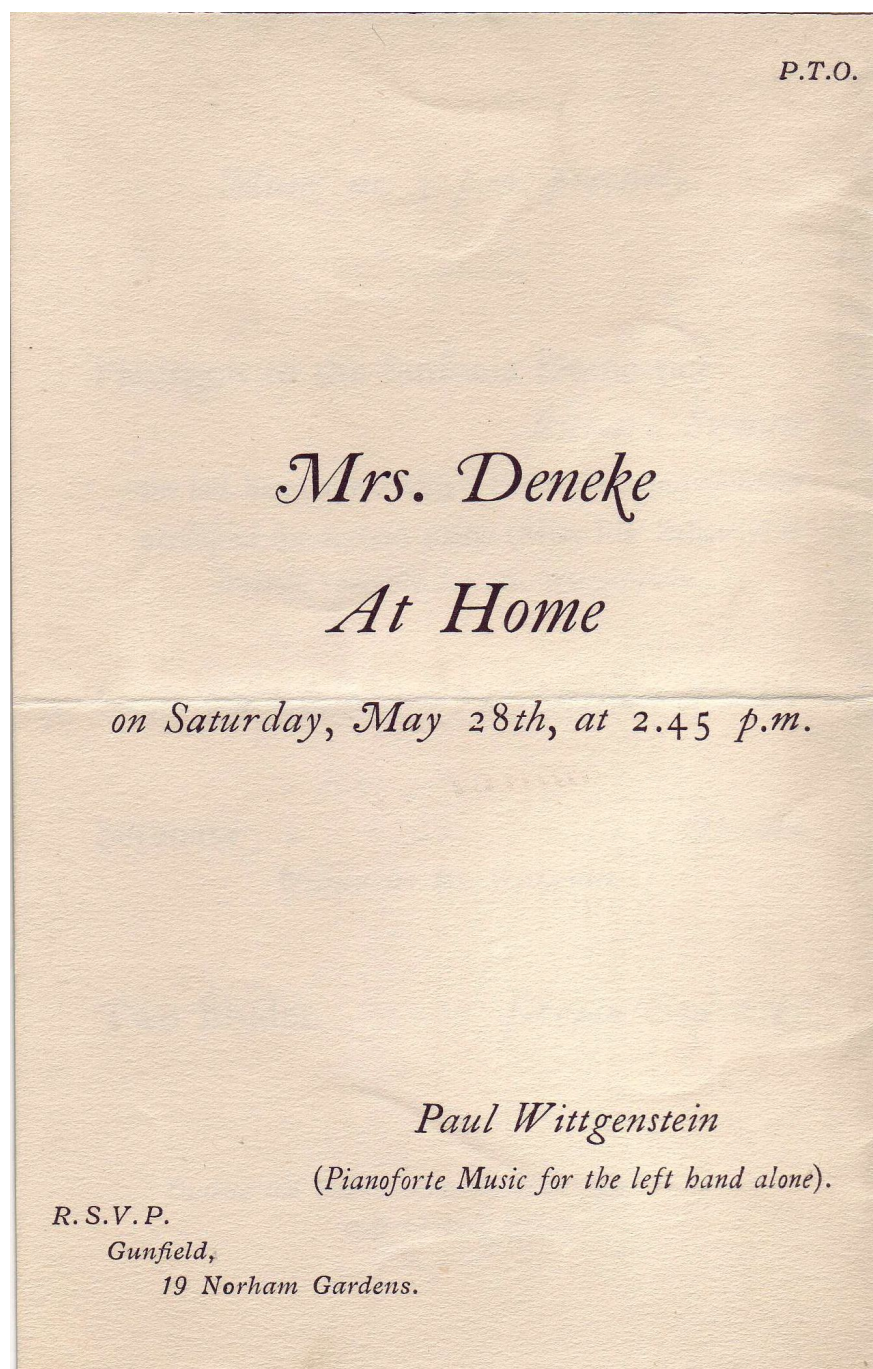


Fig. 1.4a Front cover of the programme of Wittgenstein's private performance at Mrs Deneke's Home at Gunfield, Oxford, on 28 May [1927]. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

Music at 3 p.m. precisely.

Parergon to the Sinfonia Domestica

Richard Strauss

—for left hand alone with orchestral accompaniment
arranged for second piano (Miss Ida Bellerby)—

Written specially for Mr. Wittgenstein.

Study for left hand - *Ernest Walker*

Serenata - - - *Braun*

Written for Mr. Wittgenstein.

Two Études - *Chopin Godowsky*

*During the Performance of each item the doors
will be kept closed.*

Fig. 1.4b Programme of Wittgenstein's private performance at Mrs Deneke's Home at Gunfield, Oxford, on 28 May [1927]. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

After the summer months of 1927 Wittgenstein returned to Britain to give two school concerts, in Kingsley and Warwick. On 20 October, Wittgenstein and Mrs Thornely Gibson gave a joint performance at the Ockham School in Kingsley. This particular concert was neither a 'solo recital' nor a 'mixed

performance', as Wittgenstein was not the sole performer and there was not a chamber ensemble or other instrumentalists.⁹² Rather, it was more like a hybrid of these two performance types in which the pianist 'appeared with another collaborating performer, such as singer, violinist or cellist'.⁹³ And in this case, Wittgenstein had chosen a soprano to be his associate artist. A photocopy of an invitation card to this concert hints that it was originally scheduled to take place on Saturday 22 October (see Fig. 1.2a above). However, the two concert planners, Miss Lushington and Mrs Rollo Russell, decided to bring it forward two days, to Thursday 20 October. This invitation card also reveals the nature of the concert, which is quite interesting: it was not necessarily an after-school concert for the students at the Ockham School. Rather, it is likely to have been a private concert for a designated audience or community that might or might not have included Ockham School students and/or their parents. Firstly, it was a 'R.S.V.P.' event that not only required the guests to reply to the invitation, but also to use the invitation card for entry (even Wittgenstein himself needed one!) Secondly, this concert was possibly hosted at the organisers' own cost, as it said on the invitation card that 'there will be a Collection towards the expenses of the Concert'. Lastly, as tea was served immediately after the performance at 4.30pm, it was clearly a partly social gathering.

As the original concert programme shows, Wittgenstein and Gibson appeared on stage alternately (Fig. 1.5). The pianist started off the concert with a group of piano solos featuring his own transcription of Schubert–Liszt's 'Du bist die Ruh' and 'Meeresstille' and three Chopin–Godowsky Studies. After Gibson's

⁹² For more details on the differentiation between a 'solo' and 'mixed' performance, see Ritterman and Weber, 'Origins of the Piano Recital in England, 1830–1870', 171–91.

⁹³ Ibid. 173.

song numbers, he returned to the stage playing his arrangement of three selections from the *Songs without Words* by Mendelssohn, followed by the ‘Serenata’ and the ‘Perpetuum mobile’ by Braun. For his last appearance, Wittgenstein performed his two Schumann transcriptions, the ‘Schlummerlied’ from the *Albumblätter*, Op. 124 and the ‘Albumblatt’.⁹⁴ Typical of Wittgenstein, who never missed a chance to showcase his performing skills, concluded the concert with the virtuosic *Rigoletto Paraphrase*, a favourite piece of his that he transcribed for his left hand from Liszt’s transcription of Giuseppe Verdi’s *Rigoletto*.

⁹⁴ The ‘Schlummerlied’ is the sixteenth piece of the *Albumblätter*, Op. 124. Schumann did not compose an individual piece called the ‘Albumblatt’, but his *Bunte Blätter*, Op. 99, does include five ‘Albumblätter’ (Nos. 4–8). It is impossible to identify which ‘Albumblatt’ Wittgenstein transcribed and performed in this concert, however.

Ockham School, Kingsley.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 20th.

PROGRAMME.

PIANOFORTE SOLOS "Du bist die ruh" } *Schubert*
 "Meeres-stille" } *arr. Wittgenstein*
 Three Studies *Chopin-Godowsky*

PAUL WITTGENSTEIN.

SONGS "Voi, ché sapete" *Mozart*
 "Non so più" *(from Le nozze di Figaro)*

MRS. THORNELY GIBSON.

PIANOFORTE SOLOS Three "Songs without words" *Mendelssohn*
 "Serénata" } *Rudolph Braun*
 "Perpetuum Mobile" }
 (Dedicated to Paul Wittgenstein).

PAUL WITTGENSTEIN.

SONGS "Feldeinsamkeit" } *Brahms*
 "Thérèse" }
 " She moved through the Fair " } *Old Irish, arr.*
 " I know where I'm goin' " } *Herbert Hughes*

MRS. THORNELY GIBSON.

PIANOFORTE SOLOS "Schlummerlied" } *Schumann*
 "Albumblatt" }
 Paraphrase on "Rigoletto" *Liszt-Verdi*

PAUL WITTGENSTEIN.

G. MILLS, PRINTER, ALTON.

Fig. 1.5

Programme of Wittgenstein's performance at the Ockham School, Kingsley on 20 October [1927]. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

Wittgenstein's inclusion of an opera fantasy in his Kingsley performance was rather out-of-date. Around the 1820s, benefit concerts began to place an increasing focus on opera, paving the way for instrumental fantasies on well-known operatic themes to grow in popularity.⁹⁵ As a result, operatic fantasies became essential in concerts and many piano virtuosi, or the 'really great pianists of the time' would perform at least one operatic selection in their benefit concerts.⁹⁶ Yet, operatic fantasies gradually lost their attractiveness when the focus of concert content shifted from opera to some more 'serious' and 'classical' works in the mid-nineteenth century, and by the 1850s this new programme emphasis has already become very common in London concerts.⁹⁷ For Wittgenstein, however, operatic paraphrases were central to his performing repertoire. Not only did he transcribe several, he also commissioned others to compose paraphrases for him.⁹⁸ So, even though operatic paraphrases were not the most popular type of music anymore in the twentieth century, Wittgenstein's decision to include Liszt's *Rigoletto Paraphrase* in his concert repertoire showed that he, with his self-identification as a nineteenth-century romantic virtuoso, certainly remained loyal to the music tradition he was fond of.

⁹⁵ Ritterman and Weber, 'Origins of the Piano Recital in England, 1830–1870', 172.

⁹⁶ Mackerness, *A Social History of English Music*, 173. For details of the general rise and fall of the opera fantasy, see Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste*, 159–67; for a discussion with specific reference to London, see Ritterman and Weber, 'Origins of the Piano Recital in England, 1830–1870', 171–91.

⁹⁷ Ritterman and Weber, 'Origins of the Piano Recital in England, 1830–1870', 174.

⁹⁸ Eduard Schütt was one of those composers and he composed the *Paraphrase über eine Thema von 'Geschichten aus dem Wienerwald' von Johann Strauss für Orchester und die Linke Hand* [Paraphrase on a theme from 'Tales from the Vienna Woods' of Johann Strauss for Orchestra and Piano left-hand] for Wittgenstein in 1929. The autograph manuscripts of this composition are currently housed at the HK-pwa.

Fifteen days after his school concert in Kingsley, Wittgenstein performed at the King's High School for Girls in Warwick on 4 November (Fig. 1.6a). The programme of this concert was almost identical to the joint recital Wittgenstein gave in Kingsley. Once again he opened the recital with his own Schubert–Liszt transcriptions, the 'Thou art Rest', 'Ocean Stillness' and 'Erl King',⁹⁹ followed by four Chopin-Godowsky Studies. The third part of the concert consisted of three selections from the *Songs without Words* by Mendelssohn and three original compositions for the left hand. These original compositions for the left hand were: the Study for the Left Hand by Walker, and the 'Serenata' and the 'Perpetuum Mobile' by Braun. As his school concert in Kingsley, Wittgenstein performed his transcription of Schumann's 'Slumber Song', as well as the 'Melody & Study' from the *Album für die Jugend*, Op. 68 in the last part of the recital,¹⁰⁰ and again finished it off with his showy *Rigoletto Paraphrase*.

⁹⁹ In the *School for the Left Hand*, 'Meeresstille' was translated as 'Calm Sea'. See Wittgenstein, *School for the Left Hand*, volume III Transcriptions, 24.

¹⁰⁰ Although these Schumann selections are bracketed under 'Children's Pieces, Opus 68' in the original concert programme, the 'Slumber Song' does not belong to Schumann's Op. 68 but Op. 124. The 'Melody & Study' is actually a combination of two pieces, the 'Melody' (Op. 68 No. 1) and the 'Little Study' (Op. 68 No. 14).

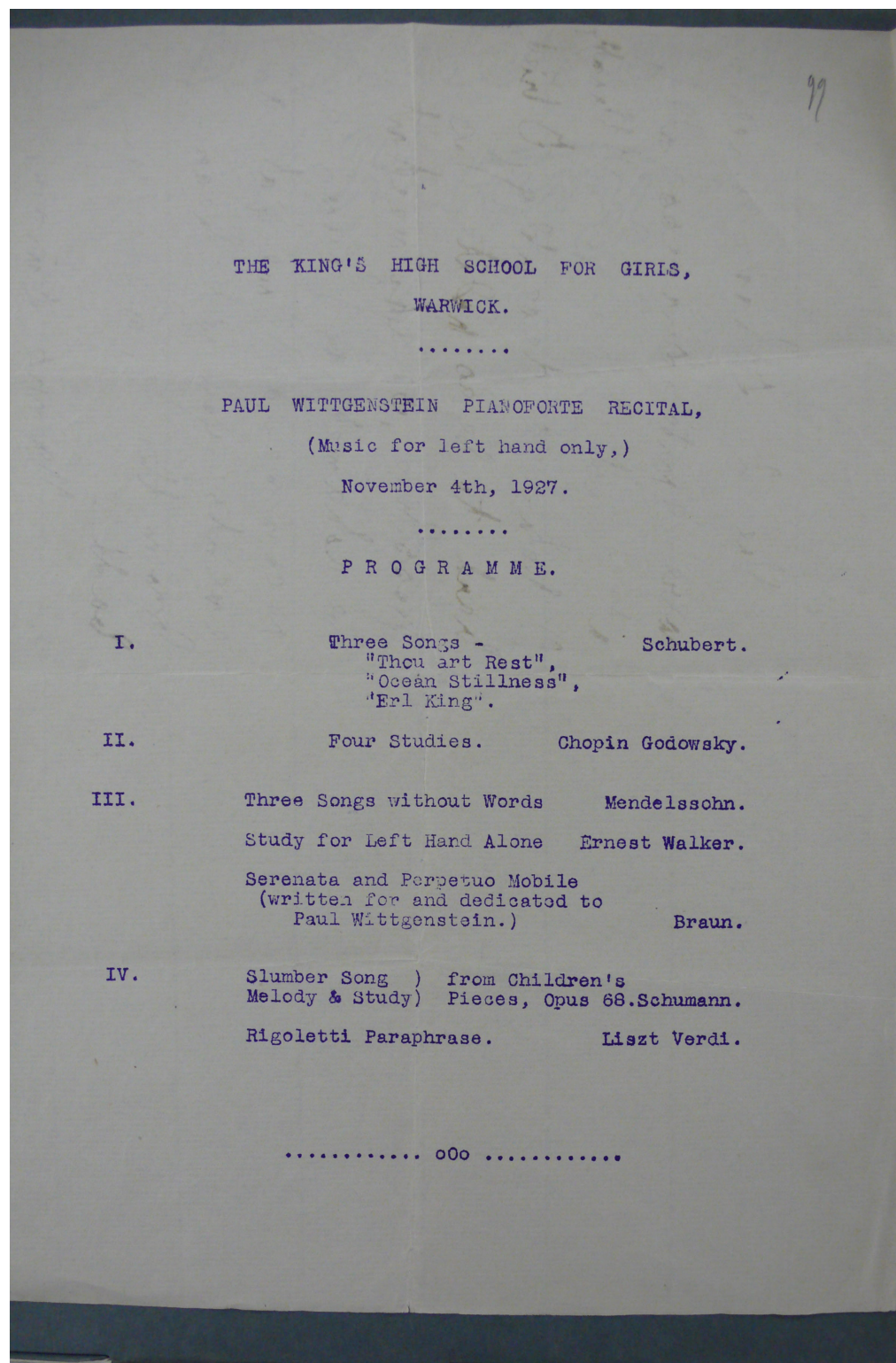


Fig. 1.6a

Programme of Wittgenstein's performance at The King's High School for Girls, Warwick, on 4 November [1927]. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

Besides the similarity found in their programme, these two school concerts shared one more common characteristic: both were concerts that Deneke arranged for Wittgenstein. The first suggestion of this can be found in a letter to Deneke dated 25 July 1927, in which Wittgenstein wrote:

Many thanks for your kind letters. You needn't ask my consent before you fix a date: as long as I am in England—and I can remain there, as I told you in my last letter from about the 18th of October till the 8th of November—as long as I am in England, I say, I am at your disposition. Fix any date before or after Edinburgh, only be so kind & let me know it. Whatever engagement you succeed in concluding I shall gratefully accept.¹⁰¹

Although it was not known what engagements Deneke and Wittgenstein had been talking about, this letter clearly shows that Deneke was in the process of booking performances for her friend. On 21 September Wittgenstein wrote to Deneke, possibly because he had not received a confirmation for his Warwick performance: 'As to my engagement in Warwick I will follow your advice, and shall write to Miss D. in case I should not get any news till the 28th of September'.¹⁰² Wittgenstein presumably received a confirmation of the performance in Warwick shortly after sending off this letter because he wrote again to Deneke on 3 October to fix a date for another concert in Oxford after his Warwick performance: '*... Ich bin es gewohnt, und es verursacht mir gar keine Ermüdung, gleich nach dem Konzert in Warwick nach Oxford zu*

¹⁰¹ Bodleian Libraries, Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Modern Papers, Deneke Papers, Ms. Eng. Lett. c. 620, fos. 95–6 (Letter, 25 July 1927).

¹⁰² Bodleian Libraries, Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Modern Papers, Deneke Papers, Ms. Eng. Lett. c. 620, fo. 97 (Letter, 21 September 1927).

*reisen...*¹⁰³ [... I am used to this and it does not bother me to travel to Oxford right after the concert in Warwick]. On the verso of the concert programme, Wittgenstein wrote the following message to Deneke, commenting on his performance (Fig. 1.6b):

The 2 school concerts were quite successful, at least I hope so. I think, I behaved decently, I tried hard to be as polite as possible, so you needn't be ashamed of having recommended me; at all events you will hear from them, when you are back.

Yours sincerely,
P.W.¹⁰⁴

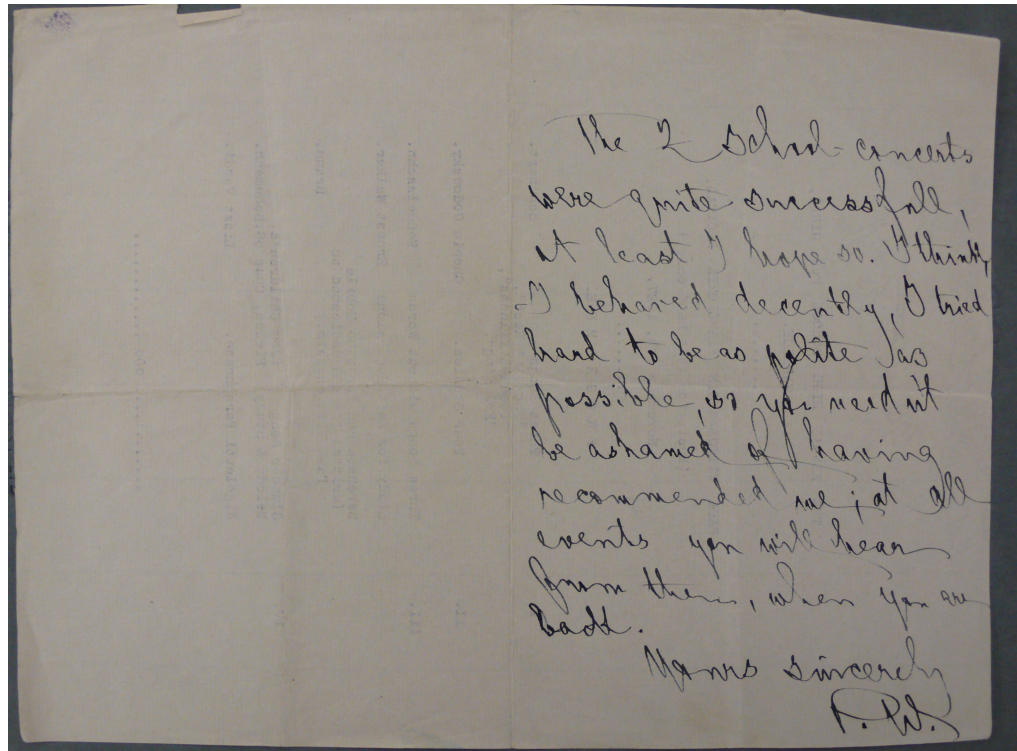


Fig. 1.6b Wittgenstein's self-comments on his two performances at Kingsley and Warwick. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

¹⁰³ Bodleian Libraries, Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Modern Papers, Deneke Papers, Ms. Eng. Lett. c. 620, fo. 98 (Letter, 3 October 1927).

¹⁰⁴ Bodleian Libraries, Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Modern Papers, Deneke Papers, Ms. Eng. Lett. c. 620, fo. 99v (Concert Programme, 4 November 1927).

Although the school concert in Kingsley was not mentioned in any of these letters and its original concert programme did not bear a year of performance, it is highly possible that the Kingsley concert took place in 1927. This assumption is supported by the similarity found in its programme and that of the Warwick concert, and even more so by the comments Wittgenstein gave for his '2 school concerts'. As to the question of whether these two school concerts were successful, it is unlikely to be proved because there were no concert reviews for these performances and Deneke did not keep a note of any comments from the schools in her collection, if there were any. However, as far as all sources available are concerned, these concerts were the only two school performances in which Wittgenstein participated in Britain.

The chief reason for Wittgenstein visited Great Britain again in the autumn of 1927 was not to participate in two school concerts but to play before a public audience for the first time. Wittgenstein's long-awaited British debut took place on 27 October in the Usher Hall, Edinburgh, where he appeared as the featured soloist with the Reid Symphony Orchestra conducted by Donald Francis Tovey (Fig. 1.7a). At this momentous concert, Wittgenstein presented himself to the Scottish audience as a left-hand virtuoso by playing two concerto works in one single evening—Strauss's *Parergon* in the first half and Schmidt's *Concertante Variations* in the second half (Fig. 1.7b). Wittgenstein's choice of programmes was fascinating as it reflected his determination to perform the compositions he favoured and to promote their associate composers. Strauss's *Parergon*, the piece that he performed a year ago at the Wigmore Studios, was one of his most favourite commissions and

which however received merciless criticism from the London critics. Wittgenstein's repeat of the *Parergon* at his Edinburgh performance seemed to suggest that he wanted to restore its reputation and prove its worth to the audiences. Schmidt, on the other hand, was a composer who Wittgenstein greatly admired and whose music he thought should reach a much wider audience beyond Austria. He first carried out this mission by offering to play Schmidt's newly composed Piano Quintet in G major (1926) for the BBC, but he did not succeed in doing so. Nevertheless, he managed to kill two birds with one stone with his concert in Edinburgh—to play a concerto in a public orchestral concert and to promote Schmidt's music.



Fig. 1.7a

Inside cover of the programme of Wittgenstein's British debut in Edinburgh on 27 October 1927. Reprinted with permission from the Department of Special Collections, Edinburgh University Library. All rights reserved.

PROGRAMME

*1. TONE-POEM (after Nicolaus Lenau), "Don Juan," Op. 20 *Richard Strauss*

2. PARERGON to the *Sinfonia Domestica*, for Pianoforte and
Orchestra, Op. 73 - - - *Richard Strauss*

*3. SYMPHONIC POEM No. 4, "Orpheus," - - - *Liszt*

4. CONCERTANTE VARIATIONS on a Theme of Beethoven for
Pianoforte with Orchestral Accompaniment - - *Franz Schmidt*

*5. SYMPHONY, in C major, No. 36 (Köchel's Catalogue No. 425) - *Mozart*

* Miniature Scores available.

Fig. 1.7b

Programme of Wittgenstein's British debut in Edinburgh on 27 October 1927. Reprinted with permission from the Department of Special Collections, Edinburgh University Library. All rights reserved.

Wittgenstein had already appeared in almost all the most important musical cities, capitals or places with international acclaim before 1927, for instance Vienna in his native Austria, Paris in France and Berlin in Germany, among others. However, he had not yet given a public performance anywhere in the United Kingdom. Presumably he would have wanted to do so and London was likely to be his first choice because he had already given a private recital in the British capital a year before. Yet, why did he give his first public performance in Edinburgh in the end?

Although Wittgenstein's private recital at the Wigmore Studios received more compliments than criticisms, none of the London-based orchestras or conductors approached him for a performance. In Vienna, Wittgenstein was wealthy, powerful and influential enough that he could hire the *Großer Musikvereinssaal* and the *Tönkünstler Orchestra* at his own cost for both his two-handed and one-handed debuts. He also managed to guarantee for himself as many performing opportunities as he wanted, despite the difficulties, and he showed off his privileges to Deneke in a letter dated 17 September 1928: 'the [Vienna] philharmonic concerts don't take any soloists at all—my own playing last year in one of these concerts was quite an exception'.¹⁰⁵ In Britain, however, Wittgenstein did not enjoy these advantages. All he could do was to approach organisations such as the BBC unsolicited for an engagement, but he was not successful. Therefore, it was not without reason that he turned to his Oxford friends, especially Tovey, for help and advice. It is not known when and where Wittgenstein and Tovey first met, but it was likely that they did so

¹⁰⁵ Bodleian Libraries, Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Modern Papers, Deneke Papers, Ms. Eng. Lett. c. 620, fo. 141 (Letter, 17 September 1928).

through Deneke in Oxford in the 1920s. At the time when Wittgenstein came to Britain to start a performing career, Tovey was already prominent in both Oxford and Edinburgh. Since his appointment as Reid Professor of Music at the University of Edinburgh in 1914, Tovey's contributions to the musical development in the Scottish capital had enabled him to become its most powerful and influential musical figure. In addition, as both the founder and conductor of the Reid Symphony Orchestra, Tovey could easily arrange for Wittgenstein to appear in one of its concerts. In return, Wittgenstein showed his gratitude for Tovey's friendly offer by getting him two performing opportunities in Vienna, as he wrote to Deneke on 12 September 1928 and said, 'As to Tovey and his engagements I hope, that I shall be able, to get sufficient engagements for him, to make it worth his while to come to Vienna. As soon as I know something definite, I will let you know'.¹⁰⁶ Five days later he wrote again, assuring her that he had succeeded in getting two engagements for Tovey, including a concert with famous Sedlak–Winkler Quartet at which he was to play his Piano Quartet, Flute Quintet and some piano pieces of his own choice, as well as performing his Piano Concerto in one of the popular concerts.¹⁰⁷

The last performance Wittgenstein had in 1927 was another Gunfield concert held at Mrs Deneke's house. As with the first Gunfield concert in which he participated a couple of months earlier, the original concert programme of this

¹⁰⁶ Wittgenstein wrote a report of Tovey's performances in Vienna in a letter to Deneke. For more details regarding Tovey's engagements in Vienna, see Bodleian Libraries, Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Modern Papers, Deneke Papers, Ms. Eng. Lett. c. 620, fos. 140, 141, 142, 144, and 145–6 (Letters, 12 and 17 September 1928, 2 October 1928, 29 December 1928 and 8 January 1929).

¹⁰⁷ Bodleian Libraries, Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Modern Papers, Deneke Papers, Ms. Eng. Lett. c. 620, fo. 141 (Letter, 17 September 1928).

house performance also does not have a year of performance. Once again, however, the letter that Wittgenstein wrote to Deneke on 3 October 1927 suggested that this Gunfield concert was to take place on 6 November 1927, two days after the school concert in Warwick. He told Deneke that it was perfectly fine for the concert to take place one day earlier than scheduled, ‘*Es macht mir keinerlei schwierigkeiten das Konzert in Ihrem Hause vom 7. auf den 6. November zu verlegen... Wenn ich also bis dahin von Ihnen, gnädige Frau, keine weitere Nachricht erhalte, so bleibt's beim 6. November*’¹⁰⁸ [I don't have a problem with moving the concert in your house from 7th November to 6th November... So, if I do not receive any further message from you, Madam, we will have the concert on 6th November]. This message corresponds to the change of date of performance as seen on the recto of the actual concert programme (Fig. 1.8a). The eventual concert date was ‘Sunday, Nov. 6th’, however, since the person who was responsible for making the amendment did not erase the original print date, ‘Monday, Nov. 7th’ is still eligible. Therefore, it is clear that this Gunfield concert was the one Wittgenstein mentioned in his letter to Deneke. The concert programme of this house concert suggests that it was an unusually short musical afternoon (Fig. 1.8b). Wittgenstein played only the *Concertante Variations* by Schmidt, with Walker providing the orchestral part on a second piano. While it is possible to assume that the rest of the programme has been lost, it is perhaps also probable that this concert was designed for Schmidt's *Concertante Variations* only.

¹⁰⁸ Bodleian Libraries, Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Modern Papers, Deneke Papers, Ms. Eng. Lett. c. 620, fo. 98 (Letter, 3 October 1927).

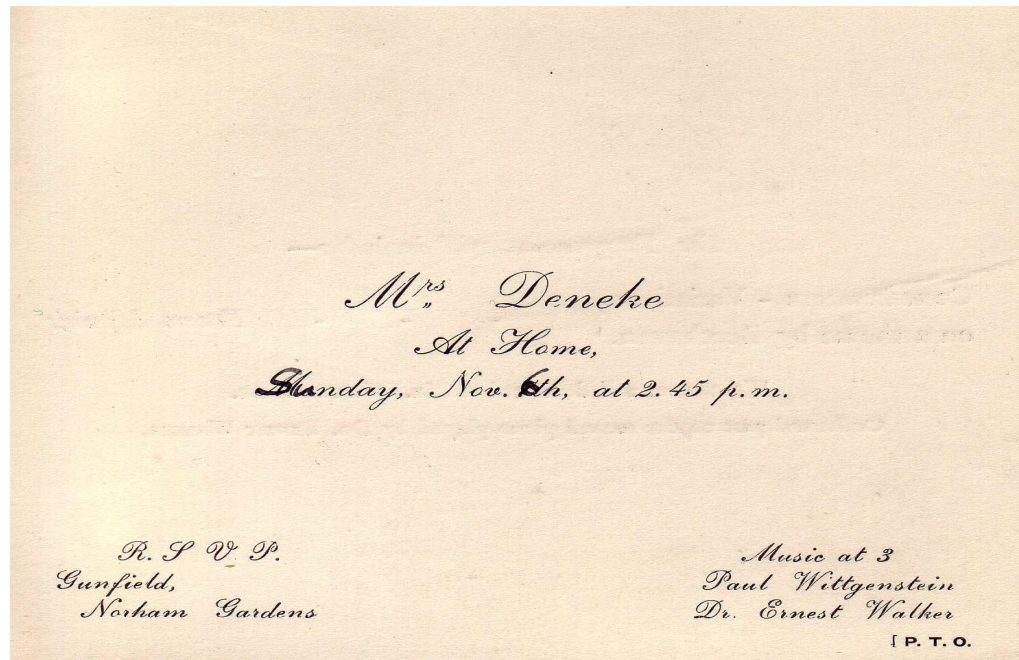


Fig. 1.8a Front page of the programme of Wittgenstein's performance at Mrs Deneke's home at Gunfield, Oxford, on 6 November [1927]. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

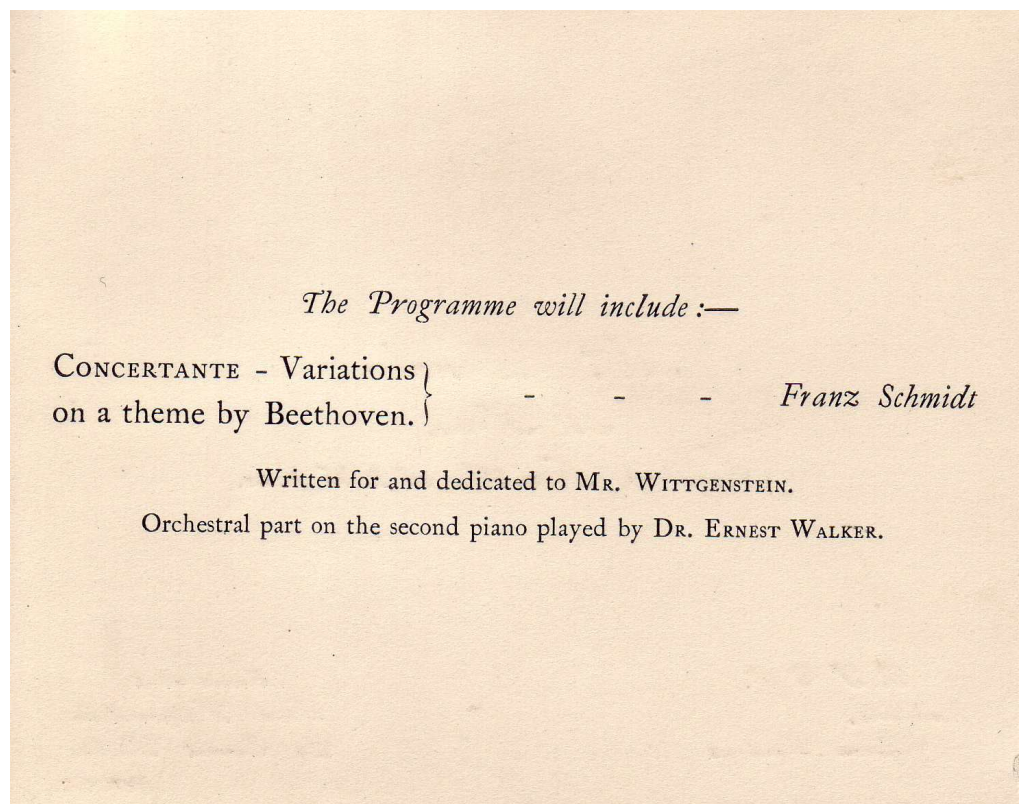


Fig. 1.8b Programme of Wittgenstein's performance at Mrs Deneke's home at Gunfield, Oxford, on 6 November [1927]. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

In the first half of 1928 Wittgenstein was busy touring around Europe, mainly Austria and Germany. He did not return to Britain until the summer, when he was to perform again in Oxford. On 29 May he accepted Deneke's invitation to play in a 'public' concert. 'As to the concert in Oxford [on] July the 22nd', he wrote, 'I have made up my mind I shall come. A journey is always worthwhile to see ones [one's] friends and to play in public. Besides the journey (by plane) is so easy'.¹⁰⁹ For the concert programme, Wittgenstein agreed to perform 'a concert [concerto] (on two pianos) and some solo-pieces',¹¹⁰ and asked Deneke to take the liberty to choose a concerto by any of the following composers: 'Strauss, Schmidt, Korngold, Braun and Labor; but not the second Strauss, [as] I think it [the *Panathenäenzug*, Op. 74] looses [*sic*] so much with a second piano acting as orchestra'.¹¹¹ The prospect of performing in public again excited Wittgenstein, as he voluntarily gave abundant suggestions for the programme, expressed concerns about obtaining permission from the British authority for him to perform in Britain and urged to Deneke to take action immediately:

Now I must trouble you in the following matter. It is very easy to come to England, if you travel for pleasure. But if you want to give a concert there, or are engaged to play in a concert [with a] fee or no fee, they don't let you land, unless you have a special permission from the ministry of Labor. Now this permission must be in my hands until [*sic*] July the 15th as I must be in Oxford some days before the concert on account of the rehearsals. As it takes a very long time to get such a permission, you or the society who arranges the concert will have to look

¹⁰⁹ Bodleian Libraries, Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Modern Papers, Deneke Papers, Ms. Eng. Lett. c. 620, fos. 133–4r (Letter, 29 May [1928]). This is a dated letter without any year indications. However, this letter was clearly written in 1928 because Wittgenstein's secretary sent a letter to Deneke on 30 May 1928 containing his master's personal information for her to obtain a permission for him to come to Oxford to perform.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

after it immediately, or else the officials at the landing place would not allow me to land, for I know they are very strict in these matters.¹¹²

Undoubtedly, Wittgenstein conceived this engagement as a public concert, but unfortunately it seemed that he had misunderstood Deneke's offer in the first place, as he wrote to her on 4 June 1928 that 'as to the passport affair: I think you are quite right... As it's no public concert, but a private one, I may set my conscience at rest'.¹¹³ Despite the fact that this offer turned out to be just another private concert, Wittgenstein nevertheless participated in it and made it a special occasion by performing a selection of piano solos on a double-keyboard piano, or a 'Moor Piano' as Wittgenstein called it.¹¹⁴

The original concert programme of this musical gathering does not contain any information regarding the venue, and once again gives only the day, date and month of the performance (Fig. 1.9). From the references found in the letters that Wittgenstein wrote to Deneke between 29 May and 11 June, it is clear that this private concert took place at Mrs Deneke's Home in Gunfield on 22 July 1928. The concert was divided into three parts. The first part consisted of 'Two

¹¹² At the same time Wittgenstein instructed his secretary to send his personal details to Deneke for her to help him obtain the necessary permission. Bodleian Libraries, Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Modern Papers, Deneke Papers, Ms. Eng. Lett. c. 620, fos. 133–4r and 135 (Letters, 29 May [1928] and 30 May 1928).

¹¹³ Bodleian Libraries, Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Modern Papers, Deneke Papers, Ms. Eng. Lett. c. 620, fo. 136 (Letter, 4 June 1928).

¹¹⁴ Emanuel Moór invented a double-keyboard mechanism for the piano and this mechanism was adopted by several piano manufacturers such as Steinway, Bechstein and Bösendorfer. In his letter to Deneke dated 11 June 1928 Wittgenstein mentioned that he would try to get a 'Moor Piano' from Mr. Moor directly, but it is unknown whether he succeeded in getting one or not. The original concert programme of this concert did not give any details of the instrument except stating that the opening pieces are played on a double-keyboard pianoforte. For more details, see Bodleian Libraries, Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Modern Papers, Deneke Papers, Ms. Eng. Lett. c. 620, fos. 137, 138–9 (Letters, 11 and 20 June 1928).

Songs' by Mendelssohn, a Prelude in B minor by Chopin, a Prelude in D major, a Prelude in A minor and a Prelude on the Chorale 'Our Father in Heaven' by J.S. Bach and an 'Adagio' by Franz Joseph Haydn,¹¹⁵ all transcribed for the left hand by Wittgenstein and all performed on a double-keyboard pianoforte at this occasion.¹¹⁶ After playing Schmidt's *Concertante Variations* with Walker on two pianos, Wittgenstein moved to a Steinway piano and performed Walker's Study for the Left Hand, his transcription of Schumann's 'Des Abends' from the *Fantasiestücke*, Op. 12, and concluded the concert with Chopin–Godowsky's Study in C-sharp minor.

¹¹⁵ Presumably the 'Adagio' is taken from a Piano Sonata by Haydn, it was from either the Piano Sonata No. 31 in A-flat major, Hob. XVI: 46 or the Piano Sonata No. 35 in A-flat major, Hob. XVI: 43. Since the Piano Sonata No. 31 is included in the *School for the Left Hand*, it is likely to be the piece that Wittgenstein performed in this concert.

¹¹⁶ As the programme does not give full details of the pieces, it is impossible to trace, for example, which two pieces by Mendelssohn were performed although it is clear that they were selections from the *Songs without Words*.

PAUL WITTGENSTEIN.

Programme of Recital.

1. SOLOS ON THE DOUBLE-KEYBOARD PIANOFORTE :

- (a) Two Songs - - - - Mendelssohn.
- (b) Prelude in B minor - - - - Chopin.
- (c) Preludes in D major and A minor - - - - Bach.
- (d) Prelude on the Chorale 'Our Father in Heaven'
Bach.
- (e) Adagio - - - - Haydn.

2. VARIATIONS FOR PIANOFORTE AND ORCHESTRA

on a theme from Beethoven's Violin Sonata in
F major - - - - Franz Schmidt.
Written for and dedicated to Mr. Wittgenstein.
Orchestral part played by Dr. Ernest Walker.

3. SOLOS ON THE STEINWAY PIANOFORTE :

- (a) Study for the left hand alone - Ernest Walker.
- (b) 'Des Abends' - - - - Schumann.
- (c) Study in C sharp minor - Chopin-Godowsky.

Sunday, July 22nd.

Fig. 1.9

Programme of Wittgenstein's performance at Mrs Deneke's home at Gunfield, Oxford, on 22 July [1928]. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

In or before June 1928 Wittgenstein, via the Imperial Concert Agency, contacted the BBC again to explore the possibility of getting an engagement and his target this time was their Promenade Concerts. In response to this, the BBC wrote to his agent on 12 June to ask about his availability on 25 August and his fee.¹¹⁷ On 20 June Wittgenstein replied to accept this provisional offer and suggested to the BBC, that if they were to really engage him, to pick any of the following three concertos for the Promenade performance: Strauss's *Parergon* or *Panathenäenzug*, or Korngold's Piano Concerto in C-sharp major, Op. 17.¹¹⁸ Wittgenstein was so excited that he did not wait to get a final confirmation from the BBC and wrote to Deneke on the same day as he replied to the BBC to share the news with her. He started his letter humbly, 'I shall probably come to England a second time in this summer; I heard yesterday, that there is an engagement concluded by the Imperial Concert Agency, according to which I shall have to play in London [in August], Queen's Hall, under Sir Henry Wood's conducting'.¹¹⁹ However, his excitement was too great to be contained, and he eventually expressed it so by teasing Deneke that 'at all events you shall have the "pleasure" of seeing me again'.¹²⁰ Wittgenstein was surely thrilled about the Promenade Concert, but at the same time he was anxious too. Merely nine days after sending a reply to the BBC he instructed his agent to draft another letter to ask for a confirmation. 'With reference to your letter enquiring for Mr. Paul Wittgenstein on August 25th,', his agent wrote to the BBC, that 'we shall be so glad if you could let us know as soon as

¹¹⁷ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File1, 1927–1948; Letter, 12 June 1928).

¹¹⁸ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File1, 1927–1948; Letter, 20 June 1928).

¹¹⁹ The two words in square bracket, [in August], are inserted by Wittgenstein in pencil. Bodleian Libraries, Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Modern Papers, Deneke Papers, Ms. Eng. Lett. c. 620, fo. 139 (Letter, 20 June 1928).

¹²⁰ Ibid.

possible, whether we may book this date for him, as he is anxious to complete arrangements for his summer engagements'.¹²¹ It was reasonable for Wittgenstein to be nervous about this Promenade concert engagement. First of all, he was going to participate for the first time in the most gigantic, diversified and extensive music festival in London that received both national and international acclaims, which at the same time covered the widest range of audience possible from the lower working class to the upper class.¹²² Secondly, it would be his official appearance in London, and thus he certainly wanted to be as well prepared as possible.

The concert programme below shows that Wittgenstein was the fourth performer of the night and he greeted the Promenaders with Strauss's *Parergon*, accompanied by the Henry Wood Symphony Orchestra under the direction of Sir Henry Wood (Fig. 1.10). Whether it was a decision of Wittgenstein or Sir Henry to perform the *Parergon* at the Promenade Concert, the one-armed pianist was finally able to play it before a public audience in London, something that he would probably have wished to do immediately after his private recital at the Wigmore Studios in the previous year. Yet, circumstances at that time did not allow him to do so and he had to go by a devious route to give his British debut in Edinburgh first and then in London.

¹²¹ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul, (File 1, 1927–1948; Letter, 29 June 1928).

¹²² With the aid of wireless it was made possible for the programmes played at the Promenade concerts to be relayed to audience from any social class living in or outside London. There is a wide range of literature covering the history and development of the Promenade Concerts since its beginning to the present date. The following books have been consulted particularly for the purpose of this study: David Cox, *The Henry Wood Proms* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1980), and Barrie Hall, *The Proms and the men who made them* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1981). The BBC Proms official website includes a brief history of the Promenade Concerts as well as an online archive in which all the concert programmes of all the Promenade Concerts since its first concert in 1895 can be found. Information can be retrieved at the following link: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/proms/archive/>

This process was, to quote Wittgenstein's own words, 'like trying to climb a mountain, if I could not reach the summit by one route I would climb down and start again from the other side'.¹²³

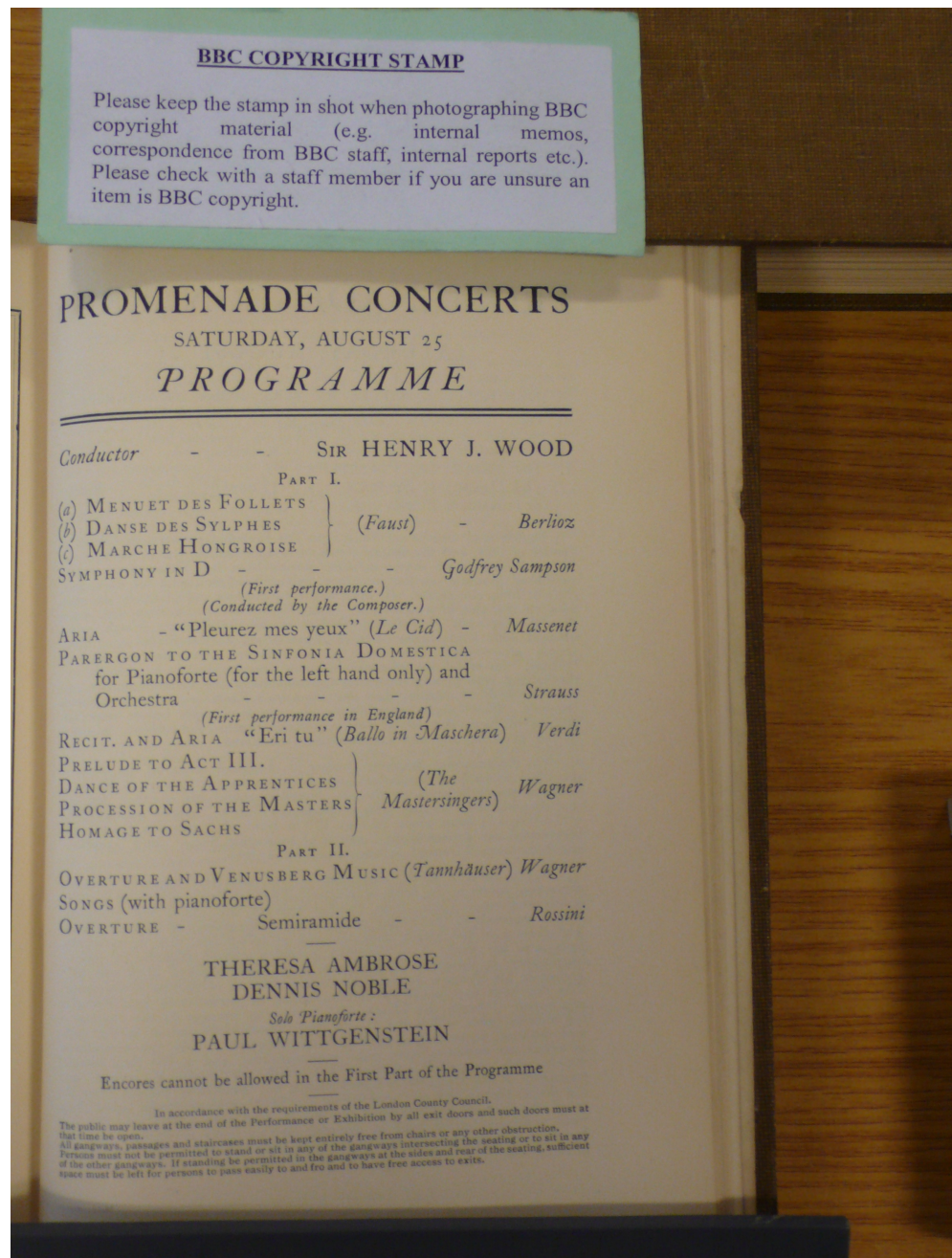


Fig. 1.10 Programme of Wittgenstein's first Promenade Concert on 25 August 1928. Reproduced with permission from The BBC Written Archives. All rights reserved.

¹²³ Joseph Wechsberg, 'His Hand Touched Our Hearts: the story of Paul Wittgenstein', *Coronet*, 45/8 (June 1959), 25-9.

After his first Promenade Concert, Wittgenstein must have immediately asked the BBC for a further engagement because Mr Pedro Tillett, the booking manager of the BBC, was already circulating an internal memo on 27 August 1928 to the Music Executives with the following message: 'He [Wittgenstein] is returning to England about the middle of October, and would very much like to broadcast from the Studio'.¹²⁴ Wittgenstein's agent followed up on this issue in a letter dated 3 September 1928 to the BBC, reiterating his availability in October and his intention to play for the Corporation. However, despite the success of Wittgenstein's first Promenade appearance and his eagerness to get a further collaboration, the BBC did not give him an offer. In the same letter written to the BBC, Wittgenstein's agent mentioned that he was offered a performance at a music club in October, but no further details were given and no surviving records of this concert can be found. Therefore, the question of whether this music club performance actually existed and, if so, whether Wittgenstein had participated in it remained unknown.

Wittgenstein's next performance in Britain came six months after his 1928 Promenade Concert, when he returned to play in two provincial cities: Bournemouth and Birmingham. He first mentioned performing in Bournemouth in a letter to Deneke dated 30 January 1928, but at that time he did not know the date of performance yet.¹²⁵ Wittgenstein must have known about the exact date for his Bournemouth appearance by 14 January 1929 at the latest, as his agent informed the BBC that he would be playing 'in

¹²⁴ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948; Internal memo, 27 August 1928).

¹²⁵ Bodleian Libraries, Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Modern Papers, Deneke Papers, Ms. Eng. Lett. c. 620, fo. 111 (Letter, 30 January 1928).

Bournemouth on Feb. 14th,¹²⁶ but he did not update Deneke until 9 February 1929, merely five days before the concert, when he wrote her a letter that included information of his arrival, his concert schedule and the duration of his stay, among other things.¹²⁷

On 14 February 1929, Wittgenstein made his first appearance at the Winter Gardens in Bournemouth, performing Schmidt's *Concertante Variations* with the Bournemouth Municipal Augmented Orchestra under the direction of Sir Dan Godfrey. Besides this, he also played a number of his own transcriptions, including Mendelssohn's 'Gondellied' and 'Suleika',¹²⁸ Schumann's 'Des Abends' and 'Schlummerlied' and two Chopin-Godowsky Studies (Figs. 1.11a–d).¹²⁹ This was his first concert to be broadcast in the United Kingdom. Hence, audiences in Daventry, Bournemouth, Cardiff, Manchester, Plymouth, Stoke-on-Trent, Swansea and even Belfast could have been able to listen to Wittgenstein's rendering of Schmidt's *Concertante Variations* and other piano solo pieces on the radio. For those who went to the live performance, on the other hand, had the advantage of reading the programme notes of the *Concertante Variations* that Tovey wrote for its premiere with the Reid Orchestra in 1927, which was reproduced by permission of the Oxford University Press for this performance.

¹²⁶ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul, (File 1, 1927–1948; Letter, 14 January 1929).

¹²⁷ Bodleian Libraries, Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Modern Papers, Deneke Papers, Ms. Eng. Lett. c. 620, fo. 147 (Letter, 9 February 1929).

¹²⁸ Mendelssohn has composed a number of 'Gondellied' and 'Suleika', and thus it is impossible to identify the original piece for these two transcriptions.

¹²⁹ In his review of this concert in the *Birmingham Post* on 18 February 1929, the critic A.J.S. indicated that Wittgenstein played Schubert's 'Wohin?' as an encore. For the complete concert review, see A.J.S. 'City of Birmingham Orchestra—Mr Paul Wittgenstein As Solo Pianist', *Birmingham Post* (18 February 1929).

NINETEENTH SYMPHONY CONCERT

OF THE THIRTY-FOURTH WINTER SERIES.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 14th, 1929, at 3 p.m.

Conductors { Dr. JOHN IVIMEY.
 SIR DAN GODFREY.

Analytical and Historical Notes (Copyright) by HAMILTON LAW, Hon. A.R.C.M.
(unless otherwise indicated)

1 OVERTURE "Carnival" Dvorak

All the mummery and roguish frolic of a rompish *fête* are mirrored in this wholly delightful and charming Overture. Only in the middle portion are we made to realise that even the spirit of the Carnival cannot completely quench the bitter truths and stern realities of life; some little side issue, a minor tragedy—excepting to those whom it bears upon—hardly calls a halt in the gay proceedings. "Thereby hangs a tale": it may just mean, perhaps, a broken heart or two—but the joyous crowd, impatient of all else but enjoyment, raising a lue and cry, scatters and rushes off to seek again the spirit of the festive masquerade.

2 SYMPHONY in C major, Op. 13 John Ivimey

Composed in February, 1928, in honour of the Schubert Centenary.
(FRANZ SCHUBERT, b. Vienna, 1797; d. Vienna, 1828.)
(First performance.)

CONDUCTED BY THE COMPOSER.

1. Introduction and Allegro.
2. Andante cantabile.
3. Allegro Scherzando.

In writing this short Symphony the composer had in his mind a concise tone-picture of the life of Schubert: a life at once simple, frank, honest, merry and sad—unutterably sad at times—but brightened by a cheery optimism and governed by an irresistible urge to create music of the highest beauty in the shortest possible time, as if there was a premonition that death might overtake him before he had delivered his message to the world.

The Symphony opens with a short pastoral introduction suggesting Schubert's love of the open country: then follows the announcement of the first subject in crotchets and quavers (*alla breve* time) founded on the common chord of C major; at the end of this comes a hint of the pastoral figure in the introduction—some play upon this—and then the first theme again.

At bar 71 the second subject appears (in A minor) on the clarinet, answered by the oboe and flute. At bar 84 the theme has accompanying it a metamorphosis of the first subject on the violins.

An episode follows which is worked at some length. The development section begins at bar 131 and the second subject is heard again (in E minor) at bar 151. After some working out the return to the first subject (*reprise*) begins at bar 211, but this time the theme is given out by the clarinet in minims (augmentation) and answered by the violins in G major. The various materials are

Fig. 1.11a Programme of Wittgenstein's first performance at the Winter Gardens, Bournemouth, on 14 February 1929, p. 1. Reprinted by permission of Professor Robert Pascal.¹³⁰

¹³⁰ I am grateful to Professor Robert Pascal for his generosity in sharing his concert programme collections with me and granting me permission to reprint this valuable source in my thesis.

played with for about a hundred bars and the movement ends with the main theme in crotchets.

The song-like theme of the second movement (*andante cantabile*) is prefaced by a passage twelve bars long for first and second violins *sordini*, using only the first four notes of the tune and leading to a pause. The full theme is then given out by the first horn with a soft accompaniment of strings, the bassoon adding the four-note figure mentioned above, which is itself derived from the main theme of the first movement. A short episode follows and after a pause the theme is heard again on the cor anglais with clarinet accompaniment; but not at length, for it leads into a second episode in D major which has a complementary section in B minor derived from the second subject of the first movement.

After modulation, this ends on the dominant chord in A flat, and the main theme returns (*rondo* form) first on the cellos, then on the first violins. The second episode comes again, this time in the principal key (A flat) and after some working out leads into the main theme given first by the full orchestra, then passing to the cor anglais which carries it to a *pianissimo* conclusion.

The final movement is an *allegro scherzando* in triple time (one beat in a bar), opening in C minor. After the first theme is announced by the full orchestra a short episode leads to the second subject in E flat.

(This 16 bar tune was found among Schubert's sketches for a third movement of his Symphony in B minor (the "Unfinished").)

After 82 bars of development an episode occurs which is meant to suggest the Viennese spirit with its gaiety and bonhomie.

A resumption of the main theme follows formed as a counterpoint to the Schubert tune. After this comes another episode (*meno mosso*) the theme of which—in F major—is a metamorphosis of the first subject of the slow movement.

This is developed in various ways and gives place at the *tempo primo* to a new theme (in crotchets) which proves to be another counterpoint to the Schubert tune now played by violas and horn.

The "Viennese" theme recurs and works up to the final presentation of the first subject combined again with the Schubert melody, the whole ending in a jovial and thoroughly "Schubertian" manner.

ANON.

3 CONCERTANTE VARIATIONS on a Theme of Beethoven for Pianoforte with Orchestral Accompaniment Franz Schmidt (First performance in Bournemouth.)

PAUL WITTGENSTEIN.

The high courage which has inspired Mr. Wittgenstein's art receives another fitting tribute in this delightful and humorous work. The witty little scherzo of Beethoven's F major Violin Sonata lends itself, with the aid of an orchestra, to the art of left-hand solo "pianistics" in many ways which reveal the possibilities of that art and shed unexpected new lights on the theme. The most obvious example is furnished by the last note of the whole composition, which avails itself of Beethoven's little joke sometimes taken by critics of more severity than experience for a defect of ensemble in the performance.

If a set of variations on a humorous theme is to have an introduction, one of the chief functions of the introduction will be to mystify us as to the purport of the theme. The solemn polyphony heard at the start might do for a funeral in a certain corner of Kensington Gardens. The horns indicate a later strain of the theme that is to come.

Another more hymn-like aspect leads to florid developments which, falling into A major (or B double-flat, through D flat), lead to a more animated rhythm. The solemn introduction is explained away by a further theme—which is not buried in Kensington Gardens.

Fig. 1.11b Programme of Wittgenstein's first performance at the Winter Gardens, Bournemouth, on 14 February 1929, p. 2. Reprinted by permission of Professor Robert Pascal.

We now learn that the third theme foreshadowed the second part. It was a stroke of genius to select this theme. But strokes of genius are tested by the way they are followed up. This is followed by another *Gemaler Zug*. Franz Schmidt produces a splendid *ritornello* effect, useful alike to orchestra and pianoforte, by using the Trio as well as the Scherzo!

Then, by way of a first variation, the two themes are combined. This combination of course produces what Pepys or Purcell would have called "divisions," and Handel, Bach, or the French clavécinistes would call a *double*. The next variation is a double in triplets, and the third variation a double in semi-quavers.

And now it is time to go further afield. We have a change to D major 6/8 time, *ruhig fliessend*, and the orchestra waxes erotic, while the pianoforte mocks it in the original tripping measures.

Variation 5 dances a Bolero in B minor, which ends in B major, and is followed therein by a slow declamatory variation for pianoforte alone, in common time.

Variation 7, in E major, deals in slow and solemn 3/4 time, primarily with the trio.

Variation 8 (*sehr lebhaft*) in E minor runs away with the scherzo, *fugato* in 2/4 time.

Variation 9 (*sehr ruhig*, A major 3/4) is a quiet slow waltz with undulating figures.

Variation 10 (*alla breve* time, *Massig bewegt*) turns the scherzo into a figured chorale in A minor. The pianoforte gradually betrays that *cucullus non facit monachum*, and we are soon rushing along in every conceivable kind of counterpoint to a brilliant and highly developed finale.

Tub-thumping, however, is not its profession. Much butter may have melted in its mouth; but the end is peace, though the hearth-rug be in pieces.

D.F.T.

(By permission of the Oxford University Press.)

4 VALSES NOBLES AND SENTIMENTALES

Ravel

In his "Waltzes, noble and sentimental," Ravel has not feared to stagger, even to shock those who hold the modern French idiom in utter abomination; and indeed he appears with relish to display in his harmonies a kind of Mephistophelian acidity which is not without its sardonic witticisms. Even though the set of pieces should seem a little querulous, as it were, to some listeners, yet we cannot blind our eyes to the fact that they contain many passages both cleverly and gracefully conceived. After all, we must speak the language of our own day and not of the past, even though modern phraseology fails to please. This little chaplet of pieces consists of eight numbers, the score being headed by these lines:—

"le plaisir délicieux
"et toujours nouveau d'une
"occupation inutile."
(Henri de Régnier)

The outlines of the Waltzes are as follows:—

I. *Modéré-très franc*, 3-4, G major. A truculent, swaggering and rather brusque number.

II. *Assez lent*, 3-4, G minor. Plaintive in character, distilling an essence of melting sighs and salt tears.

III. *Modéré*, 3-4, E minor and D major. A delicate and charming section, tinged with wistfulness.

IV. *Assez animé*, 3-4, A major and C major. Capricious and dainty, and kaleidoscopic in its range of keys.

Fig. 1.11c

Programme of Wittgenstein's first performance at the Winter Gardens, Bournemouth, on 14 February 1929, p. 3. Reprinted by permission of Professor Robert Pascal.

V. *Presque lent*, 3-4, E major. Very subdued in tone, the strangeness of the harmonies being enhanced by some striking cross-rhythms.

VI. *Vif*, 3-4, C major. Rhythmically piquant, a gently persistent mood running through the movement.

VII. *Moins vif*, 3-4, A major. Sweet and succulent in character, to which the criticism of Debussy upon the music of Grieg might well apply; namely, that it gives "the charming and bizarre sensation of eating a pink bonbon stuffed with snow." These words do not adapt themselves, however, to the middle section, which is more emotional and vigorous in mood.

VIII. Epilogue. *Lent*, 3-4, G major. A number that is full of mystery and subtle nuances; there are repeated changes of *tempo*, and reminiscences of No. 4 twice intervene during the course of the movement. Towards the end the music becomes slower and softer, the last bar comprising a single low note marked *ppp*.

5 SPANISH RHAPSODY

"Espana"

Chabrier

Among the French composers subsequent to Gounod (who managed to outlive many of his younger brethren), there was born in 1841 Emmanuel Chabrier; and if this writer failed to attain to the prominence of his contemporaries Bizet and Massenet, his music embodies many of the best characteristics common to both these more eminent men. His operas are among his more successful works, of which "Gwendoline" stands out conspicuously.

In the present example Chabrier is heard in one of his happiest veins, for this Southern type of music, with its sudden alternations of languor and vivacity, furnished a congenial field for his mode of expression. It is a true reproduction of the spirit which permeates the national music of Spain, excepting that the crudities of the older Spanish folk-music are more or less eliminated. The local colour (on which so much depends) is derived from the introduction of tambourine, cymbals, triangle, and castenet effects, of which liberal use is made. An important and essential factor is the *obligato* part for the harp which is combined throughout with the rest of the orchestra in an original and charming manner.

An introductory passage of mixed and syncopated rhythms leads right into the dance theme which constitutes the principal motive. A striking episode is that which follows on the upper notes of two bassoons, while later on the strings give out a lyrical and expressive melody in the same key, this being repeated at a subsequent point in an extended and modified form. Only slight departures from the key (F major) are made in the course of the piece, its infinite variety being due, as much to the rhythmic and melodic variations upon the same idea, as to the ingenious orchestration to which an ever-changing series of tone colour is indebted.

ALLAN BIGGS.

6 PIANOFORTE SOLOS—

(a) Gondellied (Song arranged for Pianoforte)

Mendelssohn

(b) Suleika

(FELIX MENDELSSOHN, born at Hamburg, 1809; died at Leipzig, 1847).

(c) Des Abends (d) Schlummerlied

Schumann

(ROBERT ALEXANDER SCHUMANN, born at Zwickau, 1810; died at Eendenich, near Bonn, 1856).

(e) Two Studies

Chopin-Godowsky

(FRANCOIS FREDERIC CHOPIN, born near Warsaw, 1810; died at Paris, 1849).

PAUL WITTGENSTEIN.

Fig. 1.11d

Programme of Wittgenstein's first performance at the Winter Gardens, Bournemouth, on 14 February 1929, p. 4. Reprinted by permission of Professor Robert Pascal.

Three days after his Bournemouth performance Wittgenstein was in Birmingham for his collaboration with the City of Birmingham Orchestra in their Seventeenth Sunday Concert at the West End Cinema. This Sunday concert would not have occupied a place in Wittgenstein's performing portfolio at all if there was not an engagement in Bournemouth. In a letter dated 29 May 1928 Wittgenstein said to Deneke, 'As to Birmingham: I am willing to play in a Sunday concert, in case I can connect it with an Edinburgh engagement. But of course I wouldn't come over to England only in order to play in a Sunday concert'.¹³¹ This letter seems to suggest that Wittgenstein was apathetic towards making an appearance in Birmingham, even though he had not performed in public anywhere in Britain since Edinburgh in 1927 and did not know at that time that he was going to participate in the Promenade Concert in London in the summer of 1928. In a stark contrast, he was very eager to return to the concert stage in Edinburgh, but his wish was not granted and he ended up connecting Birmingham with Bournemouth. Wittgenstein's indifference to performing in Birmingham did not vanish even after he accepted the offer. On 29 December 1928 he wrote a letter to Deneke, in which he asked her in a postscript whether she knew the name of the conductor, 'by the by, do you happen to know the name of the conductor in Birmingham; Berridge wanted to know it, but I only knew that he was Sir somebody; the name entirely slipped out of my memory'.¹³² This suggested that Wittgenstein, if not being indifferent, had possibly mixed up Sir Dan Godfrey of Bournemouth and Adrian C. Boult of Birmingham, because Boult was not

¹³¹ Bodleian Libraries, Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Modern Papers, Deneke Papers, Ms. Eng. Lett. c. 620, fos. 133–4 (Letter, 29 May 1928).

¹³² Bodleian Libraries, Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Modern Papers, Deneke Papers, Ms. Eng. Lett. c. 620, fo. 144 (Letter, 29 December 1928).

knighted until 1937. Be that as it may, on 17 February 1929 Wittgenstein performed the same piece as he did at Bournemouth, Schmidt's *Concertante Variations*, in the second half of the concert with Boult conducting (Figs. 1.12a-c).


City of Birmingham Orchestra
Musical Director and Conductor: ADRIAN C. BOULT
 Season 1928-29
Seventeenth
Sunday Concert
 at the
West End Cinema
February 17th, 1929
 at 7-0 p.m.
 Conductors - { W. H. REED
 ADRIAN C. BOULT
 Solo Pianoforte - PAUL WITTGENSTEIN
 Registered Offices: 161, Corporation Street, Birmingham.
 Telephone: Central 8331. A. H. SHEPHARD, Secretary.
 THE HOME OF

GRADE "A" MILK
 Call and inspect these unique premises, and get your supplies from:-
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Fig. 1.12a

Front cover of the programme of Wittgenstein's performance at The West End Cinema, Birmingham, on 17 February 1929. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

Programme

PART I.

1. OVERTURE, "The Wasps"
Ralph Vaughan Williams (1872—).
2. PHANTASY, "The Lincoln Imp"
William Henry Reed (1876—).
(Conducted by the Composer.)

Concerning the Lincoln Imp there is a legend that when wandering bent on mischief he fell in with the North East Wind, and rode upon it until the Cathedral was sighted.

The Imp had a frolicsome desire to enter; and, bidding the wind await his return, proceeded within.

Vaulting the benches, he espied the bell-rope, jangled the bells, strummed upon the organ, tore the vestments to shreds, and broke the brazen candlesticks across his knees.

Intending to work his crowning mischief upon the altar, he found his way barred by an angel; putting out his hand to stroke the wonderful shining hair, he was, for his presumption, immediately turned to stone.

The North East Wind still waits for him outside.

W. H. R.

3. SYMPHONY No. 4, in D minor
Robert Schumann (1810-1856).
Lento assai—Allegro.
Romance : Lento assai.
Scherzo : Allegro.
Finale : Lento—Allegro.

INTERVAL OF TEN MINUTES.

SUNDAY NEXT—SEE PAGE 7.

Fig. 1.12b

Programme of Wittgenstein's performance at The West End Cinema, Birmingham, on 17 February 1929, p. 1. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

PART II.



4. VARIATIONS CONCERTANTE on a theme of Beethoven,
for Pianoforte and Orchestra *Franz Schmidt (1874—)*.

The theme of these Variations is taken from
Beethoven's F major Violin Sonata.

PAUL WITTGENSTEIN.

5. ÆSOP'S FABLES, for Orchestra .. *William Henry Reed.*

- (a) Æsop.
- (b) The Fox and the Grapes.
- (c) The Wolf and the Lamb.
- (d) The Ox and the Frog.
- (e) The Fisherman and his Pipe.
- (f) The Dog in the Manger.
- (g) The Wind and the Sun.

(Conducted by the Composer.)

6. OVERTURE, "The Barber of Seville"

Gioachino Antonio Rossini (1792-1868).



GOD SAVE THE KING.

Conductors	-	(W. H. REED
			ADRIAN C. BOULT
Accompanist	-	-	MICHAEL MULLINAR

Reserved Seats (2/-) may be booked at DALE, FORTY & CO., LTD., New St.

SUNDAY NEXT

Programme

Overture, "The Mastersingers" *Wagner.*

Aria, "Sciolto di morte," from Cantata Spirituale

Leonardo Leo.

Symphony No. 2, in D *Beethoven.*

Dances from "Prince Igor" *Borodine.*

Suite, "Water Music" *Handel-Harty.*

Overture, "A Roman Carnival" *Berlioz.*

Vocalist - - - PHYLLIS JAMES.

Conductor - - - PAUL BEARD.

Fig. 1.12c

Programme of Wittgenstein's performance at The West End Cinema, Birmingham, on 17 February 1929, p. 2. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

Besides the two concerts in Bournemouth and Birmingham, Wittgenstein could have had two more performances during his stay in Britain in February 1929. On 17 December 1928, Wittgenstein informed the BBC through his agent about his visit in February and provided a list of repertoire that he would like to play in any form of engagement that the Corporation was to offer.¹³³ At the end of the month the BBC replied, showing their preliminary interest in engaging Wittgenstein for a broadcast; and on 15 January 1929 they suggested 24 February for the performance.¹³⁴ Before they came to finalise this broadcast concert, however, Wittgenstein's agent notified the BBC on 28 January 1929 that the pianist would not be available on 24 February because he would have a performance in Paris, and asked whether they could re-schedule his broadcast to any date before 21 February.¹³⁵ Nine days later the BBC responded and said they did their best to 'try and arrange a date for him [Wittgenstein] during February, but, unfortunately, we [the BBC] found it quite impossible'.¹³⁶

Wittgenstein's last possible performance in Britain in February 1929 was a private recital in Oxford, in which he showed considerably more enthusiasm than his engagements in Bournemouth and Birmingham, and perhaps the BBC broadcast, too. He was particularly looking forward to playing music with his friends there, especially Walker, and he expressed his eagerness to Deneke in a letter dated 9 February:

¹³³ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul, (File 1, 1927–1948; Letter, 17 December 1928).

¹³⁴ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul, (File 1, 1927–1948; Letters, 31 December 1928 and 15 January 1929).

¹³⁵ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul, (File 1, 1927–1948; Letter, 28 January 1929).

¹³⁶ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul, (File 1, 1927–1948; Letter, 30 January 1929).

Thursday the 14th I am going to play in Bournemouth, and Sunday the 17th in Birmingham. So I don't think that it would be worth while [*sic*] to come to Oxford between these two concerts... But if it's convenient to you... I will be able to come to Oxford Monday the 18th at about noon... From Monday to Friday, if you really want to keep me as long as that, I am entirely at your disposal. Now as to a privat [*sic*] recital, I am very fond of this idea... I would propose [to play the] Labor Concertstück in Es dur with Dr. Walker, and some new solo pieces... Whatever your decision is, I hope to see you all again in good health, and to play at four hands with Dr. Walker. Please give my compliments to him and your mother!¹³⁷

Given the fact Wittgenstein was in Britain in February 1929 as planned, this private recital in Oxford could well have taken place. However, as no concert programme or evidence of any kind survives to prove its existence, the question of whether it happened or not remains unanswered.

In the remainder of 1929 Wittgenstein continued to approach the BBC for all kinds of engagement including a Promenade Concert in the summer but none of his proposals were accepted.¹³⁸ In 1931 he contacted the BBC again, enquiring for a possibility to perform the new Piano Concerto by Ravel in public,¹³⁹ and the BBC agreed to let him play the work at the Promenade Concert on 18 August 1931. On 6 August, however, Wittgenstein informed the BBC that 'although he is available on Tues evening ... he is unable to undertake a performance of the new Ravel Concerto', and suggested playing

¹³⁷ Bodleian Libraries, Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Modern Papers, Deneke Papers, Ms. Eng. Lett. c. 620, fo. 147 (Letter, 9 February 1929).

¹³⁸ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948; Letters, 18 and 22 March, 10 May, 28 June and 9 July 1929).

¹³⁹ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948; Letters, 22 and 23 January 1931).

the Korngold Concerto or the *Panathenaënzug* by Strauss instead.¹⁴⁰ The BBC promptly replied on 8 August with the following message, ‘we are sorry that the Ravel work is not available ... we shall hope to give this work directly when it is available, and to invite Paul Wittgenstein to play on this occasion’.¹⁴¹

Not long afterwards on 28 August Wittgenstein instructed his agent to send a letter to the BBC, telling them that he and Ravel were set to perform together in Paris on 25 March 1932 and ‘would be prepared to come to London a few days before’.¹⁴² At first the BBC replied positively and said that ‘this period would suit us for Ravel to conduct a concert here with Wittgenstein as pianist,¹⁴³ but later on decided it was impossible to arrange this particular engagement. A letter dated 23 September explained the Corporation’s decision: ‘firstly that we have to make very great economics and therefore will not be able to engage any expensive artists, [such as Ravel]; and secondly the Corporation say that we must give first consideration to British artists and that only in very exceptional cases must we engage foreigners’.¹⁴⁴

Although the BBC did not grant Wittgenstein’s wish to perform with Ravel, they offered him a chance to perform Ravel’s Concerto with their orchestra in their Promenade Concert in the summer of 1932 and Wittgenstein promptly accepted it.¹⁴⁵ On the evening of 16 August, Wittgenstein gave the British

¹⁴⁰ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948; Letter, 6 August 1931).

¹⁴¹ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948; Letter, 8 August 1931).

¹⁴² BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948; Letter, 28 August 1931).

¹⁴³ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948; Letter, 7 September 1931).

¹⁴⁴ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948; Letter, 23 September 1931).

¹⁴⁵ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948; Letters, 13 and 18 April 1932).

premiere of Ravel's work at the Queen's Hall, with the BBC Symphony Orchestra conducted by Sir Henry Wood (Fig. 1.13). It is not known which version of the Concerto Wittgenstein performed. Before this London performance, Wittgenstein had already played it in Vienna in January of the same year. For his Vienna performance he took the liberty to make drastic changes in Ravel's score, causing serious arguments between the composer and himself.¹⁴⁶ As Wittgenstein was unwilling to play the work as written and Ravel refused to both accept his changes and conduct the Wittgenstein version, the Paris premiere in late spring of 1932 was cancelled.¹⁴⁷ News of this scandal spread quickly all over the world, and a critic of the *New York Times* described it in his preview of the 1932 Proms Season on 7 August 1932 in the following way: 'Wittgenstein contended that Ravel had made it too difficult and Ravel refused to permit unauthorized changes, and the result was the composer withdrew Wittgenstein's right to perform the concerto', and he concluded his article by saying that 'It may be presumed from the announcement, perhaps, that these gentlemen have settled their differences'.¹⁴⁸ The author's assumption that the two artists had reached a compromise because Wittgenstein was going to perform the Concerto at the Promenade concert is doubtful. In fact, it is unknown when they agreed on the alterations that Wittgenstein made to the score, and since the new Paris premiere did not take place until 17 January

¹⁴⁶ For further details on the Ravel Concerto and the arguments between Ravel and Wittgenstein over the work, see Marguerite Long, *At the Piano with Ravel*, trans. Olive Senior-Ellis (London: Dent, 1973), 56–63, esp. 58–9.

¹⁴⁷ Wittgenstein told Deneke in a letter that he had cancelled the Paris concert but he did not explain why. In a letter to Ravel, however, he listed out the reasons why he had to cancel the performance. For more details, see Bodleian Libraries, Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Modern Papers, Deneke Papers, Ms. Eng. Lett. c. 620, fo. 174 (Letter, 2 April 1932) and Arbie Orenstein, *A Ravel Reader. Correspondence, Articles, Interviews* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 593–5, esp. 594.

¹⁴⁸ Anonymous, 'LEHAR's NEW OPERA: Roles for Jeritza and Tauber—The London Symphony—The Promenades', *New York Times* (7 August 1932).

1933, it is likely that Wittgenstein premiered his own version of the Concerto in London, rather than the 'agreed' final version of the work. Be that as it may, Wittgenstein had boldly resumed his British performing career at this Promenade concert, on the one hand, and left his legacy with the Ravel Concerto in the history of the Promenade concerts, on the other. Apart from being praised and recognised as one of the most celebrated compositions of Ravel and the greatest concerto ever written for piano left-hand, the Ravel Concerto was, among all the commissions that Wittgenstein would eventually play at the Promenade Concerts, the only piece that he himself had performed twice (the other one was in 1951). In addition, up to the 2015 Season, the Ravel Concerto has been repeated seventeen times at the Promenade Concerts since Wittgenstein, while Britten's *Diversions on a Theme*, Op. 21, has been repeated five times and Strauss's *Parergon* was never heard again after 1928.

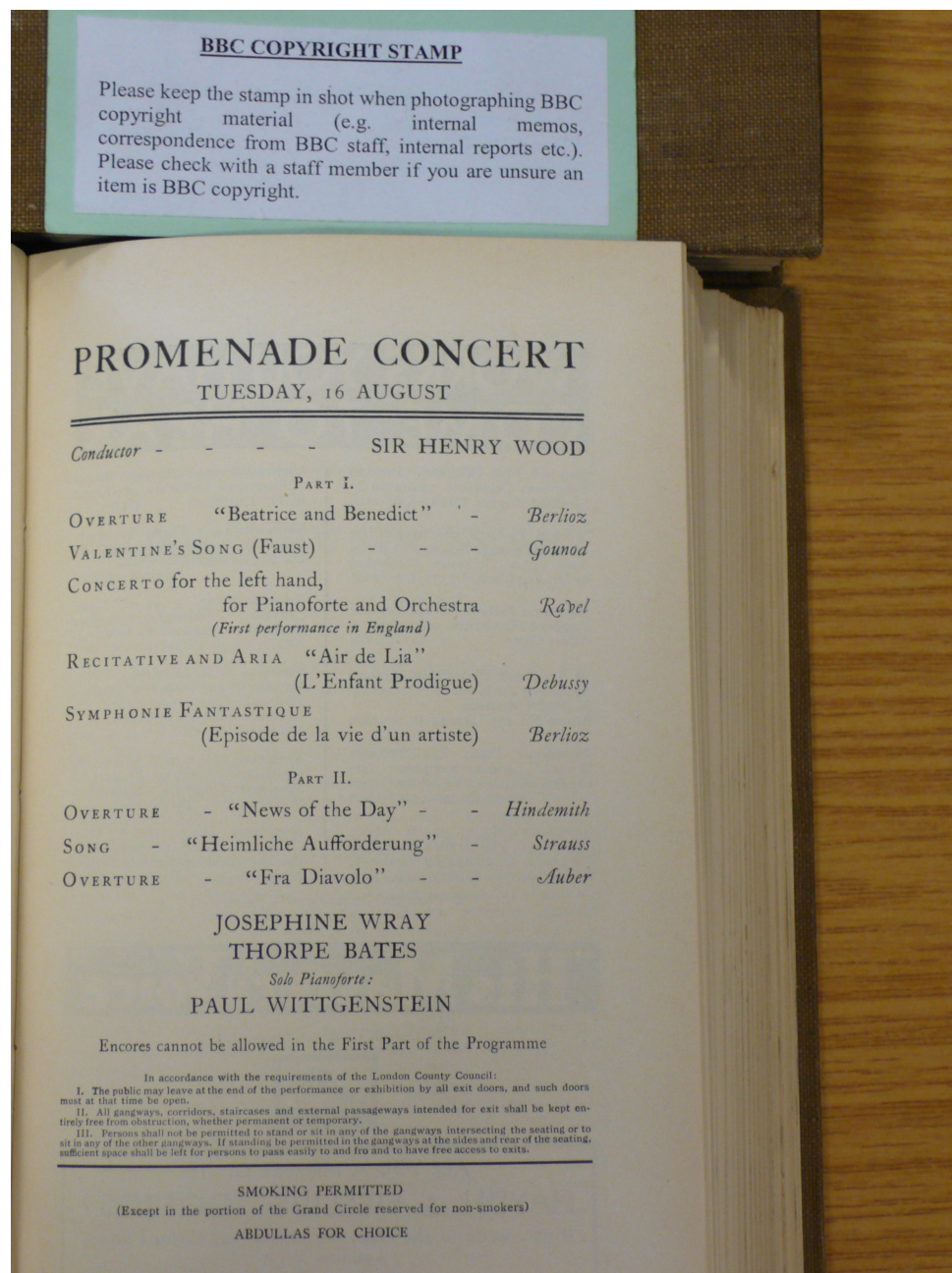


Fig. 1.13 Programme of Wittgenstein's second Promenade Concert, on 16 August 1932. Reprinted with permission from The BBC Written Archives. All rights reserved.

Shortly after the successful Promenade performance in August 1932 Wittgenstein's two agents, the Ibbs & Tillett of London and the Internationale Theater-und Musik Agentur (ITMA) of Vienna wrote to the BBC respectively, on 1 and 3 September, exploring the possibilities of securing further engagements. While the former asked for a London Studio engagement and provided the Corporation as list of suggested repertoire, the latter clarified that Wittgenstein actually wanted to repeat the Ravel Concerto with Ravel conducting. ITMA wrote, 'Both Ravel and Wittgenstein are anxious to have the Ravel Concerto played once more, in the mid-season ... we suggest that Wittgenstein play on January 10th'.¹⁴⁹ Unfortunately, the BBC rejected the suggestion and the Ravel Concerto was never given by Ravel and Wittgenstein together in Britain.

In June 1934 Wittgenstein decided to bypass the junior staff of the BBC and directly contact their Director of Music, Adrian Boult, who he personally knew from their Birmingham collaboration in 1929. This time, instead of providing a list of repertoire in the letter as he usually did, Wittgenstein clearly expressed his wish to perform any of the two compositions that Strauss composed for him. His agent wrote,

Wittgenstein will come to England early in July and I suppose that you will be interested to get a hearing of the artist in one of the concerts of the B.B.C.... As you [Boult] will know Richard Strauss has composed for him two works for the piano, i.e., the "Panathenäenzug" and the "Parergon to the Sinfonia Domestica." The second work has already been performed in England while the "Panathenäenzug" would be the Première... I

¹⁴⁹ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948; Letter, 3 September 1932).

think that you will perhaps be interested to secure yourself the first performance of his work in England.¹⁵⁰

Having a personal acquaintance with Boult and writing to him directly was not helpful. Wittgenstein did not get a reply from Boult himself, but a message from the Music Executive of the BBC saying that the Corporation could not offer him any performing opportunities.

Two years later, in April 1936, Boult undertook a tour to the Continent and would stay in Vienna for a few days. Knowing this, Wittgenstein sent a letter to the conductor to invite him to lunch or dinner.¹⁵¹ Although it is impossible to examine Wittgenstein's intention to send Boult a lunch invitation, it is likely that he wanted to talk to him about the possibility of them collaborating again in the near future. Unfortunately however, there was no response from Boult.¹⁵² Realising the fact that he would not get a chance to talk to Boult himself, Wittgenstein turned to Deneke for help. She wrote to Ibbs & Tillett on his behalf to enquire about the possibilities of getting any kind of performing opportunities through them, to which the agent replied,

Many thanks for your letter of the 29th instant. I well remember our chat with regard to PAUL WITTGENSTEIN and am taking what opportunities present themselves of bringing his name forward with a view to engagements next season. We are writing again to the B.B.C. in regard to the Promenade concerts particularly mentioning the Concertos by Ravel and Richard Strauss, and for their Chamber Music Concerts the work by

¹⁵⁰ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948; Letter, 14 June 1934).

¹⁵¹ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948; Letter, 18 April 1936).

¹⁵² Wittgenstein received a letter from the BBC on 6 May 1936 that acknowledged his lunch invitation. However, Boult himself never wrote back in person. For details, see BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948; Letter, 6 May 1936).

Ernest Walker. When we have any news of interest we will write you again.¹⁵³

On the same day Ibbs & Tillett wrote to the BBC to bring forward Wittgenstein's name for the 1936 Promenade Concert season. An undated memo shows that the BBC did think of engaging him some time before, but the final decision was that they were still unlikely to let him appear in the Promenade Concerts.¹⁵⁴

On 5 May 1936 Wittgenstein sent Deneke a letter, in which he enclosed a letter from Ibbs & Tillett, which is probably now lost. It is unlikely that Ibbs & Tillett had secured for Wittgenstein an opportunity to perform at a Promenade concert or a BBC Chamber Music Concert, because his next Promenade performance did not take place until 1951 and there is no record of his participating in any of the Chamber Concerts. Yet, Wittgenstein's mention of Walker's Variations on an Original Theme in the same letter is interesting.¹⁵⁵ He wrote, 'I am glad to hear that Walker's Variations are going to be played in London; and surely I would love to hear them'.¹⁵⁶ This seems to suggest that Deneke might have succeeded in getting the Walker Variations performed, but

¹⁵³ Bodleian Libraries, Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Modern Papers, Deneke Papers, Ms. Eng. Lett. c. 620, fo. 177 (Letter, 30 April 1936).

¹⁵⁴ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948; Internal Circulating Memo, 8 May 1936). The undated memo can be found in the same folder and is placed between the letter dated 30 April 1936 and the memo dated 8 May 1936.

¹⁵⁵ For a detailed discussion on the Walker Variations, see Chapter 2.

¹⁵⁶ Bodleian Libraries, Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Modern Papers, Deneke Papers, Ms. Eng. Lett. c. 620, fo. 178 (Letter, 5 May 1936).

only without Wittgenstein, for whom the work was written, and to whom it is dedicated.¹⁵⁷

After waiting for more than four years since he last collaborated with the BBC in 1932, Wittgenstein was finally going to receive an engagement from the Corporation. A BBC internal circulating memo dated 16 December 1936 revealed that the Corporation was going to engage Wittgenstein when he visited the United Kingdom in the spring of 1937. The memo reads,

It was unanimously agreed by Dr. Boult with the Panel on Tuesday that if this pianist is coming to England, as it suggested, next spring, we could certainly invite him to give one of the special pianoforte concertos written for him or a half hour recital in the studio of specially written works.¹⁵⁸

Five days later on 21 December the BBC sent a letter to Dr Alfred Kalmus, the founder of the Universal Edition (London) and one of Wittgenstein's agents, to tell him about the Corporation's decision,

The possibility of his giving a recital of one of the special pianoforte concertos specially written for him has now been officially considered, and we are prepared to do our best to give this pianist an engagement if and when he comes to this country on other private business, and if he lets us know the date of his arrival at least two months in advance.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ The question of whether the Variations on an Original Theme was actually performed in 1936 in London is yet to be answered and proved. It is highly doubtful that Wittgenstein would have agreed to let any pianists other than he himself to play 'his' commission.

¹⁵⁸ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948; Internal Circulating Memo, 16 December 1936).

¹⁵⁹ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948; Letter, 21 December 1936).

Kalmus, and presumably Wittgenstein too, took this exciting message to heart. Instead of giving the BBC a two-month notice about Wittgenstein's next visit to Britain as requested, Kalmus replied in January and informed them that the pianist 'will be in London early in April and would be glad to play at that time at the B.B.C.'. In the same letter Kalmus provided a list of Wittgenstein's usual repertoire, and stressed on the fact that the pianist would prefer to play a concerto. He also took the opportunity to promote Walker's Variations and hinted that Wittgenstein would be prepared to play a chamber work, too. In addition, Kalmus pushed forward to ask for a television broadcast for Wittgenstein by saying that 'Paul Wittgenstein is the best left-hand pianist in the world, and that not only the hearing of his playing, but the visible impression also is most interesting...'¹⁶⁰

On 19 February the BBC sent a contract to Wittgenstein for his first studio orchestral concert (Fig. 1.14a).¹⁶¹ According to the contract, Wittgenstein was to perform either 'the Strauss or Ravel Concerto specially written for him' with the "D" Orchestra under Clarence Raybould in the evening of 16 April 1937, for a fee of twenty-five guineas.¹⁶² As the *Radio Times* published a week prior to the radio broadcast reveals, Wittgenstein was going to play Strauss's *Parergon* and his performance was preceded and succeeded by Arnold Bax's

¹⁶⁰ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948; Letter, 20 January 1937).

¹⁶¹ Before the BBC issued the radio broadcast contract to Wittgenstein, Kalmus had sent another letter directly to the conductor Clarence Raybould, asking for his help in confirming the date for Wittgenstein's broadcast. For details, see BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948; Letter, 12 February 1937).

¹⁶² There were five divisions in the BBC Symphony Orchestra and 'Section D' or the 'D orchestra' refer to the ensemble of about 60 to 85 players which was responsible for programmes on classical music. For more details on the history and development of the BBC Symphony Orchestra, see Nicholas Kenyon, *The BBC Symphony Orchestra, the first fifty years 1930–1980*. London: British Broadcasting Corporation (1981).

Overture to a Picaresque Comedy and Alexander Glazunov's *The Seasons*, Op. 67, respectively.

Music

THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION

Broadcasting House, London, W.1

TELEPHONE: WEI BECK 4468 TELEGRAMS: BROADCASTS, LONDON

REGIONAL

Our Reference AP/AW 19th February, 1937 (Date)

DEAR SIR/MADAM,

We offer you an engagement to perform for broadcasting as follows:—

<p>DATE <u>Friday, 16th April, 1937</u></p> <p>TIME <u>7.50 - 9.0 p.m.</u></p> <p>STUDIO <u>LONDON (REGIONAL)</u></p> <p>NATURE OF PROGRAMME <u>Orchestral Concert.</u> <u>W.D. Orchestra.</u></p> <p>TYPE OF MATERIAL REQUIRED <u>To play the</u> <u>Strauss or Ravel Concerto specially written</u> <u>for you. Please consult Mr. Clarence Raybould.</u></p> <p>FEE (Actual Performance): <u>Twenty-five guineas (£25.5.0.) inclusive</u></p> <p>FEE (Mechanical Reproduction to Empire):</p> <p><small>Payable only if broadcast to Empire is given. (See Condition 12 overleaf.)</small></p>	<p>REHEARSALS.</p>
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--------------------

The above is contingent on your compliance with the following terms, and with the conditions overleaf:—

1. That your signed acceptance, together with all necessary particulars, is in our hands by Wednesday, 24th February
2. That full programme particulars, in accordance with the attached Programme Form, are supplied. In this connection we must particularly stress the necessity for the accurate timing of each item and for the supply of composers' arrangers' and publishers' names in every case.
3. That you shall personally attend all rehearsals and performances as provided above.

Yours faithfully,
THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION,

M
Programme Contracts Department.

NAME Paul Wittgenstein Esq.,

ADDRESS c/o A.A. Kalmus Esq., Universal Edition (London) Ltd.,
65 Conduit Street, W.1

BBC/P/1945

Fig. 1.14a

Original contract of Wittgenstein's radio broadcast on 16 April 1937. Reprinted with permission from The BBC Written Archives. All rights reserved.

APRIL 16

Regional Programme

s. 342.1 m. PLYMOUTH AND BOURNEMOUTH 1474 kc/s, 203.5 m. For other Regional wavelengths see page headings

<p>THE DAILY SERVICE</p> <p>Signal, Greenwich, at 10.30</p> <p>Weather Forecast Farmers and Shipping</p>	<p>1.45 THE BBC SCOTTISH ORCHESTRA</p> <p>Leader, J. Mouldan Begbie Conductor, Guy Warrack Catherine Mentiplay (contralto)</p>	<p>4.30 GRAMOPHONE RECORDS DANCE TUNES</p>	<p>9.0 STAR-GAZING (No. 4)</p> <p>The Radiography of EDITH DAY Presented by Leslie Bailly and Charles Brewer and Comped by the Playgoer</p>
<p>FREDRIC BAYCO</p> <p>gan of the Dominion Theatre, sttenham Court Road</p> <p>The Arcadians Monchton and Talbot you under my skin</p> <p>Cole Porter Melody.....Frank Tapp er Wand of Harlequin</p> <p>Ewing hegin Love. 2 Piereette. 3 Clown Dance. 4 Carni-</p> <p>case stay Hayhurst and Mayer Shower at Kew Haydn Wood Pennies from Heaven Burke and Johnston</p>	<p>ORCHESTRA Overture, The King of Ys.....Lalo</p> <p>CATHERINE MENTIPLAY AND ORCHESTRA From the Land of the Sky-blue Water.....Cédan Weep no more.....Handel, arr. Diack O Love, from thy Power (Samson and Delilah).....Saint-Saëns</p> <p>ORCHESTRA Masques et Bergamasques.....Faure 1 Overture. 2 Minuet. 3 Gavotte, 4 Pastoral</p> <p>CATHERINE MENTIPLAY If thou wert blind.....Noel Johnson April.....Quilter There.....Parry The Jocund Dance.....Quilter</p> <p>ORCHESTRA Waltz, The Grenadiers.....Walteufel</p>	<p>5.0 THE CHILDREN'S HOUR</p> <p>A Story for Most Ages</p> <p>MAC will continue to read 'Peter Duck' (No. 7) by ARTHUR RANSOME</p> <p>5.20 There will also be Gramophone Records and some Sports News from Captain H. B. T. WAKELAM</p> <p>5.45 'Here and There' by STEPHEN KING-HALL</p>	<p>Robert Hale, José Collins, and Davy Burnaby were the subject of the first three in this series of autobiographies of stage and screen stars; and now comes Edith Day, whose story tells of a rocket-like rise to fame in America, then in 1920, a brilliant London debut in <i>Irene</i>, followed by a series of spectacular musical plays including <i>Rose Marie</i>, <i>The Desert Song</i>, and <i>Shoat Boat</i>. Excerpts from these and other shows will be heard in tonight's programme, with the assistance of: Billy Merson Clarice Hardwicke Frederic Bentley Michael Cole Mr. and Mrs. Oscar F. G. Day Kate Lay J. B. Rowe MacDonald Parke Ernest Sefton Joan Miller Victor Barbour-James The BBC Revue Chorus and The BBC Theatre Orchestra Conducted by Mark H. Lubbock</p>
<p>THE RUTLAND SQUARE AND NEW TORIA ORCHESTRA</p> <p>ected by Frank Gomez he New Victoria Cinema, Edinburgh</p> <p>Down the Mall.....Belton Waltz, Around the VolgaBorchert</p> <p>The Merry Wives ofNichols Serenade.....Lehar Iolanthe.....Sullivan Lament.....Foulds cello solo, ROWLAND CARR)</p> <p>for Strings.....Frank Gomez es the World arr. Engelman Phingies.....Mordkhai pte solo, LAURENCE COHEN) and Patches, Frank Gomez tthew's Song Hits arr. Ray Terry</p>	<p>2.45 A PIANOFORTE RECITAL</p> <p>Peggy Male</p> <p>Impromptu in E flat, Op. 90, No. 2 Schubert</p> <p>Romance in F sharp, Op. 28, No. 2 Novellet in E, Op. 21, No. 7 Polonaise in C minor, Op. 40, No. 2 Polonaise in A minor, Op. 40, No. 1 Romance in G flat A Romp</p> <p>.....SchumannSchumannChopinYork Bowen</p>	<p>6.0 THE WORTHING MUNICIPAL ORCHESTRA</p> <p>Leader, Harry Lipman Conductor, Herbert Lodge from the Town Hall, Worthing</p> <p>March, Victoria.....von Blon Overture, Maritana.....Vincent Wallace Waltz, Danube Legends.....Lehar Selection, Song of Freedom.....Ansell Three Irish Scenes.....Oscar Taylor 1 The Sligo Maid's Lament. 2 Down the Ennis Road. 3 After Limerick Races You're Mine.....Hero de Rance (Soloist, EDIE CARON) Dancing with the DaffodilsKenneth A. Wright Selection, The Vagabond King Primm</p> <p>7.0 Time Signal, Greenwich</p> <p>THE SECOND NEWS including Weather Forecast</p> <p>7.20 Regional Bulletin for Farmers</p> <p>7.25 Interlude</p> <p>7.30 Short Story 'KEYS' by Willa Muir read by the Author</p>	<p>10.0 Time Signal, Greenwich</p> <p>NEWS SUMMARY (including Weather Forecast)</p> <p>SPORT, TOPICAL TALKS</p> <p>10.25 BRAM MARTIN AND HIS DANCE ORCHESTRA with GENE CROWLEY HARRY LEWIS and PADDY HARLOW from the Holborn Restaurant</p>
<p>A Programme of OPHONE RECORDS</p> <p>lphia Symphony Orchestra, d by Stokowski: Fêtes— s No. 2 (Debussy) on Dohnányi (pianoforte), don Symphony Orchestra, d by Lawrence. Colling- rations on a Nursery Tune, Dohnányi)</p> <p>E LEON WAYNE SEXTET</p> <p>Waltzes arr. Sidney Crooke ly House.....Lambert nging.....Kempner Comedy Memories arr. Sidney CrookeMichels d of the River.....Edwards d (Joy of Love).....Kreiser iers ee moon.....Ribaus of Songs arr. Sidney Crooke</p>	<p>3.15 THE CARLTON HOTEL ORCHESTRA</p> <p>Directed by René Tapponnier from the Carlton Hotel</p> <p>Spanish Ladies.....Solazzi Delyse.....Nicholls All alone in Vienna.....Towers Selection, Born to DanceCole Porter A Bird sang in the Rain Haydn Wood Concert Waltz.....Toye Easter Morning.....James</p> <p>3.45 THE WEEK IN WESTMINSTER</p> <p>F. Kingsley Griffith, K.C., M.P.</p> <p>4.0 EMPIRE FOLLIES in 'London Calling' with Albert H. Grant Patrick Waddington John Rorke Betty Bolton Patricia Hayes The Radio Three and The Joseph Mecus Sextet Book and Music by Albert H. Grant Production by Frederick Piffard (Empire Programme)</p>	<p>7.50 THE BBC ORCHESTRA (Section D) Leader, Paul Beard Conducted by Clarence Raybould Paul Wittgenstein (pianoforte)</p> <p>ORCHESTRA Overture to a Picaresque Comedy <i>Bux</i></p> <p>PAUL WITTGENSTEIN AND ORCHESTRA Paregion to the Sinfonia Domestica, for left hand alone Richard Strauss</p> <p>ORCHESTRA Ballet, The Seasons, Op. 67</p> <p>1. Winter (a) Introduction, (b) Sleet, (c) Ice, (d) Hail, (e) Snow— leading to 2 Spring, 3 Summer (a) Introduction, (b) Waltz of the Cornflowers and Poppies, (c) Bar- carolle, (d) Variation, (e) Coda, 4 Autumn (a) Bacchanale, (b) Entry of the Seasons—leading to (c) Miniature Adagio, (d) Finale</p>	<p>7.50 Time Signal, Greenwich</p> <p>LATE NEWS SUMMARY including Weather Forecast</p> <p>11.40-12.0 A Programme of GRAMOPHONE RECORDS</p> <p>The Poltronieri String Quartet: Quartet in E flat (Bocherini)—1 Largo. 2 Tempo di minuetto. 3 Allegro con brio The Virtuoso String Quartet: Serenade (Quartet in F, Op. 3, No. 5) (Haydn)</p>

Fig. 1.14b

‘Regional Programme for 16 April 1937’, in *Radio Times* (issued on 9 April 1937 Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

Correspondence between Wittgenstein and Raybould in the months following the issuing of the radio broadcast contract on 19 February revealed that they initially agreed to play the Ravel Concerto, and Wittgenstein even posted the scores to Raybould in advance for his reference.¹⁶³ However, in late March Raybould sent a telegram to Wittgenstein asking him to play Strauss's *Parergon* instead, but he did not explain why. Although Wittgenstein agreed to the programme change promptly without any hesitation, he was curious about Raybould's request and suspected that Durand, the French publishing firm, was the reason behind. Wittgenstein sent a reply to Raybould's telegram on 23 March, in which he wrote, 'I don't know what reasons made you change your opinion about the program. In case the publishing firm Durand in Paris should have made difficulties about the using of my pen-parts ... I am about to arrange matters with Durand'.¹⁶⁴ The next day Wittgenstein sent another letter to Raybould to confirm his suspicion that Durand was trying to prevent him from performing the Ravel Concerto.¹⁶⁵

While Kalmus was busy trying to settle the matters regarding Wittgenstein's performing rights of the Ravel Concerto with Durand, he was also occupied with negotiating with the BBC about giving Wittgenstein a television broadcast. Back in January when Kalmus suggested the BBC offer Wittgenstein a radio broadcast, he had also recommended him for a television programme. However, only the radio broadcast came through. A letter that

¹⁶³ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948; Letters, 2, 5 and 19 March 1937).

¹⁶⁴ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948; Letter, 23 March 1937).

¹⁶⁵ In this letter, Wittgenstein told Raybould the story about the contractual matters and performing rights regarding the Ravel Concerto from his side. He also blamed Durand for preventing him from playing the work and suspected it was because Durand wanted to reserve this Concerto for another pianist. For details, see BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948; Letter, 24 March 1937).

Kalmus sent to the Programme Director of the Television Department of the BBC on 3 March 1937 suggested it was Wittgenstein's disability that discouraged the BBC from giving him a television broadcast. Kalmus wrote, 'I believe there is rule in your Television work banning all cases of deformity. This is understandable and in the general way no doubt very desirable. I should, however, like to draw your special attention to a remarkable one-handed pianist who, I urge, would be unfairly excluded under this rule'.¹⁶⁶ Eventually the BBC made an exception in the case of Wittgenstein and offered an engagement to participate in a television programme on 22 April.¹⁶⁷ They sent him a programme contract on 15 April, only seven days prior to the broadcast (Fig. 1.15). Apart from giving details of the engagement in the contract, the BBC also stuck a light yellow label printed with the following rules on the paper for Wittgenstein's reference: 'All artists appearing in Television Programmes are particularly asked to cooperate with the Corporation in avoiding any reference to Physical deformities or diseases. Religious subjects or quotations. Drunkenness or immorality of any kind'. Although it was highly possible that Wittgenstein would have felt offended by the first rule regarding disability, he accepted the offer and performed in a television programme named 'Music Makers' presented by G. More O'Ferrall on 22 April 1937 at 3.41pm.¹⁶⁸ According to the contract, Wittgenstein was to

¹⁶⁶ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948; Letter, 3 March 1937).

¹⁶⁷ The only surviving document related to Wittgenstein's television broadcast in the BBC WAC is a letter that the Corporation sent to The Home Office at the Whitehall to notify them about engaging Wittgenstein in a television programme on 15 April 1937, the same day they sent the programme contract to Wittgenstein. No other records concerning why and how the BBC came to a conclusion to make an exception and offered Wittgenstein an engagement. For details, see BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948; Letter, 15 April 1937).

¹⁶⁸ According to the programme contract, Wittgenstein was supposed to appear in a programme called the 'Carbaret'. However, the 'Programme as Broadcast Records' at the BBC WAC

perform some piano solos for about 7 to 10 minutes. Nevertheless, since no record of the programme can be found, it is impossible to find out which solo pieces Wittgenstein actually played in the broadcast.

The Corporation regrets that practical considerations prevent the admission of artists' friends or others wishing to visit them at or accompany them to the studios or dressing rooms at the Alexandra Palace.

All artists appearing in Television Programmes are particularly asked to cooperate with the Corporation in avoiding any reference to
Physical deformities or diseases.
Religious subjects or quotations.
Drunkenness or immorality of any kind.

15th April, 1937. 16/4

DEAR SIR/MADAM,

We offer you an engagement in our television programmes to perform for broadcasting as follows:—

REHEARSALS.	
Date 22nd April, 1937.	22nd April - 10.0-12.0 noon.
Time 3.35 p.m. - 4.0 p.m.	
Place Alexandra Palace	
Approx. Duration of Performance 7 - 10 minutes	
Type of Material Required pianoforte solos.	
Programme Cabaret	Subject to permit being issued by the Ministry of Labour.
Fee Eighteen Guineas (£18.18.0.)	

The above offer is contingent on your compliance with the following terms, and with the conditions overleaf:—

1. That your signed acceptance, together with all necessary particulars, is in our hands by return
2. That you shall attend in person all the rehearsals and performances specified above, and any further rehearsals if and when required.
3. That you shall complete and submit for approval the Programme Form which is enclosed herewith (together with a published copy or typescript of all songs words and material you propose to use) to The British Broadcasting Corporation Broadcasting House W.1.

Yours faithfully,

THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION,
S. J. Lacey
Programme Contracts Department.

NAME Paul Wittgenstein, Esq.,

ADDRESS C/o. Dr. Kalmus, 65, Conduit Street, W.1.

BBC/P/187

Fig. 1.15 BBC television programme contract of 15 April 1937. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

clarified that Wittgenstein actually made an appearance in the 'Music Makers'. For details, see BBC WAC, Programme as Broadcast Records (22 April 1937).

After giving his first radio and television broadcast, Wittgenstein was unable to give any more performances in Britain before the Second World War broke out, when he had to hastily depart for the United States. Thus, his performing career in Britain, in fact, the whole of Europe, was forced into stagnation of more than ten years. Towards the end of the 1940s Wittgenstein was ready to resume his performing activities in Europe, certainly including Britain. Having been booked to appear in Paris and Holland in the first two months of 1949, Wittgenstein took the liberty to write to Sir Adrian Boult the following message,

Now, as you know it is only one hour by plane from Holland to England, it goes without saying that I would be delighted if I could play one of my Concerti (Strauss, Ravel, or Britten) under your baton. Each of these Concerti lasts about 15 and 19 minutes... As the journey from Holland to England is so very short, I would content myself with a very modest honorarium just to cover my expenses. I am offering you the time after my Dutch concerts...¹⁶⁹

It was certain that Wittgenstein wished to re-establish his British performing career and to get it started with playing under Boult's direction; yet, the real reason for his desire to come to Britain again was, as he honestly told Boult in the same letter, 'to see my dear friends, Deneke and Walker in Oxford'. This time, Boult quickly drafted a reply himself on 3 November, but it was a rather unpromising one. He wrote,

... your trip seems to coincide mostly with my absence from London as I shall be in both Holland and Italy during the month of January. I will, however, send your letter on at once to the

¹⁶⁹ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948; Letter, October 1948). Wittgenstein did not write down the date on which he wrote the letter.

Department that is concerned with these things, (you may not have heard that for five years now I have been released from anything administrative at the BBC, and am simply the Conductor of the Orchestra)...¹⁷⁰

Sir Adrian's unavailability would certainly have been the reason that prevented him from engaging Wittgenstein in any of his own orchestral concerts. Nevertheless, by saying that he was no longer in charge of administration at the BBC, it seems that Sir Adrian was implying that he did not wish Wittgenstein to bother him with these matters again in the future.

In the last two months of 1948 Deneke continued to write letters to different parties, among them Sir Adrian and Steuart Wilson, the Director of the BBC, in the hope of getting some concert opportunities for Wittgenstein.¹⁷¹ On 9 December 1948, John Lowe and Peter Crossley-Holland, respectively the Music Organiser and Music Programme Director of the BBC Third Programme, had a conversation regarding Wittgenstein and they initially agreed to consider offering him a concert on 24 or 26 February 1949 to play Britten's *Diversions*, depending on Wittgenstein's availability as well as his performing standard at that time.¹⁷² Nevertheless, this initial plan did not develop further. A BBC staff wrote on 20 December that they held 'no enthusiasm. He [Wittgenstein] wasn't playing anything well when [he was] last here... Have to be brought by us from Holland, which is not the way it should be...' ¹⁷³ In January 1949 Deneke

¹⁷⁰ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948; Letter, 3 November 1948).

¹⁷¹ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948; Letters, 26 November, 1 and 20 December 1948).

¹⁷² BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948; Letter, 10 December 1948).

¹⁷³ These lines were written by an unknown hand on a copy of the reply Wilson wrote to Deneke on 20 December 1948, BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948;

wrote an unsolicited letter to Basil Douglas again to follow up on Wittgenstein's potential collaboration with the BBC. She wrote,

I am writing now to tell you he has booked a berth in the Queen Elizabeth sailing [on] March 2 to USA—so his visit to England is longer than was planned when I wrote before. The orchestral works written for him have unique orchestral parts and scores. Should any be wanted by the BBC Wittgenstein would need to see their dispatch before he leaves USA for his French and Dutch tours. I am trying—in the absence of a professional agent in England—to do necessary letters of him.¹⁷⁴

On 11 January 1949, Deneke received the following reply not from Douglas, but Norman Carrell:

We note that you are acting on behalf of Mr. Paul Wittgenstein and would like to stress the point that you are not an agent licensed... You will be unable to obtain Labour Permits or permission for Mr. Wittgenstein to play in this country... It appears unlikely that we shall be able to offer him an engagement to broadcast during his visit to this country.¹⁷⁵

Carrell's reply officially declined Wittgenstein's proposal to broadcast for the BBC or to perform in any of their public concerts in London during his visit to Britain in February. Despite this, Wittgenstein was still going to make an appearance in Oxford, where he desired to go in order to see his old fellows.

Letter, 20 December 1948). Before this note, another internal memo dated 11 December had already showed that the BBC's disposition towards not engaging Wittgenstein in their concerts in January 1949. For details, see BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948; Internal Circulating Memo, 12 November 1948).

¹⁷⁴ This letter is undated but it is placed as the first letter in the 1949–1960 letter file. For details, see BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 2, 1949–1960; Letter, undated).

¹⁷⁵ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 2, 1949–1960; Letter, 11 January 1949).

Wittgenstein's first post-war performance in Britain took place on 13 February 1949 at Gunfield, 19 Norham Gardens, Oxford. The occasion was the 600th Oxford Ladies' Musical Society Concert,¹⁷⁶ in which Wittgenstein participated for the first time. This concert also marked the first public appearance of Wittgenstein in Oxford, where he had been actively performing since the 1920s.

No house programme of Wittgenstein's Oxford debut can be found but a pre-concert flyer is available (Figs. 1.16a and 1.16b). Unlike the other three concerts in the circular that had all the concert details, the one in which Wittgenstein participated showed only the performers' name, and did not specify the programme. This could be because Wittgenstein had not confirmed his attendance and programme when this circular was printed. A review published in the *Oxford Magazine* on 17 February 1949 revealed the concert programme of this performance: '... Mr Wittgenstein played a prelude and fugue by Max Reger,¹⁷⁷ Brahms's transcription of the great Bach [C]haconne¹⁷⁸ and Liszt's transcription for the left hand... the concert included

¹⁷⁶ The Oxford Ladies' Musical Society (OLMS) was founded in 1898 and was renamed as the Oxford Chamber Music Society (OCMS) in 1968. When the Society was formed, their main focus and aim were to promote chamber music through subscription concerts, which were held at the Holywell music room. Its members consisted of women in Oxford only although they were allowed to bring male friends along to the concerts. However, there were some changes in the rules of the Society at the beginning of the Second World War. The concert venue had moved from the Holywell music room to Gunfield; men were then allowed to become a member, and membership was open to the public. Subscription tickets were made transferable and single tickets could be purchased before each performance. For more details of the development of the OLMS, see G.K. Woodgate, *Oxford Chamber Music Society* (Oxford: Oxuniprint, 1997), esp. 15–20.

¹⁷⁷ Reger composed the *4 Spezialstudien für die linke Hand allein* in 1902, and the 'Prelude and Fugue' is the fourth piece of the set. The other three pieces are entitled as 'Scherzo', 'Humoreske' and 'Romanze'.

¹⁷⁸ Brahms arranged J.S. Bach's Chaconne for piano left-hand and Wittgenstein further transcribed Brahms's arrangement and included it in his *School for the Left Hand*. Although it is not known that which version Wittgenstein performed, it is likely that he played his own

the Kreutzer Sonata and Dr. Ernest Walker's sonata in E flat, Op. 32, for violin and piano...¹⁷⁹

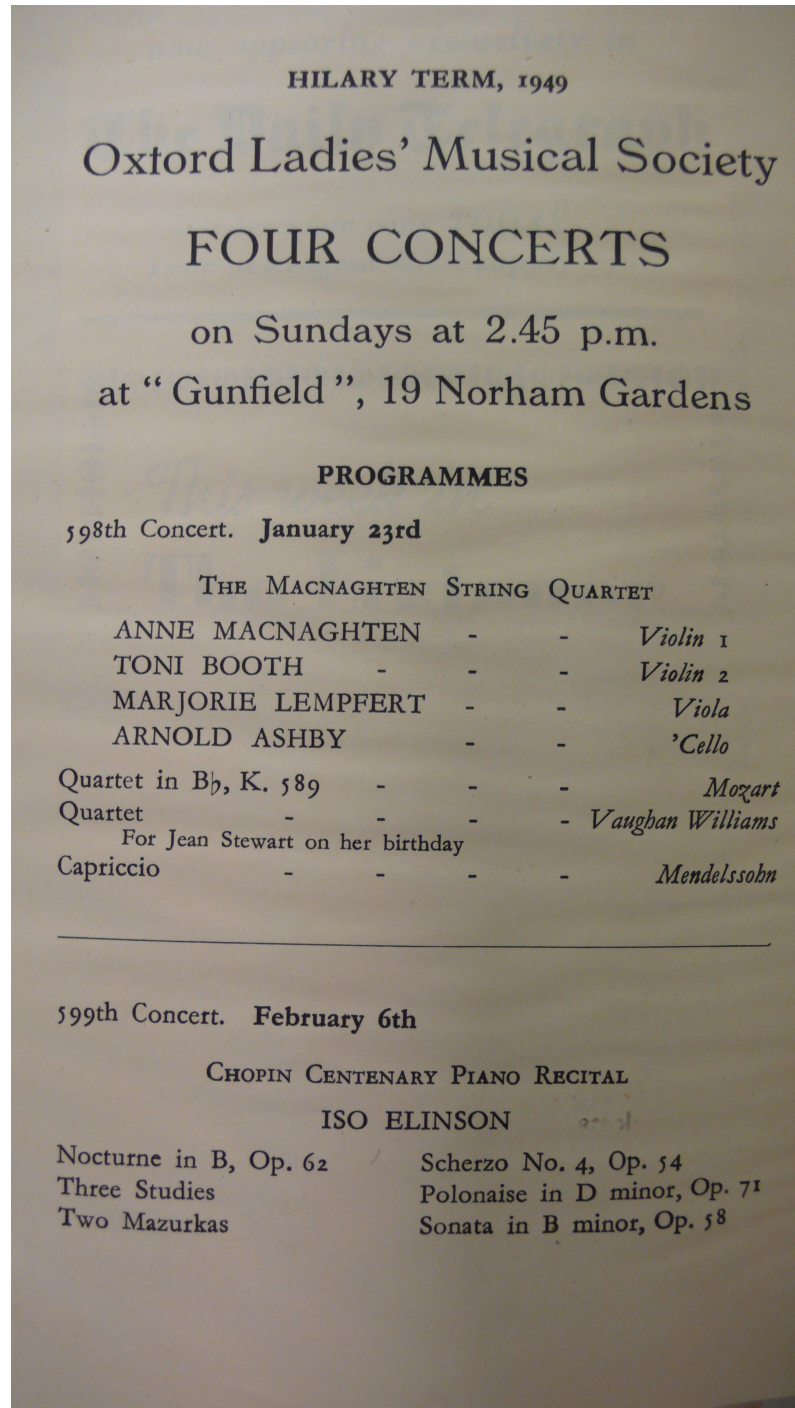


Fig. 1.16a Pre-concert flyer of the Oxford Ladies' Musical Society in 1949, p. 1.

transcription as he usually did. The same applies to the concerts on 20 October 1949 and 24 October 1950.

¹⁷⁹ S.T.W., 'Untitled', *Oxford Magazine*, Hilary Term, fifth week, Vol. LXVIII No. 13, Oct 1948–June 1949. Oxford: The Oxonian Press Ltd (17 February 1949), 340.

600th Concert. **February 13th**

Piano Solos for left hand
PAUL WITTGENSTEIN

Sonatas for Pianoforte and Violin

ELSIE HALL	-	-	-	<i>Violin</i>
HERMAN SALOMON	-	-	-	<i>Piano</i>

601st Concert. **March 6th**

THE ZEPHYR TRIO

GARETH MORRIS	-	-	-	<i>Flute</i>
EVELYN ROTHWELL	-	-	-	<i>Oboe</i>
WILFRED PARRY	-	-	-	<i>Piano</i>

Trio Sonata in C minor	-	-	-	<i>J. B. Loeillet</i>
Sonata in E minor for Flute and Oboe	-	-	-	<i>Locatelli</i>
Trio in D minor	-	-	-	<i>Thomas B. Pitfield</i>
Two Inventions for Flute and Oboe	-	-	-	<i>Gordon Jacob</i>
Pastorale and Harlequinade	-	-	-	<i>Eugene Goossens</i>

Subscription tickets for one Term
(4 concerts) **10s. 6d.**

obtainable only from the Hon. Treasurer,
Miss E. Kitson,
Appleton House, nr. Abingdon.
Phone Cumnor 13.

Single Tickets at 3s. 6d. can be obtained from
C. Taphouse & Son,
3 Magdalen Street, Oxford.
Phone 2674.

Fig. 1.16b Pre-concert flyer of the Oxford Ladies' Musical Society in 1949, p. 2. Reprinted with permission from The Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. All rights reserved.

Exactly one week after his performance at Gunfield, on 20 February, Wittgenstein appeared at the Balliol College Musical Society 1125th Concert, and the concert programme shows that Wittgenstein, together with the Philharmonic String Trio consisting of David Martin, Max Gilbert and James Whitehead and the additional clarinettist Jack Brymer, premiered Walker's *Variations* (Fig. 1.17). After the opening, the ensemble went on to perform Haydn's String Trio in G major, Op. 53, and Wittgenstein followed them by playing Reger's Prelude and Fugue and his own transcription of J.S. Bach–Brahms's Chaconne in D minor. Before the concert concluded with a hymn, Wittgenstein and the ensemble gave the British premiere of Schmidt's Quintet in B-flat major for piano left-hand, clarinet in B-flat, violin, viola and cello, a piece that the composer composed for and dedicated to the pianist in 1932.

Wittgenstein's choice of programme for his Balliol debut was very special, as it consisted of both the British premiere and only performance of two of his commissions by Schmidt and Walker. Since Wittgenstein premiered Walker's *Variations* in Vienna in 1935, he had always wanted to perform the work before the composer, and he explicitly expressed his wish to Walker in his letter dated 23 March 1935:

Enclosed I am sending you the program of yesterday's concert, in which your *Variations* have been performed for the first time... I would have wished that you could have been present; at all events you would have enjoyed how beautiful your work sound. I sincerely hope that I may have the occasion of playing it in presence of the composer, be it privately or in public.¹⁸⁰

¹⁸⁰ Balliol College Historical Collection Centre, Musical Society Records, Papers of Ernest Walker, Box 4 (Letter, 23 March 1935).

Balliol College Musical Society

1125TH CONCERT, SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 20TH, 1949

At 9.0 p.m. (Doors open at 8.45 p.m.)

Variations on an original Theme for Pianoforte, *Ernest Walker*
Clarinet, Violin, Viola and Violoncello (1933)

String Trio in G, op. 53 *Haydn*

Pianoforte Solos:

Prelude and Fugue composed for the Left Hand ... *Reger*
Chaconne in D minor *Bach-Brahms*

Quintet for Pianoforte, Clarinet, Violin, Viola *Franz Schmidt*
and Violoncello (b. 1874)

Andante
Lento—Vivace—Lento
Allegro ma non troppo

THE PHILHARMONIC STRING TRIO

DAVID MARTIN MAX GILBERT JAMES WHITEHEAD

JACK BRYMER (Clarinet)

PAUL WITTGENSTEIN (Pianoforte)

HYMN

Hark, my soul, how everything
Strives to serve our bounteous King:
Each a double tribute pays,
Sings its part and then obeys.

Nature's chief and sweetest quire
Him with cheerful notes admire;
Chanting every day their lauds,
While the grove their song applauds.

Though their voices lower be,
Streams have, too, their melody;
Night and day they warbling run,
Never pause, but still sing on.

All the flowers that gild the spring
Hither their still music bring;
If Heaven bless them, thankful they
Smell more sweet, and look more gay.

Wake, for shame, my sluggish heart,
Wake and gladly sing thy part;
Learn of birds, and springs, and flowers,
How to use thy nobler powers.

J. AUSTIN, 1613-1669.

Next Concert, Sunday March 6th, at 9.0 p.m.

THE EDMUND RUBBRA PIANOFORTE TRIO

Trio in E flat, op. 100 *Schubert*

Trio in A minor *Ravel*

Fig. 1.17

Programme of Wittgenstein's Balliol Concert on 20 February 1949.
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University of Oxford. All rights reserved.

‘On Sunday evening’, as Deneke remembered, ‘the Balliol Concert party before their performance played to him [Ernest Walker] his Variations for left-hand piano, clarinet, and string trio’,¹⁸¹ because the composer was ‘too frail to go to Balliol’.¹⁸² At last, Wittgenstein’s desire to perform the *Variations* before Walker at a private occasion was fulfilled, but his wish to do so in public would remain an eternal regret as his good old friend unexpectedly died on 21 February 1949, the very next day after his first performance at Balliol.

Compared to many other performing artists, Wittgenstein’s Balliol debut came really late in his career. As Deneke records, ‘many of the famous artists whom he [Ernest Walker] had come across at concerts in London and elsewhere, many of them feeling that—even if the fees were slender—an appearance at Balliol was a privilege’.¹⁸³ Also, since Walker was always ‘ready to give a chance to a young artist starting on his career’, many young artists such as Fanny Davies, Leonard Borwick and Donald [Francis] Tovey who became famous afterwards, had all ‘made their debut at Balliol’.¹⁸⁴ When Wittgenstein first came to Oxford in the 1920s, his long British performing career was yet to flourish. As an aspiring pianist, Wittgenstein would certainly have contemplated performing at a Balliol Concert as many other artists did, especially since he was a personal friend of Walker, who had been Director of Music at Balliol for some twenty years when they first met. Yet, why did Wittgenstein never perform at Balliol before, and his Balliol debut only took

¹⁸¹ Margaret Deneke, *Ernest Walker* (London: Oxford University Press, 1951), 96.

¹⁸² Deneke, ‘The Wittgensteins’, 19.

¹⁸³ Deneke, *Ernest Walker*, 75.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. 76. For more details on the Balliol Concerts and the pianists involved in the nineteenth century, see Susan Wollenberg, ‘Pianos and Pianists in Nineteenth-Century Oxford’, *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, 2 (2005), 115–37 and ‘Three Oxford Pianistic Careers: Donald Francis Tovey, Victor Mendelssohn Benecke and Ernest Walker’ in Ellsworth and Wollenberg, eds. *The Piano in Nineteenth-Century British Culture*, 239–61.

place in 1949 when he was already sixty-two years old and was gradually retiring from the concert stage?

When Wittgenstein decided to flee Austria in 1938, he considered emigrating to Britain upon Deneke's suggestion. However, he eventually chose to move to the United States instead. He remained there throughout the entire Second World War, and made his first visit back to Europe only after the War. When he finally did so in 1949, Wittgenstein had to build his career all over again as he had completely abandoned his European performing career for more than a decade. In the case of England, the easiest way for Wittgenstein to re-launch his performing career would be to play in Oxford because it was literally his home in Britain, where all his old friends would welcome him most and help him as generously as possible. This perhaps explained the reason why Wittgenstein made his first appearance at Balliol only in 1949 but not in the 1920s.

In the two years following his Balliol debut, Wittgenstein would perform once more in Bournemouth and Oxford, and twice in London. It seemed at last that Wittgenstein was serious about his British performing career, which now seemed to be more promising. Wittgenstein returned to the Winter Gardens in Bournemouth on 14 October 1950 to give the British premiere of the *Diversions on a Theme*, Op. 21, a piece that he commissioned from Benjamin Britten in 1940,¹⁸⁵ with the Bournemouth Municipal Orchestra conducted by guest conductor Trevor Harvey (Fig. 1.18).

¹⁸⁵ For a detailed discussion on the *Diversions*, Op. 21, and its commission and performance history, see Chapter 4.

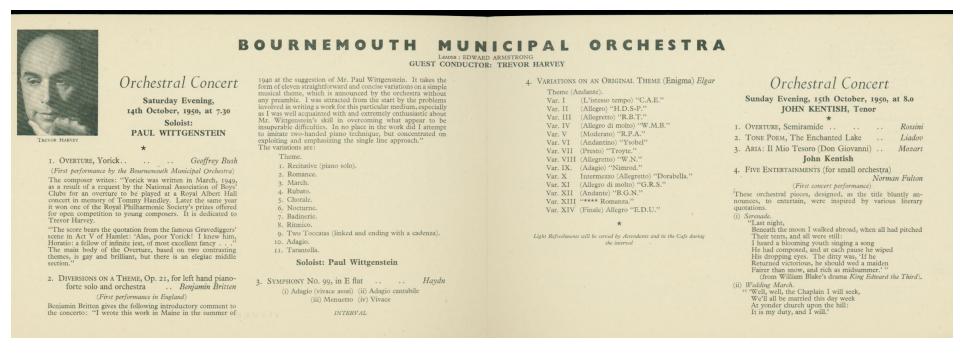


Fig. 1.18 Programme of Wittgenstein's second performance at the Winter Gardens, Bournemouth, on 14 October 1950. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

This Bournemouth performance was the first as well as the last collaboration of Wittgenstein and Harvey, and it may have arisen for two reasons. Harvey went to Vienna in 1937 to study for a doctorate in Music, and with an introduction he paid a visit to Wittgenstein at his Palais, where he was greatly welcomed. During his stay in Vienna he learned a great many of Wittgenstein's exceptional musicianship and characteristic musical tastes, as well as his genuine kindness and generosity, for which he was always thankful.¹⁸⁶ The friendship between them sowed the seed for their Bournemouth concert that took place fifteen years later. Secondly, after giving two performances of Britten's *Diversions* in the United States in early 1942,¹⁸⁷ Wittgenstein had not had a chance to perform it since then. So, when he was able to go to Britain again, he was certainly eager to play his most recent commission. It was quite probable that Wittgenstein approached Harvey first to explore the possibility of performing the *Diversions* with him, but it was also possible that Harvey

¹⁸⁶ For more details on why Harvey went to Vienna to study and what he had experienced with Wittgenstein, see Harvey, 'Wittgenstein: A Personal Reminiscence', 120.

¹⁸⁷ The two *Diversions* performances include the premiere in Philadelphia on 16 January 1942 and a WABC radio concert on 13 March 1942. For more details on these performances, see Chapter 4.

initiated it first because he, as a personal acquaintance of Britten and a champion of the composer's music,¹⁸⁸ would certainly be interested to conduct the piece.

On 24 October 1950, ten days after his Bournemouth performance, Wittgenstein was back in Oxford joining the tenor, David Galliver, to give a recital in the Holywell Music Room organised by the Oxford University Music Club and Union (O.U.M.C.U.) (Fig. 1.19).¹⁸⁹ The nature of this performance was very similar to that of Wittgenstein's joint recital in Kingsley in 1927. 'Wittgenstein opened this concert with the Reger's 'Prelude and Fugue', in E-flat minor, and his arrangement of the Chaconne by J.S. Bach–Brahms. Immediately following was a selection of Schubert songs sung by Galliver, who closed the first half of the concert. After the interval, Galliver came on stage to sing five songs by different composers, before Wittgenstein reappeared to play two Chopin–Godowsky Studies, in D-flat major and C-sharp minor, Walker's Prelude for the Left Hand and Study for the Left Hand, and concluded the concert with his arrangement of the *Rigoletto Paraphrase* by Verdi–Liszt.¹⁹⁰ At first glance, the order of appearance seemed fair, as Wittgenstein opened the first half of the concert while Galliver opened the second half. However, with this arrangement, Wittgenstein not only had the

¹⁸⁸ Harvey and Britten had a number of collaborations while the former worked as assistant chorus master at the BBC from 1935 to 1946. See Donald Mitchell and Philip Reed, eds. *Letters from a Life: The Selected Letters and Diaries of Benjamin Britten 1913–1976*, volume two: 1939–1945 (London: Faber and Faber, 1991), 622–3. Harvey also told Deneke in a letter that he respected Britten as a composer. Bodleian Libraries, Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Modern Papers, Deneke Papers, Ms. Eng. Lett. c. 620, fo. 61v (Letter, 19 August 1959).

¹⁸⁹ The Oxford University Music Club and Union (O.U.M.C.U.) was renamed in 1983 as Oxford University Musical Society, and is now known as Oxford University Music Society (OUMS).

¹⁹⁰ In the programme, Verdi's name was misspelt as 'Vesali'.

chance to begin the concert with a technically demanding ‘Prelude and Fugue’ by Reger, but also to finish it off with the extraordinary virtuosic *Rigoletto Paraphrase*. Although both the organiser of this joint recital and how Wittgenstein secured this performing opportunity are unknown, it may well have been organised by Deneke, who was always eager to help Wittgenstein with his British performing career.

After a brief retreat in Oxford, Wittgenstein travelled to London to perform with the London Symphony Orchestra at the Royal Albert Hall on 29 October 1950 (Figs. 1.20a and 1.20b). The programme of this afternoon concert shows that it had two soloists, Wittgenstein and the violinist Max Rostal, and Wittgenstein was scheduled to perform in the second half of the concert, in which he played Britten’s *Diversions* under the baton of Sir Malcolm Sargent. This concert left a special mark in Wittgenstein’s British performing career simply because it was his first appearance at the Royal Albert Hall, which was one of the most important concert venues in the British capital.

O. U. M. C. U.
 1,643rd Meeting: Tuesday, 24th Oct., 1950
 in HOLYWELL MUSIC ROOM, at 8.15 p.m.

-
1. Prelude and Fugue in E \flat min. *Max Reger*
 Chaconne *Bach—Brahms*

PAUL WITTGENSTEIN

2. Die Post *Schubert*
 Gute Nacht „
 Der Leiermann „
 Sei mir gegrüsst „
 Des Baches Wiegenlied „

DAVID GALLIVER (*Tenor*)

INTERVAL

3. The Fairy Lough *Stanford*
 The Water Mill *Vaughan-Williams*
 The Sigh *Finzi*
 The Fox *Warlock*
 The Oak Tree Bough *Bairstow*

DAVID GALLIVER

4. Two Studies D \flat major *Chopin—Godowsky*
 C \sharp minor
 Prelude *Ernest Walker*
 Study „
 Paraphrase on Rigoletto *Liszt—Vesali*

PAUL WITTGENSTEIN

Fig. 1.19 Programme of Wittgenstein's performance at the Holywell Music Room, Oxford, on 24 October 1950. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.



Fig. 1.20a

Cover page of the programme of Wittgenstein's performance at the Royal Albert Hall, London, on 29 October 1950. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

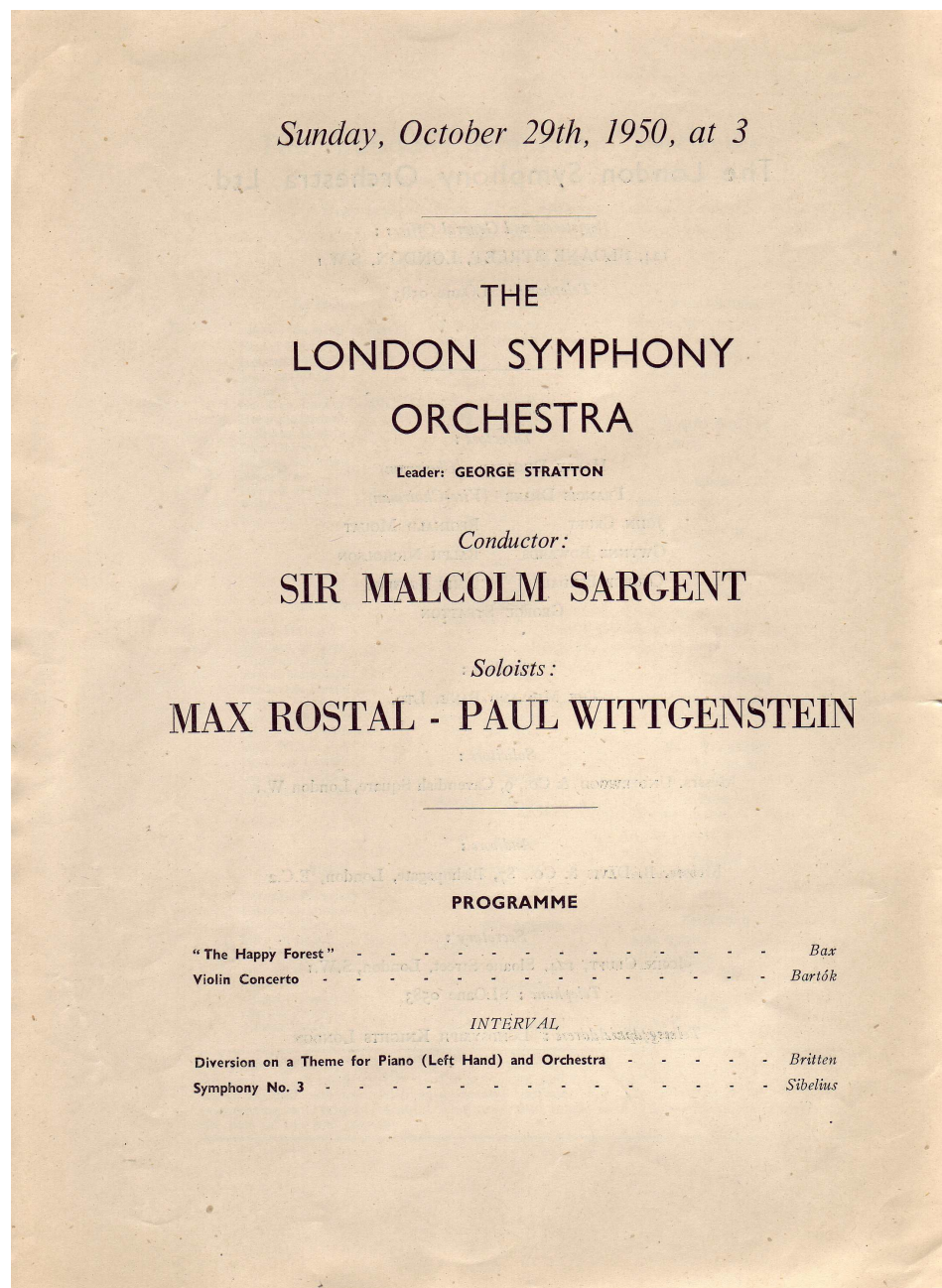


Fig. 1.20b

Programme of Wittgenstein's performance at the Royal Albert Hall, London, on 29 October 1950. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

Wittgenstein's next appearance in Britain was a Promenade Concert at the Royal Albert Hall in the summer of 1951. The BBC confirmed this offer with Harold Holt Ltd., Wittgenstein's agent, first in the form of a letter dated 11 April 1951 and then a performance contract dated 23 April, which listed out all the details regarding concert date, venue, time, fee and rehearsals, but it did not mention which pieces Wittgenstein was going to perform.¹⁹¹ Wittgenstein himself revealed the repertoire in a letter he wrote to Deneke on 2 May [1951],

This is just to tell you that Holt has engaged me for a Prom on August 13th, evening, Albert Hall, it's broadcasted, fee: 75 guineas. I would have preferred it later, in September, but it couldn't be done. Holt has written that he would try to get an additional Bdcast [broadcast] engagement, probably solo-pieces, but that's not yet sure. I shall have to play Britten & Ravel [together, which is] a little bit much, 2 concertos in 1 concert is something of a strain, so I have to hope for the best! ... I hope you shall listen over the Radio, as it's anyhow indirectly through you that this engagement was offered to me!¹⁹²

As Wittgenstein himself rightly pointed out, to perform two concertos in one concert was rather demanding. In order to save his energy for a better performance, Wittgenstein asked the BBC to arrange for his rehearsal to take place one day before the concert, a request that the BBC eventually approved.¹⁹³ Then Wittgenstein went on to further request the BBC to let him play Britten's *Diversions* first and then the Ravel Concerto,¹⁹⁴ but the BBC

¹⁹¹ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 2, 1949–1960; Letter, 11 April 1951; and Contract, 23 April 1951).

¹⁹² Bodleian Libraries, Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Modern Papers, Deneke Papers, Ms. Eng. Lett. c. 620, fo. 205 (Letter, 2 May [1951]). This is an undated letter and the year 1951 is my conjecture, since the Promenade Concert Wittgenstein mentioned actually took place in 1951.

¹⁹³ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 2, 1949–1960; Letters, 26 April, 10 and 18 May and 20 July 1951; and Internal Circulating Memo, 20 July 1951).

¹⁹⁴ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 2, 1949–1960; Letter, 6 July 1951).

replied and said that they were ‘unable to arrange to reverse the Ravel and Britten works as the first half of the programme will be broadcast on the Home service and the Ravel has been widely publicised’.¹⁹⁵ As such, on the evening of 13 August 1951, Wittgenstein made his third as well as last appearance at the Promenade Concert, playing first the Concerto by Ravel and then the *Diversions* by Britten, with John Hollingsworth conducting the BBC Symphony Orchestra (Fig. 1.21).¹⁹⁶ This concert would also turn out to be his last performance in both London and the whole of the United Kingdom, as he never managed to return.

¹⁹⁵ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 2, 1949–1960; Letter, 8 August 1951).

¹⁹⁶ Originally, Sir Sargent Malcolm was the conductor of this concert but he cancelled his appearance due to illness. For details, see BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 2, 1949–1960; Letter, 8 August 1951).

FIFTY-SEVENTH SEASON OF
HENRY WOOD
PROMENADE CONCERTS

Monday 13 August at 7.30

OVERTURE IN THE ITALIAN STYLE, in C	<i>Schubert</i>
ARIA, Credo (Othello)	<i>Verdi</i>
CONCERTO for Left Hand, for Pianoforte and Orchestra (in one movement)	<i>Ravel</i>
SYMPHONY (Conducted by the Composer)	<i>William Walton</i>

I N T E R V A L

DIVERSIONS ON A THEME, for Pianoforte and Orchestra	<i>Benjamin Britten</i>
CAPRICCIO ESPAGNOL	<i>Rimsky-Korsakov</i>

MARKO ROTHMÜLLER

Solo Pianoforte

PAUL WITTGENSTEIN

THE BBC SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA

Leader: Paul Beard

CONDUCTORS

JOHN HOLLINGSWORTH
SIR WILLIAM WALTON

7

Fig. 1.21 Programme of Wittgenstein's last Promenade Concert, on 13 August 1951. Reprinted with permission from the Music Collections, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. All rights reserved.

The very next letter the BBC received from Wittgenstein via Harold Holt Ltd. after his Promenade Concert was not another immediate concert proposal. Rather, it was a request from Wittgenstein to make a second recording of both the Ravel and the Britten pieces because ‘he was not altogether happy concerning his own performance at his Promenade concert recently and he is a little concerned over the prospect of this programme being broadcast later on’.¹⁹⁷ As expected, the BBC would not accommodate such a request, and this led to a little row between Wittgenstein and Eric Warr, the Assistant Head of Music of that time.¹⁹⁸ Even so, the BBC certainly did not give in, and their recording of Wittgenstein’s rendering of the Britten at the Promenade Concert on 13 August 1951 was ‘washed’ at the end of November 1951, and Warr was very glad about it.¹⁹⁹

After this recording episode Wittgenstein retired completely from the British performing world. During his absence from Britain Wittgenstein was performing mostly in the United States, but he had become less active. On the one hand, his advancing age would have made it difficult for him to undertake extensive concert tours around the world as he had done before; while the nervous intensity he had built up over the years and his quest for perfection caused increasing instability and inaccuracy in his performances, which in turn prevented orchestras and conductors from engaging him again, on the other. Despite all this, Wittgenstein still hoped to visit Britain again to perform and

¹⁹⁷ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 2, 1949–1960; Letter, 28 August 1951).

¹⁹⁸ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 2, 1949–1960; Letters, 17, 26 and 30 October and 7 November 1951).

¹⁹⁹ According to the BBC, they did not record Wittgenstein’s performance of the Ravel Concerto but Britten’s *Diversions*. For more details, see BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 2, 1949–1960; Letter, 7 November 1951).

more importantly, to see his Oxford friends. As Deneke remembered, Wittgenstein offered to come to Oxford in 1960 and play for the Oxford Ladies Musical Society in the Music Room at Gunfield. In order to make his trip worthwhile, Deneke took on her role as Wittgenstein's honorary agent again and wrote to Leonard Isaacs and William Glock of the BBC in July 1959 and Harvey in August 1959 in the hope of getting some concert engagements for him in 1960.²⁰⁰ Being a personal friend of both Wittgenstein and Deneke, Harvey was nevertheless honest about the unlikeliness for him to be able to find any engagements of Wittgenstein and he explained the difficulties they now faced:

I think you are going to have a great deal of difficulty in getting much for Paul... The sad thing is that now the Ravel and other pieces are free for anyone to play, organisations like the BBC, when they want the work, simply go for the world's best pianist – or, at any rate, one whom they know will play it really well. The same with recording companies – There are two records of the work with other pianists... As to the Britten, he has rewritten the Variations, as you know, & as this is the final version, if the BBC wants to do it, they will naturally give this version. They couldn't be blamed for obeying the composer's wishes.²⁰¹

Harvey was right. Not only did Deneke fail to get any concert offers for Wittgenstein, Warren Steibel, Wittgenstein's agent in the United States, was also not very successful. In August 1959 Steibel sent a recommendation letter along with an article on Wittgenstein in the *Coronet* by Joseph Wechsberg to William R. Reid, Acting Director of the BBC (United States), who promised to

²⁰⁰ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 2, 1949–1960; Letters, 30 July 1959). The letter from Deneke to Harvey is not included in this Collection and its location is unknown.

²⁰¹ Bodleian Libraries, Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Modern Papers, Deneke Papers, Ms. Eng. Lett. c. 620, fos. 61–2 (Letter, 19 August 1959).

‘bring material personally to England and see what might be done’.²⁰² In his reply to Steibel, Reid reported that he had already passed the information on to the BBC in London and stressed the fact that it was unlikely for the BBC to give a definite offer to Wittgenstein until he arrived in Britain, especially since he did not provide ‘any precise information as to any public performances in which he [Wittgenstein] has taken part [in recent years]’.²⁰³ On the same day as he replied Steibel, Reid also responded to Maurice Johnstone, Head of Music Programmes (Sound) of the BBC (UK), who sent a memo on 12 August 1959 to ask whether Wittgenstein ‘maintains this position in America as a concert soloist’.²⁰⁴ To this, Reid replied,

I have made a number of inquiries and cannot find that he has made any very recent public performances. His agent is very vague about the matter and says that Wittgenstein has appeared several times on television and also with the Boston Orchestra recently, but he gave me no dates. From music-loving friends I gather that they think very highly indeed of him, but they all say they haven’t heard him for some time... I wonder whether it would be possible perhaps for you to get in touch with him [Wittgenstein] when he arrives [in London], with a view to giving him a run-through with an orchestra.²⁰⁵

Johnstone wrote back to Reid on 27 August and said that he could not recall the BBC had ‘ever given a long-lost colleague a run-through with orchestra merely to assess his current form... In the meantime if you should come by any programme information or press notices of the last year or so, I should be most

²⁰² BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 2, 1949–1960; Letter, 14 August 1959).

²⁰³ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 2, 1949–1960; Letter, 20 August 1959).

²⁰⁴ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 2, 1949–1960; Memo, 12 August 1959).

²⁰⁵ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 2, 1949–1960; Memo, 20 August 1959).

grateful for them'.²⁰⁶ Within a month the BBC received two newspaper articles about Wittgenstein's recent engagements from Steibel through Reid, as well a few more recommendation letters from both Deneke and Wittgenstein's British agent, Ibbs & Tillett Ltd.²⁰⁷ However, these letters of recommendation and evidence of publicity were not significant enough to prompt the BBC to offer Wittgenstein any engagements in May 1960.

Deneke, just as her old friend Wittgenstein, had a persevering character. Sincerely hoping to obtain concert engagements for Wittgenstein, Deneke wrote to Glock again on 15 January 1960 to tell him about Wittgenstein's visit in May and asked about the possibility for the BBC to give him an offer. After seven months of receiving numerous letters and documents regarding Wittgenstein, the BBC finally sent an official letter to Deneke on 19 February 1960 to tell her the BBC's final decision, 'We knew last summer that Mr. Wittgenstein would be coming to Oxford this year and we did consider the possibilities of having him to broadcast, but in fact we have not offered him an engagement'.²⁰⁸ Knowing that she would not succeed in booking any concerts for Wittgenstein in May 1960, Deneke declined his offer to come and perform in Oxford and

²⁰⁶ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 2, 1949–1960; Memo, 27 August 1959).

²⁰⁷ Steibel sent a letter with publicity notes to Reid on 21 September 1959, which were in turn passed on to the BBC on 22 September along with Reid's reply to Steibel. Deneke wrote another recommendation letter for Wittgenstein on 8 September 1959, in which she told about Wittgenstein's visit in May, October and November 1960, his commissioned works, worldwide performing career and radio and television broadcasts. She even mentioned Ludwig Wittgenstein, saying that 'Ludwig's colossal fame [insert: as a philosopher] has added an aura to the name of Wittgenstein' to make her recommendation even more powerful. Although the recipient of Deneke's letter is unknown, a reply from Lionel Salter, Head of Music Productions (Television) dated 10 September 1959 suggests that Deneke wrote directly to the television department of the BBC. Ibbs & Tillett Ltd., on the other hand, wrote directly to Desmond Osland and Norman Carrel for Wittgenstein, and the BBC did reply to them all. For details, see BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 2, 1949–1960; Letters, 8, 9, 10, 16, 21 and 22 September 1959).

²⁰⁸ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 2, 1949–1960; Letters, 15 January and 19 February 1960).

asked him to postpone his concert plan to the following year. In the meantime, Deneke continued to seek concert opportunities for Wittgenstein, and once again she approached Sir Adrian. Yet, the conductor was not particularly sympathetic about it and his indifference or even annoyance penetrated in his letter dated 19 September 1960 to Glock,

A rather intense lady who figures in Oxford music tackled me there the other day about the possibility of a visit to England of Paul Wittgenstein... I do not know whether you would be interested? Apparently it is the usual story, that a B.B.C. engagement would make all the difference as regards the traveling expenses... I do not know what his age is or whether he still had the great skill that he once had... I put this forward to you to salve my conscience, but I do not feel that there is any need for you even to answer this letter if you are not interested...²⁰⁹

On behalf of Glock, Warr responded to Boult's letter with the following message, although the BBC was clearly uninterested in engaging Wittgenstein,

News of Paul Wittgenstein's visit to Oxford this summer reached us in July and October 1959 and we did think about engaging him—but mainly for old time's sake. In the end we did not offer him an engagement and I really do not think that we can hold out any hope of a concert next year. You wonder, by the way, how old he is. He is seventy-three.²¹⁰

Despite her failure in securing a BBC engagement for Wittgenstein, Deneke did succeed in booking a series of lecture recitals and one orchestral concert for him

²⁰⁹ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 2, 1949–1960; Letter, 19 September 1960).

²¹⁰ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 2, 1949–1960; Letter, 7 October 1960).

in 1961. Unfortunately all these opportunities came too late: Wittgenstein died on 3 March 1961 in New York.²¹¹

Wittgenstein probably considered Oxford as his home in Britain, at which he could enjoy almost all of the musical experiences that the Palais Wittgenstein in his native Vienna had offered him. Apart from enjoying and participating in the numerous private musical gatherings at Gunfield, Wittgenstein also led a British performing career that was made possible by his Oxford friends, although it was sporadic in general and not as prominent as those in Vienna or elsewhere in Europe. Ending his British performing career with a Promenade Concert in London should not have left Wittgenstein with too much regret, because he was at least able to publicly perform one last time in London, the musical capital of Britain and one of the most important musical cities in Europe. Yet, for Wittgenstein who had such a deep and long-lasting personal attachment to Oxford and his friends there, had he not fallen ill and died in 1961, he might well have liked to make the long trip from New York to Oxford to perform at Gunfield once more, and conclude his British performing career there rather than in London.

²¹¹ Deneke, 'The Wittgensteins', 21–2.

The Reception of Paul Wittgenstein as a Left-hand Pianist in Great Britain²¹²

When Wittgenstein came to establish his performing career in Britain in 1926, he invited a specially selected audience, including a handful of music critics, to his private performance at the Wigmore Studios on 6 July. His high profile as a one-armed concert pianist who at the same time owned an extensive concerto repertoire specially written for him aroused considerable interest, curiosity and attention from his audience, resulting in eight immediate concert reviews, in which two of them included an exclusive interview with Wittgenstein. *Daily Mail*, the *Star* and the *Evening News* were among the first to report on this musical event. While *Daily Mail* described Wittgenstein's recital as a 'remarkable exhibition', the *Star* exclaimed that Wittgenstein's 'technique is wonderful... almost incredible... one could convince oneself of Mr. Wittgenstein's remarkable powers'.²¹³ The *Evening News*, on the other hand, did not have much commentary on the performance itself, but provided its readers with an interview, in which Wittgenstein told of his story of losing his right arm, how he struggled and worked hard to become a one-armed pianist, his preference for performing in orchestral concert than solo recital and his dislike of jazz music as a musician.²¹⁴ Compared to the *Evening News*, *Daily News*'s interview published on 9 July provided less insight into Wittgenstein's personalities and musical tastes, but it gave a more detailed account of Wittgenstein's life as a prisoner in a Siberian camp. It was also the only

²¹² This particular discussion on the reception of Wittgenstein is based on all newspaper cuttings, journal articles and letters and documents that were available during the course of research.

²¹³ R.C., 'A One-armed Pianist', *Daily Mail* (London, 8 July 1926) and Crescendo, 'One-armed Pianist', *The Star* (London, 8 July 1926)

²¹⁴ Anonymous, 'The one-armed pianist', *The Evening News* (London, 8 July 1926).

newspaper that was given permission to publish Wittgenstein's photo to complement the column.²¹⁵ More reviews from other newspapers such as the *Observer*, *Sunday Express* and the *Era* followed, and they too offered encouraging commentaries.²¹⁶ The *Era* even paid tribute to Wittgenstein's courage and extraordinary performing skills with the following words

the world over men pay homage to courage, all the more when it is not the impulsive flush of a moment but a calm and steady flame of determination to balance mental ability against physical disability... there was an atmosphere almost of wizardry about the performance—about the marvellous dexterity that obtained such almost simultaneous harmonies over a wide stretch of keyboard.²¹⁷

The London critics certainly recognised Wittgenstein as a one-armed virtuoso as they unanimously praised his left-hand piano techniques, a result that Wittgenstein would be pleased to see. Possibly helping to facilitate the launching of Wittgenstein's performing career in Britain, some of these reviews might have caused problems as well as they contained inaccurate biographical accounts of Wittgenstein. For examples, both *Daily Mail* and *Sunday Express* mixed up Wittgenstein's nationality and referred to him as a German pianist, while *Daily News* reported that he came from a famous musical Viennese family, which is of course untrue.²¹⁸ Despite all this, what Wittgenstein might find more disappointing and worrying was the critics'

²¹⁵ Anonymous, 'The One-armed Pianist', *Daily News* (London, 9 July 1926).

²¹⁶ A.H. Fox-Strangways, 'Music of the Week. Wittgenstein', *The Observer* (London, 11 July 1926); Philip Page, 'Music and Musicians. Shortsighted Concert Pains. Why silly Ballets pay. The One-Armed Pianist', *Sunday Express* (London, 11 July 1926).

²¹⁷ Anonymous, 'The Realm of Music—Paul Wittgenstein', *The Era* (London, 21 July 1926).

²¹⁸ R.C., 'A One-armed Pianist', *Daily Mail* (London, 8 July 1926), Philip Page, 'Music and Musicians. Shortsighted Concert Pains. Why silly Balltes pay. The One-Armed Pianist', *Sunday Express* (London, 11 July 1926) and Anonymous, 'The One-armed Pianist', *Daily News* (London, 9 July 1926).

doubts or even criticism towards his choice of repertoire, primarily Strauss's *Parergon*. Already discussed earlier, the critic of the *London Daily Telegraph*, condemned the work severely and his negative commentaries were reproduced in *New York Times* in September 1926. The critic of *Daily Mail* echoed and criticised the work by saying that it 'needed orchestral colour. Presumably it is a fantasia on themes from the Domestic Symphony, but that symphony has so long been on the shelf that one was not sure'.²¹⁹ As mentioned already, the critic of the *Star* wrote in his review that he was disappointed to hear the *Parergon* in the arrangement of two pianos, and complained about the interference of street noise and the poor acoustic of the small room in the Wigmore Studios.²²⁰ The latter comment was certainly the greatest concern amongst the audience, as the critic of the *Era*, the *Observer* and *Daily Mail* shared the same opinion. In addition, the critics also commented on Wittgenstein's performing style, for example, the *Era* described that 'the Parergon ... was as exciting as a Tennis Tournament. But one pined for a little quiet playing—something unambitious—Scriabin's Left-hand Prelude, for instance—something that would give us music without the sense of strain'.²²¹ This criticism rightly pointed out a typical characteristic that permeated Wittgenstein's playing—his nervous intensity—an issue that would eventually lead to a rapid decline in the quality of his performance.

In contrast to his private recital in London that was widely reviewed, Wittgenstein's first public performance with the Reid Orchestra at the Usher Hall in Edinburgh on 27 October 1927 had only one review from the *Scotsman*,

²¹⁹ R.C., 'A One-armed Pianist', *Daily Mail* (London, 8 July 1926).

²²⁰ Crescendo, 'One-armed Pianist', *The Star* (London, 8 July 1926).

²²¹ Anonymous, 'The Realm of Music. Wittgenstein', *The Era* (London, 21 July 1926).

who also published a pre-concert notice on the concert date. In his review, the critic had only words of praise for Wittgenstein. He wrote,

The outstanding feature of last night's concert was undoubtedly the pianoforte-playing of Mr Paul Wittgenstein. Physical disability has confined Mr Wittgenstein to the use of his left hand alone. It is a left hand, however, with which he can do wonders, and there were times last night when it was difficult to believe that it was only one hand that was at work. He appeared in two interesting compositions... In each work there is a piano part which would furnish substantial employment for two hands. Mr Wittgenstein, however, disposed of their difficulties with a quite marvelous facility.²²²

Besides complimenting Wittgenstein's left-hand piano techniques, the critic also gave a favourable account of the two works he heard. He acclaimed that Strauss's *Parergon* 'justifies the anticipation aroused by the fame of its composer', and the *Concertante Variations* by Schmidt 'proved to be the work of a write of distinction, and polished humour'.²²³ Although being highly positive and approving, this singular review of the *Scotsman* was not representational enough to determine the Scottish reception of both Wittgenstein and his commissions. Also, the fact that Wittgenstein did not make any further appearances (be it another collaboration with the Reid Orchestra or a solo recital) in Edinburgh again seems to suggest that the impression he and/or his special repertoire left at his Scottish debut was perhaps not too positive.

²²² Anonymous, 'Reid Ochestral Concerts. Opening of Series. Mr Wittgenstein', *The Scotsman* (Edinburgh, 28 October 1927).

²²³ Ibid.

At his first Promenade Concert on 25 August 1928, Wittgenstein again performed the *Parergon* and was this time accompanied by an orchestra. Although the *Parergon* with orchestral accompaniment had greatly impressed the critic of the *Scotsman* ten months earlier in Edinburgh, it could not win the approval from the London critics. There were altogether six newspapers who produced a concert review for this performance, including *Daily Mail*, *Daily News*, the *London Daily Telegraph*, the *Times*, the *Morning Post* and the *Manchester Guardian*. The *London Daily Telegraph*, *Daily News*, and *Daily Mail* were the three newspapers who were invited to Wittgenstein's private recital at the Wigmore Studios two years ago. This time, except for *Daily Mail*, the other two sent a different representative to the performance. Among these three newspapers, *Daily News* was the only one who did not give any comments on the *Parergon*. In contrast, both the *London Daily Telegraph* and *Daily Mail* provided a rather lengthy criticism. The critic of the former newspapers wrote,

We know Richard Strauss's "Sinfonia Domestica" was a somewhat spectacular failure of some twenty-five years ago. That he should write his attenuated "Parergon" to that work, set forth for Pianoforte (left hand only) and Orchestra is only excusable as an act of tribute to the gallantry of Paul Wittgenstein... This brilliant young artist does all that is humanly possible on the piano with his one available hand; but he could not save the work from an inherent dullness for three-quarters of its length, nor offer extenuation for the obviously manufactured bravura of its final peroration.²²⁴

²²⁴ H.H., 'Promenade Concerts. Two New Works.', *The London Daily Telegraph* (London, 27 August 1928).

R.C., the critic of *Daily Mail* who had heard the work as a two-piano reduction and with orchestra respectively, also complained about the dullness of the work. He commented, ‘the music itself is not first-rate Strauss. Three parts consist of much flurry about nothing very important, and the rest toys with a meek and mild theme (First cousin to “Drink to me only with thine eyes”) that is never made to seem to belong to the surroundings’.²²⁵ Criticisms from other newspapers such as the *Morning Post*, the *Times* and the *Manchester Guardian* were equally unflattering. ‘Anything more consistently uninspired, dreary and devastating than this composition it is impossible to conceive’, said the *Morning Post*,²²⁶ and the *Times* even criticised Strauss directly and said that the composer ‘is old enough to know better than to write a work like the “Parergon to the Sinfonia Domestica”... It is a lengthy and uninteresting *réchauffé* of themes taken from the least successful of Strauss’s major works’.²²⁷ The review in the *Manchester Guardian* was the lengthiest among all. According to its critic, the *Parergon* was doomed to fail because it ‘has the misfortune to be a by-work to what is almost a byword in the catalogue of his [Strauss’s] symphonic music’. He then went on to explain how did the unsuccessful *Sinfonia Domestica* turn the *Parergon* into another failure:

A great man’s domesticity may or may not be singularly trivial and depressing, but whatever Strauss may have felt about his he certainly did convey an impression in “Sinfonia Domestica” that his muse was anything but happy in slippers and dressing-gown. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that in the “Parergon” the unhappy home goes entirely to pieces. In pottering about

²²⁵ R.C., ‘One-handed Pianist. Mr. Wittgenstein’s Brilliant Playing’, *Daily Mail* (London, 27 August 1928).

²²⁶ B.M., ‘Promenade Concert. First Performance of Two Works’, *The Morning Post* (London, 27 August 1928).

²²⁷ Anonymous, ‘The Promenade Concerts. Two Novelties’, *The Times* (London, 27 August 1928).

its outlines to the muse has lost the last vestige of good appearance and has become alternately muddled and fuddled. There is a long and dreary patch of thematic and orchestral bedragglements at the beginning of the score, and later on the music almost infantile in abandoning itself to a slough of that household sentimentality which the composer no doubt calls *Gemutlichkeit*.²²⁸

Despite their criticism towards Strauss's *Parergon*, all six critics agreed that the piano solo part was extremely demanding and difficult, which Wittgenstein mastered with such skills that impressed them greatly. The *Morning Post* simply described Wittgenstein's performance as 'extremely courageous',²²⁹ while *Daily News* said it was a 'display of sheer virtuosity', making it difficult at times for the audience to realise the pianist 'had only five fingers'.²³⁰ Admiring Wittgenstein's piano techniques, *Daily Mail* claimed that the difficult piano solo 'made one rather painfully conscious of the *tour de force* on Mr. Wittgenstein's part. But the courage and brilliance of his attack could not be overpraised'.²³¹ The last part of the comment seemed to suggest that despite Wittgenstein's marvellous skills the performance was not very enjoyable. In spite of this, the audience might have been overly enthusiastic, a situation that the *Manchester Guardian* had made a remark on, too. The critic wrote, 'the applause last night was doubtless the more enthusiastic because the audience wished to pay homage to an artist's pluck in preserving in his career against an overwhelming handicap'. The commentaries of these two

²²⁸ E.B., 'A New English Symphony. Strauss's Left-Handed Work', *The Manchester Guardian* (Manchester, 27 August 1928).

²²⁹ B.M., 'Promenade Concert. First Performance of Two Works', *The Morning Post* (London, 27 August 1928).

²³⁰ J.A.F., 'One-armed Pianist. Fine Performance at "The Queen's Hall"', *Daily News* (London, 27 August 1928).

²³¹ R.C., 'One-Handed Pianist. Mr. Wittgenstein's Brilliant Playing', *Daily Mail* (London, 27 August 1928).

newspapers drew out the following conclusion: as the audiences had a great sympathy and compassion for Wittgenstein's misfortune, their enthusiastic applause and warm reception did not necessarily be a genuine response to his actual musicality and left-hand piano techniques. This phenomenon could in turn influence the reception of Wittgenstein as a pianist.

As with his first public concert in Edinburgh in 1927, Wittgenstein's first public performance in Bournemouth and Birmingham, on 14 and 17 February 1929 respectively, were not widely reported by the press, especially the one in Bournemouth. Although both the *Bournemouth and District Amusements* and the *Bournemouth Times & Directory* published a pre-concert notice to promote this performance, neither of them nor other local newspapers published a concert review afterwards. Therefore, it is impossible to discuss the reception of Wittgenstein's first appearance in Bournemouth, which was also his first broadcast performance in the United Kingdom. In contrast, Wittgenstein secured three reviews for his Birmingham concert from the following newspapers: the *Birmingham Gazette*, *Birmingham Mail* and the *Birmingham Post*. Regarding Wittgenstein's performing skills and style, the *Birmingham Gazette* reported that he 'played in a manly, vigorous style, getting every scrap of interest out of the solo part',²³² whereas *Birmingham Mail* acclaimed that he 'carried out his share of the performance with ease and plenty of dash'.²³³ The critic of the *Birmingham Mail* not only gave his personal comments, he also quoted an opinion from a member of audience, who had remarked that 'he

²³² G.W., 'Last Night's Music. The City Orchestra', *The Birmingham Gazette* (Birmingham, 18 February 1929).

²³³ C.F.M., 'One-Armed Pianist. Mr. Wittgenstein At City Orchestra's Concert', *Birmingham Mail* (Birmingham, 18 February 1929).

[Wittgenstein] did better with his left hand alone than some of the pianist one hears would do if they had three!’ In addition, both newspapers complimented Schmidt’s handling in the *Concertante Variations*, a work that they heard for the first time. The *Birmingham Gazette* recommended the ‘ingenuity with which the variations are worked out’;²³⁴ while *Birmingham Mail* added that ‘the theme is pleasant and some of the variations devised and scored in an original way, but the main interest lies in the writing for one-handed pianism, though that must be of a highly-skillful hand’.²³⁵

Offering a full coverage of the whole concert, the review of the *Birmingham Post* was the most comprehensive among all. Similar to the other two newspapers, the critic of the *Birmingham Post* also thought highly of Wittgenstein’s playing and he summarised his appreciation in one sentence, ‘for Mr. Wittgenstein’s dexterity one’s admiration ran high, and his tone production was full and telling’.²³⁶ For the *Concertante Variations* by Schmidt, however, he dedicated a greater length to discuss about the composer and the work, which was both informative and objective. He wrote,

The variations by Franz Schmidt—a contemporary Austrian composer—on a theme from Beethoven’s F major violin sonata were presumably written for him [Wittgenstein]. They interested most when the canonic idea came uppermost and kept us in touch with Beethoven. It was a happy notion, too, that sent the composer to a violin sonata for the theme. But there were harmonic effects that could not be thought at all

²³⁴ G.W., ‘Last Night’s Music. The City Orchestra’, *The Birmingham Gazette* (Birmingham, 18 February 1929).

²³⁵ C.F.M., ‘One-Armed Pianist. Mr. Wittgenstein At City Orchestra’s Concert’, *Birmingham Mail* (Birmingham, 18 February 1929).

²³⁶ A.J.S., ‘City of Birmingham Orchestra. Mr. Wittgenstein As Solo Pianist’, *The Birmingham Post* (Birmingham, 18 February 1929).

relevant to it, and the variations free of these were the most enjoyable.²³⁷

Apart from giving positive comments on the pianist and the music, the critic of the *Birmingham Post* also hinted at two drawbacks of this concert. It is clear in his review that he, just as the critic of the *Birmingham Gazette*, was unsure whether the *Concertante Variations* was a dedication from Schmidt to Wittgenstein or not.²³⁸ The reason for this was simply because the dedication was not printed in the original concert programme, which was a rare occurrence as Wittgenstein always requested and insisted the dedication to be included in the programme.²³⁹ The other downside was the low attendance at the concert, and this was the first thing the critic wrote in his review:

Either the cold night or the absence of a singer kept down the attendance at the West End Cinema last night. Perhaps a variety entertainment at a music-hall not far away was also not without effect... It was a pity ... that so few were present... Had the City Orchestra billed Mr. Paul Wittgenstein as the left-handed pianist, there would almost certainly have been fewer vacant rows of seats, but one respected it the more for not yielding to the temptation.²⁴⁰

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ The critic of the *Birmingham Gazette* made the same assumption in his review, 'Franz Schmidt's Variations Concertante on a Beethoven theme for piano and orchestra. The piano part is laid out for one hand only, and was, we believe, written especially for Mr. Wittgenstein'. For more details, see G.W., 'Last Night's Music. The City Orchestra', *The Birmingham Gazette* (Birmingham, 18 February 1929).

²³⁹ For example, Wittgenstein sent a letter to the BBC via his agent on 26 April 1951 to request the BBC to include the dedication for both the Ravel Concerto and the *Diversions*. For the complete letter, see BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 2, 1949–1960; Letter, 26 April 1951).

²⁴⁰ A.J.S., 'City of Birmingham Orchestra. Mr. Wittgenstein As Solo Pianist', *The Birmingham Post* (Birmingham, 18 February 1929).

Undoubtedly, the critic's assumption that the attendance would have been higher if the orchestra had included Wittgenstein in their publicity was a personal and subjective thought. Yet, the lack of appropriate publicity and the impreciseness of the concert programme seemed to suggest that the Sunday Concerts were not being taken serious enough. This might be the reason why Wittgenstein told Deneke in his letter about his unwillingness to come to Britain to simply play in a Sunday Concert at Birmingham if there were not any other concert engagements involved.

Wittgenstein's second Promenade Concert on 16 August 1932 received considerably more attention than his first in 1928. There were altogether four pre-concert notices and seven concert reviews. The *Manchester Guardian* was the first to publish a pre-concert notice on 5 August 1932 in which a brief yet informative background of Wittgenstein was included:

Paul Wittgenstein, who will play the pianoforte at the Promenade Concert on August 16, has only one arm, having lost one in the war. In view of his disability he has had music written specially for the left hand. One work is by Richard Strauss and is called "Parergon." Korngold and Prokofiev have composed works for him, and another specially written composition is Ravel's Pianoforte Concerto for the Left Hand. Wittgenstein will play the last named at the Queen's Hall.²⁴¹

With the inclusion of Wittgenstein's biography and his most up-to-date commissions, this meticulous and comprehensive pre-concert notice should have aroused considerable interests among its readers. Although it might not

²⁴¹ Anonymous, 'Yesterday's Broadcast. One-armed pianist', *The Manchester Guardian* (Manchester, 5 August 1932).

bring in a great number of audiences from Manchester, it might prompt them to listen to the performance on radio and thus Wittgenstein's audience would hopefully be expanded. As mentioned earlier, *New York Times* published a preview of the 1932 Proms Season on 7 August in which the writer included an interesting discussion on the disagreement between Wittgenstein and Ravel over the Concerto.²⁴² This particular preview would have had little influence on the British reception of Wittgenstein and the Ravel Concerto as it was published in New York, but it might have affected the way Americans received the work when they eventually heard it in 1934. Right on the concert day on 16 August, two brief pre-concert notices appeared in the *London Daily Telegraph* and once again the *Manchester Guardian*, making a final call for Wittgenstein's second Promenade Concert.²⁴³

Having published two pre-concert notices, the *Manchester Guardian* surprisingly did not produce a concert review. Among the seven concert reviews available, there was one regional newspaper from the north and the rest came from London newspapers such as *Daily Mail*, the *Morning Post*, the *Observer*, the *Star*, the *Times* and the *London Daily Telegraph*, whose critics had already heard Wittgenstein either at his private recital or his first Promenade Concert, or both. R.C., the critic of *Daily Mail* who had already heard Wittgenstein twice, customarily criticised almost all music written for Wittgenstein and the Ravel Concerto was no exception. He once again directed

²⁴² For a complete version of the 1932 Proms Season Preview in *New York Times*, see anonymous, 'LEHAR's NEW OPERA: Roles for Jeritza and Tauber—The London Symphony—The Promenades', *New York Times* (New York, 7 August 1932).

²⁴³ For a complete version of the pre-concert notices in the *London Daily Telegraph* and the *Manchester Guardian*, see anonymous, 'Broadcasting: To-day's Programmes'. One-Armed Pianist In Ravel Work', *The London Daily Telegraph* (London, 16 August 1932) and Listener, 'Wireless Notes. Shakespeare Play and Queen's Hall Concert-the Evening's Ligher Features', *The Manchester Guardian* (Manchester, 16 August 1932).

his criticism towards the composer and said, ‘the composition itself is rich enough in minor inventions and pleasing curiosities of detail, but Ravel seems incapable now of filling out a large canvas. He writes nigglingly, and seems not to have the impulse for a piece of more than six pages’.²⁴⁴ R.C. was not the only person who criticised the Ravel Concerto, as the critic of the both the *Northern Echo* and the *London Daily Telegraph* also doubted the inventiveness of the work. The *Northern Echo* commented that the Concerto was a piece of ‘showy music without depth or character’;²⁴⁵ whereas the *London Daily Telegraph* claimed that ‘the concerto does not widen one’s musical experience; it does not say anything that Ravel has no said before’.²⁴⁶ Despite so, the *London Daily Telegraph* nevertheless considered the Concerto as a work characteristic of Ravel: ‘the qualities one admires in him [Ravel] are all here—the facility of touch, the wide range of colour, the sense of fitness, and the polished manner’.²⁴⁷

Critics of the *Times*, the *Observer* and the *Morning Post* belonged to the same camp and they all thought very highly of the Ravel Concerto and paid tribute especially to the composer’s mastery in balancing the piano solo and the orchestra. The critic of the *Observer* acclaimed that the Concerto ‘has all the ingenuity of workmanship which one has been long learnt to expect from him [Ravel]. It also has a breadth of treatment which is further removed from the

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ Anonymous, ‘One-Armed Pianist at a “Prom.” Austrian’s Success in Piece Written for Him’, *The Northern Echo* (Darlington, 17 August 1932).

²⁴⁶ F.B., ‘Piano Concerto For The Left Hand. Ravel Work At Proms’, *The London Daily Telegraph* (London, 17 August 1932).

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

general style of his later compositions'.²⁴⁸ He also pointed out what might have been the biggest challenge for Ravel when writing such a work. 'In the concerto the problem has been how to write for a large orchestra so that a one-armed left-handed pianist should not be overwhelmed', and Ravel showed his mastery by employing 'an unusual simplicity of statement both as regards form and decoration'.²⁴⁹ The *Morning Post* added that 'the concerto is instantly attractive... The lines of it are broad, and there is a large amount of bold diatonic writing'.²⁵⁰ What the critic found the most impressive in the concerto was Ravel's handling of the piano solo part and his orchestration skills. He wrote, '... there is placed a mass of decorative material of great complexity, piquant orchestration of which Ravel is so masterly an exponent. But it is the brilliance of the pianoforte part which made the most lasting impression at a first hearing'.²⁵¹ Complementing these commentaries, the critic of the *Times* went on to suggest a reason for this concerto to stand out from other works of Ravel. He assumed that the concerto 'was primarily an essay in Herr Wittgenstein's special virtuosity, which is perhaps the reason why the introduction and *andante* have a more romantic flavour than one expects from Ravel. Indeed, it suggests an epitome of pianistic style from Liszt to the present day'.²⁵²

Making no comments on the Ravel Concerto, the *Star* produced a review that focused exclusively on Wittgenstein's status as a left-hand virtuoso. Its critic

²⁴⁸ Anonymous, 'The Promenade Concerts. Ravel's Concerto', *The Observer* (London, 21 August 1932).

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ Anonymous, 'Promenade Concert. Left-Handed Pianist's Triumph', *The Morning Post* (17 August 1932).

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Anonymous, 'Promenade Concert. One-armed pianist's success', *The Times* (17 August 1932).

stated that with his perfect rendering of the Ravel Concerto Wittgenstein ‘took the Promenade Concert audience by storm’, and that he ‘did not merely present himself as a man who could play with his left hand, but as an artist playing works by the greatest composers... to him the battle of life literally single-handed almost places the one-handed Austrian on the level of heroes like Livingstone and Lindbergh, who also played lone hands and astonished the world’.²⁵³ The Darlington-based newspaper *Northern Echo* and the *Observer* too acclaimed Wittgenstein for his extraordinary performance. The former described that ‘the performance was a positive *tour de force*, and in the brilliantly energetic allegro movement, with eyes shut, it would have been impossible to say how many fingers were at work’;²⁵⁴ and the latter commented that he played with ‘magnificent assurance and astonishing accuracy... His performance was that rare occurrence—the exposition of a new work brought off with such mastery and ease that the music could give its full message uninterruptedly’.²⁵⁵ Besides showing an approving attitude towards Wittgenstein’s performance in their reviews, the critics of the *London Daily Telegraph*, the *Times* and the *Morning Post* also gave an overview of the responses from the audiences. The *London Daily Telegraph* reported that ‘the warm applause which rose from every part of the Queen’s Hall at the conclusion of the performance was a well deserved tribute to the great skill and intelligence of the player’;²⁵⁶ the *Times* commented that ‘Herr Wittgenstein’s brilliant playing of it [the Ravel Concerto] received the warm appreciation it

²⁵³ Anonymous, ‘Single-Handed’, *The Star* (London, 17 August 1932).

²⁵⁴ Anonymous, ‘One-Armed Pianist at a “Prom.” Austrian’s Success in Piece Written for Him’, *The Northern Echo* (Darlington, 17 August 1932).

²⁵⁵ Anonymous, ‘The Promenade Concerts. Ravel’s Concerto’, *The Observer* (London, 21 August 1932).

²⁵⁶ F.B., ‘Piano Concerto For The Left Hand. Ravel Work At Proms’, *The London Daily Telegraph* (London, 17 August 1932).

deserved',²⁵⁷ and the *Morning Post* concluded by saying that 'the applause was very warm, and it may truly be said that music, performer, and performance served no less'.²⁵⁸ R.C. of the *London Daily Telegraph* was the only critic who went against his fellows. Although he appreciated Wittgenstein's courage and piano techniques, he did not admire such a performance and doubted the audience's responses. He wrote, 'the maimed pianist... was greeted with the most cordial sympathy, and there was great applause for his extraordinary *tour de force*... It would be insincere to pretend that any great musical pleasure was to be had from the heroic performance. In fact, it was painful to witness such exertions to make one hand do the work of two'.²⁵⁹

None of Wittgenstein's previous public performances received as much publicity as his second Promenade Concert, and there were several reasons behind. Firstly, Wittgenstein was no stranger to them and had made a good impression with his first Promenade Concert. Secondly, as Ravel was one of the greatest living composers of that time, the news of Wittgenstein performing a new work that Ravel composed specifically for his special disability naturally enhanced his profile. Lastly, the Ravel Concerto was one of the very few novelties in the 1932 season, which certainly drew a high level of attention from the music circle as well as the general audience. Greeted by these high expectations Wittgenstein, with his exceptional performance in the Ravel

²⁵⁷ Anonymous, 'Promenade Concert. One-armed pianist's success', *The Times* (London, 17 August 1932).

²⁵⁸ Anonymous, 'Promenade Concert. Left-Handed Pianist's Triumph', *The Morning Post* (London, 17 August 1932).

²⁵⁹ R.C., 'One-handed Pianist. Ravel's Concerto for Maimed Player', *Daily Mail* (London, 17 August 1932).

Concerto, succeeded in satisfying every demand of his audiences as confirmed by the favourable and enthusiastic reviews.

Wittgenstein had given altogether three public performances in Oxford, and these were the Oxford Ladies' Musical Society Concert and Balliol Concert in 1949, and the Oxford University Music Club and Union Concert in 1950. Of these three concerts, only the OLMS Concert was reviewed. The critic of the *Oxford Magazine* wrote,

Mere amazement as his almost superhuman power soon gives place to awe as we hear the result of such unique patience. His virtuosity is based, technically, upon exhaustive study of the use to which the sustaining pedal can be put and an extraordinary agility of the wrist which compensates for the loss of his right arm. But in his playing there is much more; there is a noble tone and breadth of phrasing which springs from the grandeur of courage.²⁶⁰

There is not a particular reason to explain why the O.U.M.C.U Concert in 1950 was not reviewed but there is one for the Balliol Concert. Wittgenstein's Balliol debut on 20 February 1949 coincided with the death of Walker, who was one of the most leading musical figures in Oxford. As such, all the local newspapers and university magazines that were published later that week were all dedicated to the death notices and memoirs of Walker, thus overshadowing Wittgenstein's first Balliol performance even though it included the British premiere of two of his chamber commissions.

²⁶⁰ S.T.W., 'Untitled', *Oxford Magazine*, 340.

In contrast to his first appearance at the Winter Gardens in Bournemouth in 1929 that received no reviews, Wittgenstein's second visit in 1950 got two concert reviews. The first review was published on 16 October by the *Times*. Before offering his comments on Wittgenstein's performance skills and Britten's *Diversions*, the critic briefly talked about the background of this commission, which would have been useful for the readers to know. 'Mr. Paul Wittgenstein', he wrote, 'commissioned this work [the *Diversions*] from Britten in America as long ago as 1940, and as he holds the sole performing rights (until 1951) his visit to England is doubly welcome'.²⁶¹ Then he went on to discuss about the *Diversions*, but his focus was more on Britten's compositional skills and styles than the music itself:

Britten has long shown a *penchant* for variation rather than sonata form, and his skill in dressing up his stark four-bar theme of ascending fifths in the guise of a chorale, a nocturne, a toccata, and an adagio—to mention but four of the more effective of the 11 brief numbers, each of which exploits some special figuration apt for a single hand—again commands admiration, even though this skill is not tempered with the charm and wit of the earlier Frank Bridge variations or the humanity of some of his recent works.²⁶²

Regarding Wittgenstein's performance, the critic summarised his opinions by comparing the *Diversions* with the Ravel Concerto, 'while Ravel's left-hand concerto offers grandeur and poetic lyricism, this can be enjoyed as a technical

²⁶¹ Anonymous, 'Bournemouth Municipal Orchestra. Britten's Left-Hand Concerto', *The Times* (London, 16 October 1950).

²⁶² *Ibid.*

tour de force, and Mr. Wittgenstein's powerful performance made it clear that in spite of heavy percussion, the soloist can hold his own throughout'.²⁶³

The other review, which appeared four days after the concert, was produced by the local newspaper *Bournemouth Times & Directory*. It was more like a report than a review, as it contained more facts than personal insights of the critic. The complete review reads, 'at Trevor Harvey's concert on Saturday Benjamin Britten's Theme and Diversions for piano (left hand) and orchestra was played for the first time in England. It proved a work of more virtuosity than depth, but was above all a vehicle for the remarkable technical brilliance of Paul Wittgenstein, the one-armed pianist for whom it was written'.²⁶⁴

Although the reviews themselves could well be said as favourable, the conductor of this particular concert held a completely different opinion. Harvey confided his comments on Wittgenstein's playing of the *Diversions* in a letter to Deneke, '... last time he was here he didn't create a good impression—frankly, the Britten performance with me at Bournemouth had lots of moments of brilliance but there was a good deal of hard playing & as a performance it sometimes misunderstood Britten's intention (Paul is not at least a contemporary music man, of course)'.²⁶⁵ Harvey's opinions were perhaps more authoritative in both the musical and performing aspect of Wittgenstein's playing, which might explain the reason why the British premiere of Britten's *Diversions* received only two reviews. It was perhaps equally or even more

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ Papageno, 'Music. Guest Conductors', *Bournemouth Times & Directory* (Bournemouth, 20 October 1950).

²⁶⁵ Bodleian Libraries, Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Modern Papers, Deneke Papers, Ms. Eng. Lett. c. 620, fos. 61–2 (Letter, 19 August 1959).

disappointing, however, that the first performance of the *Diversions* in London had also only three reviews. The review in the *London Daily Telegraph* was again more factual than insightful. Its critic gave no comments on the *Diversions* and his opinion on Wittgenstein's playing was brief, 'Mr. Wittgenstein, triumphing over his handicap, astonished the audience with the power and resourcefulness of his playing'.²⁶⁶ On the contrary, *Daily Mail* was more descriptive and richer in content. Its critic clearly admired Britten's compositional talents but was not particularly impressed by the *Diversions*, '... it is a series of 11 variations, [which] shows how cleverly Britten can overcome obstacles... There is not much musical substance in the work, but one cannot expect more of diversions than that they should entertain'.²⁶⁷ The critic of the *Observer* shared a similar thought, as he claimed that the *Diversions* was 'not a major work, but Britten's inventiveness and skill never fail'.²⁶⁸ Regarding Wittgenstein's playing, the two critics held a different opinion. While *Daily Mail* focused on the technical aspect and praised Wittgenstein for being 'extremely agile in jumping from one end of the keyboard to the other',²⁶⁹ the *Observer* directed his attention to the quality of his playing and felt that there was 'strain imposed by the solo'.²⁷⁰

Starting with the British premiere of Britten's *Diversions* in Bournemouth in 1950, the reception of Wittgenstein's performance from the press has become less enthusiastic but more average. This phenomenon was also applicable to

²⁶⁶ Anonymous, 'Britten Concerto For Left Hand', *The London Daily Telegraph* (London, 30 October 1950).

²⁶⁷ Anonymous, 'Yesterday's Music', *Daily Mail* (London, 30 October 1950).

²⁶⁸ Eric Blom, 'untitled', *The Observer* (London, 5 November 1950).

²⁶⁹ Anonymous, 'Yesterday's Music', *Daily Mail* (London, 30 October 1950).

²⁷⁰ Eric Blom, 'Untitled', *The Observer* (London, 5 November 1950).

the London premiere of the same work and further extended into Wittgenstein's third and last Promenade Concert in 1951—his last appearance in Britain. Although it was unprecedented of Wittgenstein to play two of his commissions together in a single night, his last performance in Britain received only three reviews. Stanley Bayliss of *Daily Mail* made no comments on the Ravel Concerto and the *Diversions* but the performance of Wittgenstein, whom he hailed as one of the 'three outstanding musical personalities' of the concert. Fascinated by Wittgenstein's performing techniques and styles, he remarked that 'his technical dexterity and tremendously powerful tone were truly astonishing. Many fully equipped pianists must envy him'.²⁷¹ Taking a different approach, M.C. of the *London Daily Telegraph* did not say a word about Wittgenstein's playing. Instead, he gave a succinct description of his impression of the two compositions and even criticised the performance of the orchestra. He wrote, 'Paul Wittgenstein played two pianoforte works for the left hand only, both dedicated to him—Ravel's glittering but solidly golden concerto and Britten's rather empty *Diversions* on a Theme. The orchestra under John Hollingsworth gave a poor account of Ravel's music, which had neither rhythmic precision nor richness of colour'.²⁷² The critic of the *Times*, however, was sympathetic to Hollingsworth for he was given 'the onerous task of conducting two twentieth-century piano concertos which are not part of the everyday repertory'.²⁷³ In his opinion, Ravel and Britten composed their left-hand concertos as they respected and admired Wittgenstein's determination in continuing the pursuit of his performing career despite his unfortunate disability. It was also for the same reason, he believed, that the audience

²⁷¹ Stanley Bayliss, 'Personality Concert', *Daily Mail* (London, 14 August 1951).

²⁷² M.C. 'Music For The Left Hand', *The London Daily Telegraph* (London, 14 August 1951).

²⁷³ Anonymous, 'Promenade Concert. Walton's Symphony', *The Times* (14 August 1951).

granted him a warm reception at the concert. To him, 'Britten's "Divisions on a Theme" are full of ingenuity' and in the Ravel Concerto 'there are majesty and lyrical poetry as well as piquant vigour' but 'little of which was discovered in his [Wittgenstein's] performance'.²⁷⁴ He claimed that Wittgenstein performed so poorly because he was so familiar with these works, and this 'has bred in him a certain contempt for refinement of details' which he 'could well remedy by studying each afresh from the printed page'.²⁷⁵

Wittgenstein's performing career of about 25 years in Great Britain can be divided into three periods: the 'pre-war period', the 'war period' and the 'post-war period'. The first period started with Wittgenstein's private London debut in July 1926 and lasted until 1937. During this period of time Wittgenstein gave a total of fifteen concerts across Britain. The second phase began in 1938 when Wittgenstein had to flee Austria for America, and this caused a stagnation of ten years in his British performing career.²⁷⁶ Commencing in 1949 and ended in 1951, the last phase was the shortest but it included six concert performances. It would be unfair to judge the reception of Wittgenstein as a left-hand pianist in Britain simply by the amount of the concert reviews he received, but these reviews could at least indicate how much attention he got for each of his public performances.

It is clear that his London performances in 1926, 1928 and 1931 received more attention than those held in provincial cities. The differences in the level of

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

²⁷⁶ Although the Second World War began in 1939 and ended in 1945, the 'wartime period' in Wittgenstein's performing career started earlier and lasted longer than the actual war period.

attention these concerts received could have a direct relationship with their nature. The performances in Edinburgh, Bournemouth and Birmingham in which Wittgenstein participated were part of the regular concert series of the respective orchestras. As the critic of the *Scotsman* and the *Birmingham Post* expressed, there were other musical activities going on at the same time as Wittgenstein's performance, which might have taken away a considerable attention from his concert. In London, his private recital at the Wigmore Studios would surely inspire a certain amount of reviews, as it was a performance specially arranged for critics to attend. His other two performances were both Promenade Concerts, which were the most important and popular annual musical event, and of course this would naturally attract attention from critics. The 1932 Promenade Concert, at which Wittgenstein premiered the Ravel Concerto, his best-received commissions in Britain, unquestionably represented the pinnacle of his British performing career. Unfortunately however, he was unable to maintain this condition towards the end of his career. His last three performances in London in 1950 and 1951, each of them bear a uniqueness of its own though, failed to gain as much attention from the press as his previous performances did. This dramatic drop in popularity could of course be a direct result of Wittgenstein's withdrawal from the British performing stage for more than a decade, and that on his return in 1950 his premiere of the *Diversions* turned out to be more a curious than musically significant event that failed to cause another phenomenon as the Ravel Concerto did.

While the decrease in the number of concert reviews indicated a decreasing popularity of Wittgenstein, it was perhaps not the reason that brought Wittgenstein's British performing career to an end. The fatal cause for his career to collapse was the shortage of concert engagements. At the beginning of his career Wittgenstein performed once a year in either London or other parts of Britain. Yet, after his second Promenade Concert in 1932 he made no appearance with an orchestra until 1950. Political instability and the Second World War of course prevented him from coming to Britain to perform for some years, but during his absence Wittgenstein never stopped asking for concert opportunities but his effort was in vain. While the BBC occasionally offered him an engagement or two, not a single conductor who had collaborated with Wittgenstein would rebook him, including his friends Tovey and Harvey. This seemed to imply, from an institution or a conductor's point of view, that both Wittgenstein's performance and his commissions might not be as impressive and fascinating as most of the reviews suggested. Neither the number of concert engagements nor the concert reviews could be used as the prime index to measure the British reception of Wittgenstein as a left-hand pianist. This was because concert reviews could always be biased and subjective as the sympathy critics and audiences had for Wittgenstein might have affected their judgement. Wittgenstein's misfortune had granted him sympathy across Britain that brought him numerous concert opportunities at the initial stage of his career. Unfortunately however, without a repertoire that could suit the musical taste of the British audience as well as the ability of keeping up the quality of his performance, Wittgenstein's reception and performing career as a left-hand virtuoso in Britain would inevitably decline, a

undesirable situation that could not be reversed no matter how sympathetic his music fellows and audiences were for him.

CHAPTER 2

A Celebration of Friendship: Ernest Walker and His Compositions for Piano Left-hand

Most of Wittgenstein's commissions were concertos by the leading composers of his time such as Korngold, Strauss and Ravel (among many others), but his collection also included a handful of solo pieces and chamber works. In 1933, Wittgenstein's already extensive music library was further expanded by the addition of a chamber piece by his friend, the British composer Ernest Walker (1870–1949). Nowadays Walker is chiefly remembered as a music scholar, whose book, *A History of Music in England*, is considered as a valuable contribution to British musicology. During his active years in Oxford at the turn of the 20th century, however, Walker was celebrated as an all-round musician: he was pianist, accompanist, teacher, conductor, scholar and prolific composer. He had composed in almost every musical genre, and his vast compositional output include two piano solos for the left hand alone: the Study for the Left Hand and the Prelude for the Left Hand that he composed long before knowing Wittgenstein but eventually presented to him, and a quintet: the Variations on an Original Theme for Pianoforte, Clarinet, Violin, Viola and Violoncello, which he composed for and dedicated to Wittgenstein in 1933.

It is not known when, where and how Walker and Wittgenstein got to know each other, but presumably they became friends through their common acquaintance Margaret Deneke, in the summer of 1926 at the latest. This is conjectured from a message that Walker inscribed on the front cover of the

autograph manuscripts of his Study in A minor for piano (left hand alone) (Fig. 2.1a). The message, ‘with kind regards to Herr Paul Wittgenstein in remembrance of the music on July 11th 1926’, suggests that on 11 July 1926 Walker had heard Wittgenstein perform, and he was so impressed that he decided to present to the pianist his Study, a piece he composed in 1901. This occasion was likely to be an informal musical gathering that took place at the Deneke’s in Gunfield, four days after Wittgenstein’s private recital at the Wigmore Studios in London, on 7 July.

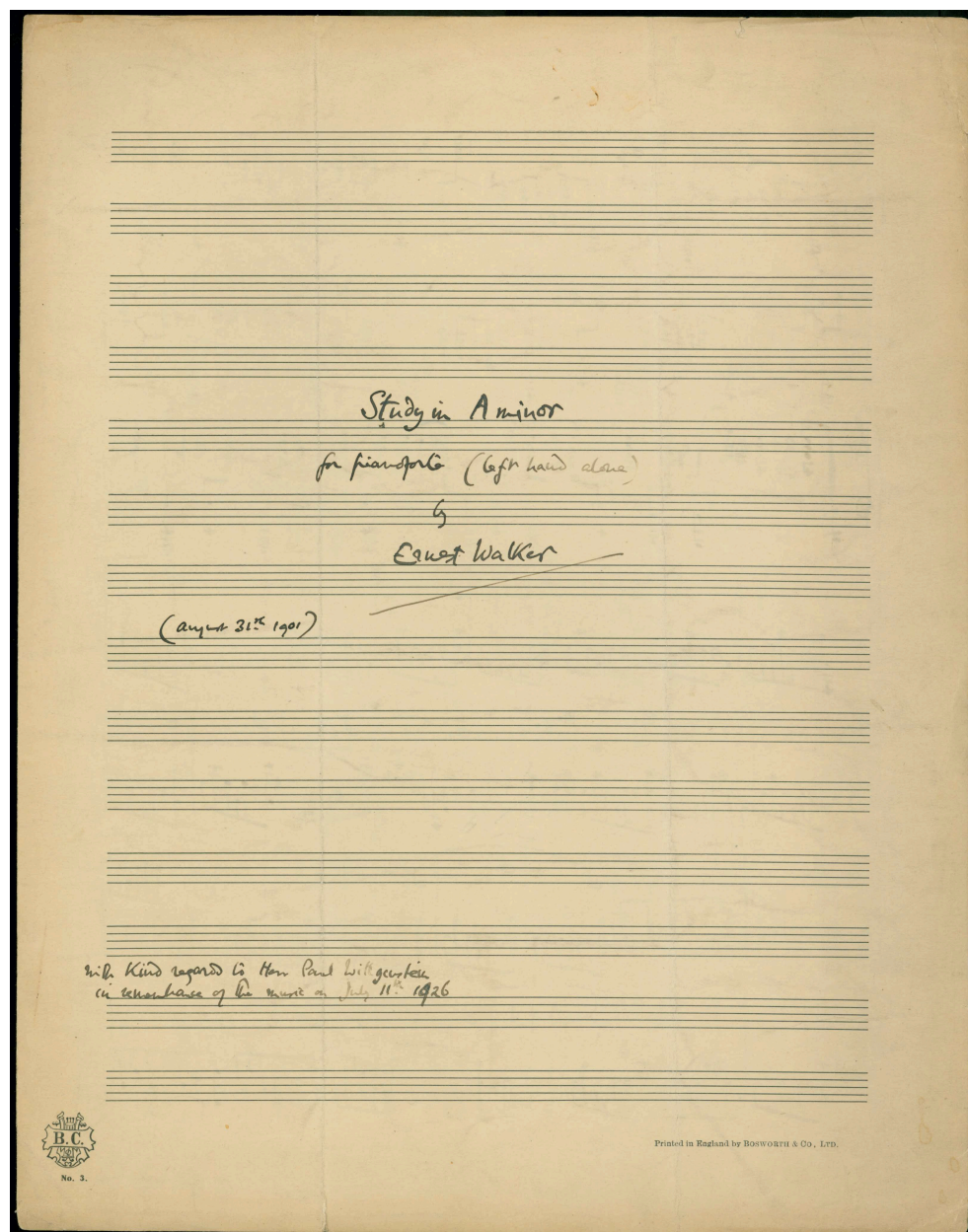


Fig. 2.1a

Study, S-S1: Front cover. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

Study for the Left Hand (1901)¹

The three primary sources of the Study, including two autograph manuscripts and one printed score, are currently located in Hong Kong and Oxford. The Paul Wittgenstein Music Library and Archive in Hong Kong (*Hk-pwa*) houses one set of autograph manuscripts (S-S1) and a printed score (S-S3), while the Bodleian Library in Oxford (*GB-Ob*) holds the other set of autograph manuscripts that Walker kept for publishing use (S-S2). Catalogued as PWMS-EW-000003, S-S1 is a single bifolio [fols. 1–2] and is kept as loose leaves in a box and has no folio numbers.² It has a cover page [fol. 1r], which at the same time is also the title page, and 3 pages of music [fols. 1v–2v] written in blank ink on a 14-stave, portrait-oriented manuscript paper called ‘B.C. No. 3’ manufactured by Bosworth & Co. Ltd. S-S2, on the other hand, is included in an album with some other compositions of Walker’s and is catalogued as MSS. Mus. c. 93, fols. 29–30. The cover/title page [fol. 29r], together with three pages of music [fols. 29v–30v] were written on a different manuscript paper named ‘A.L. No.10’ manufactured by Augener, which was ruled with sixteen staves and portrait-oriented. S-S3 is a professional copy printed and published by Augener Ltd. in 1931, which is catalogued as PWSI-AOS-000006-E and has six pages of music and a front cover.

¹ None of the surviving sources of the Study shows an opus number. However, in the work list Deneke compiled for Walker in her book, she assigned ‘Op. 47’ to the Study. For more information about Walker’s work list, see Deneke, *Ernest Walker*, 137.

² The sources for both the Study for the Left Hand and the Prelude for the Left Hand, except for their printed score(s), are not numbered and all of them do not contain bar numbers. These were added by me for ease of reference and when necessary.

Notational differences, both musical and non-musical, can be found in the three sources. For example, S-S1 bears a date of composition, ‘August 31st 1901’, on its cover page while S-S2 shows the place of composition, ‘28 St. Margaret’s R. Oxford’, which was the address of Walker’s home in Oxford (Fig. 2.1b). The cover page of S-S3 has neither the date nor the place of composition but an inscription ‘for Paul Wittgenstein with the composer’s best greetings’ in Walker’s hand (Fig. 2.1c). Although both autographs have Walker’s signature on their cover pages, only S-S2 has a second signature on its first page of music. Their composition title too, is different. ‘Study in A minor for piano (left hand alone)’ is clearly inscribed in black ink on the cover page of S-S1. However, the composition title of S-S2 has been changed to ‘Study for the Left Hand for piano’. In addition, S-S2 contains a plate number ‘17121R’, which is written in pencil and red colour pencil and a copyright clause ‘Copyright 1931 by Augener Ltd’ in red colour pencil. The inclusion of copyright information suggests S-S2 was a fair copy Walker prepared for publishing use.

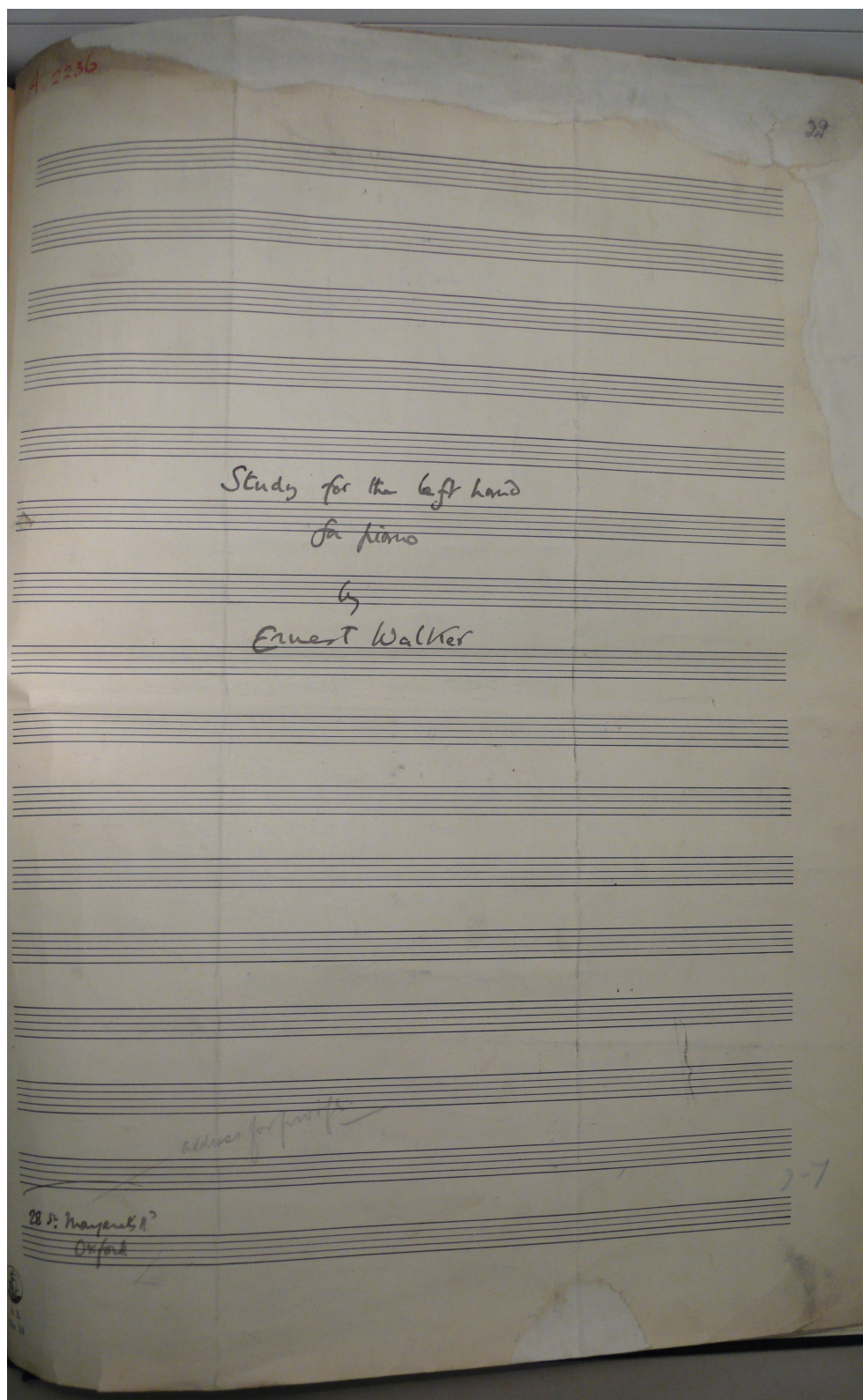


Fig. 2.1b

Study, S-S2: front cover/title page [fol. 29r]. Reprinted with permission from The Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. All rights reserved.

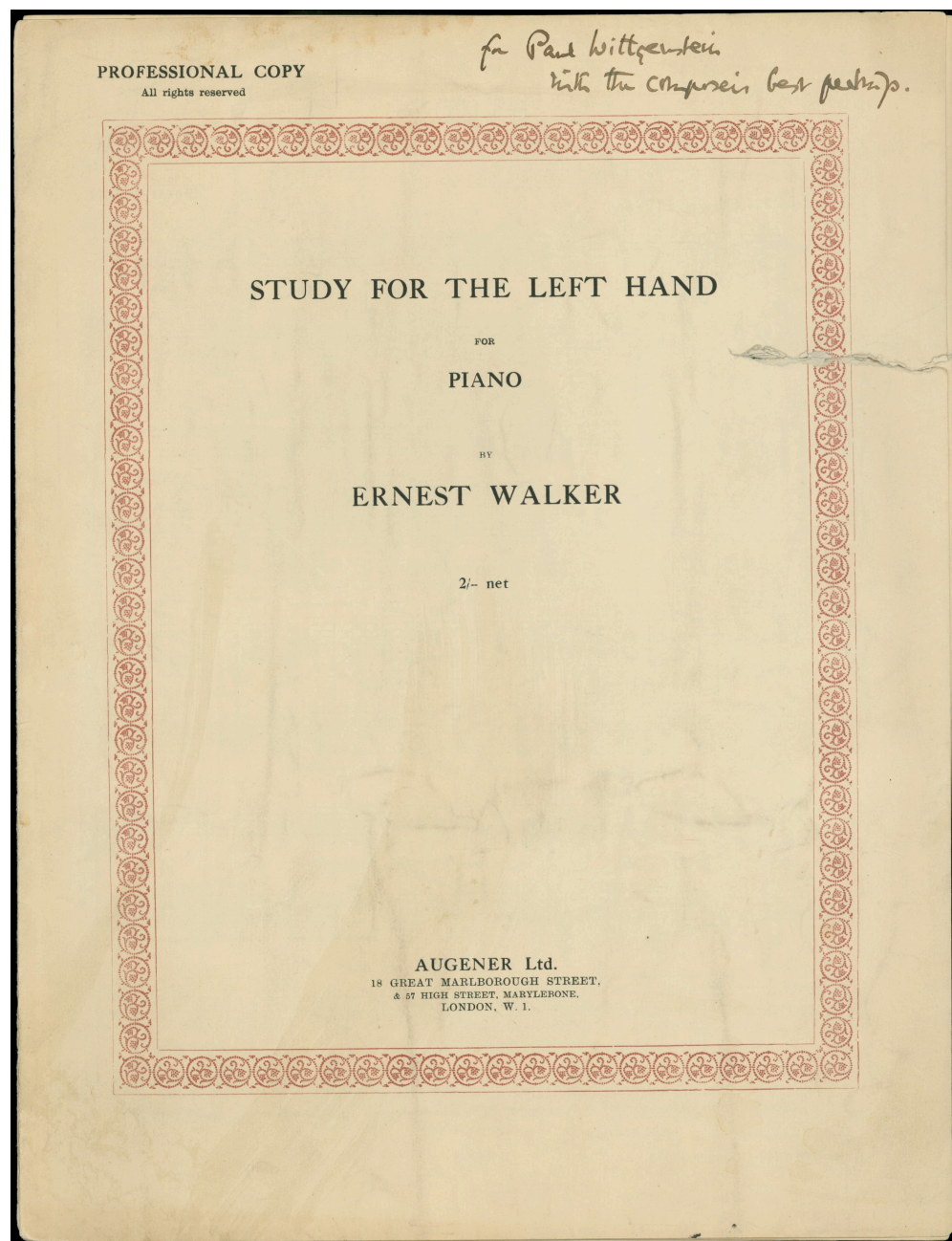


Fig. 2.1c Study, S-S3: front cover. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

Comparing the actual music written in both autographs, S-S2 shows a number of differences from S-S1. Since most of the deviations found in S-S2 were corrections and refinements of those in S-S1 that were finally incorporated in the printed score (S-S3), it was quite certain that S-S1 was an earlier version of S-S2, which in turn served as the printer's copy for S-S3.

Of the whole piece, only one pitch difference is found between S-S1 and S-S2. In S-S1, the second half of the second beats in bars 115 and 116 are notated with an A-minor chord and an A octave respectively (Ex. 2.1a), but in S-S2 the notation is reversed (Ex. 2.1b). While this change of notation can simply be a copying mistake occurred during the transfer from S-S1 to S-S2, it is also possibly a copying mistake originating from S-S1 itself. The Study is set in a three-part structure (ABA'), in which bars 17–18 in section A correspond to bars 115–116 in section A'. Since the second half of the second beats in both bars 17 and 18 are notated with an A-minor chord (Ex. 2.1c), the same is expected to recur in bars 115–116. Yet, Walker replaced the A-minor chord with an A octave in bar 116, and transferred this notation to S-S2 and eventually S-S3.



Ex. 2.1a Study, S-S1: bars 115–116



Ex. 2.1b Study, S-S2: bars 115–16



Ex. 2.1c Study, S-S1: bars 17–18

Apart from pitch difference, Walker's use of cautionary accidentals, articulations, dynamic markings and other performance directions also differ in the two sources. These differences are listed in Table 2.1 below.

Bar	S-S1	S-S2
1, 3, 9 and 11	No tenuto marking on the last beat	Tenuto marking on the last beat
13	Flat sign for B on the last beat in black ink	Original flat sign for B on the last beat in black ink removed; added in pencil
15	Sharp sign for G on the second beat in black ink	Sharp sign for G on the second beat missing, added in pencil
15	No accent marking on the last beat	Accent marking on the last beat
21–36	Staccato signs and slurs given in bars 21–2 and <i>sim.</i> is written in bar 23	Staccato signs and slurs given throughout the entire passage
39–58	Staccato signs and slurs given in bar 39, <i>sim.</i> is written in bar 40	Staccato signs and slurs given throughout the entire passage
53–4	Decrescendo sign begins in bar 53	Decrescendo sign begins in bar 52
55	<i>pp</i> on the first beat	No <i>pp</i> in the entire bar
59	<i>poco tranquillo, ma sempre con moto. p espress. Sonore e legato</i>	<i>poco tranquillo, ma sempre con moto dolce ed espressivo, sonoro e legato</i>
80	Crescendo sign begins on the second half of the second beat	Crescendo sign begins on the last beat of bar 79
89–90	Crescendo sign used	No crescendo sign in these two bars
95	No <i>più pp</i> in the entire bar	<i>più pp</i> placed on the second beat
96	<i>più pp e rit.</i>	No <i>più pp e rit.</i> in the entire bar
97	Decrescendo sign begins on the first beat	Decrescendo sign begins on the last beat
98, 100, 107 and 109	No tenuto marking on the last beat	Tenuto marking on the last beat
118	No tenuto sign on the last beat	' <i>ten.</i> ' written on the last beat
119	Flat sign for B on the last beat in black ink	No flat sign for B on the last beat
119	<i>ff con fuoco</i>	<i>sempre ff con fuoco</i>
120	Cautionary natural sign for F on the second chord of the second beat missing	Cautionary natural sign for F on the second chord of the second beat in black ink
121	No accent marking on the first beat	Accent marking on the first beat
123	Cautionary natural signs for G on the second chord of the first beat in black ink	Cautionary natural signs for G on the second chord of the first beat removed
123	Cautionary sharp sign for C on the last beat in black ink	Cautionary sharp sign for C on the last beat removed
128–9	Crescendo sign begins in bar 128	Crescendo sign begins in bar 129
129	No cautionary natural sign for G on the first chord of the second beat	Cautionary natural sign for G on the first chord of the second beat in black ink
137	<i>pp</i>	<i>molto rit. pp</i>
138–9	Accent marking on the last beat	Tenuto marking on the last beat
139	No cautionary sharp sign for D on the last beat	Cautionary sharp sign for D on the last beat

Table 2.1 Non-pitch differences between S-S1 and S-S2

Altering the way the Study sounds, the changes and/or additions found in S-S2 are refinements that clarify and represent the composer's final thoughts on the work, which also help shape the character of the piece. Walker's use of stem directions, rests and voicing in the two autographs, on the other hand, provide some insights into his concept of writing for piano left-hand. Most of the stem directions in both autographs are notated according to standard practice, and their differences do not cause much confusion. Yet, at some particular places such as bars 103–4, upward or downward stems do make a visual difference. In S-S1, except for the first C octave in each of the bar, the stems of all following chords are in a downward direction (Ex. 2.2a). In S-S2, however, all stems are upward (Ex. 2.2b). The notation in S-S1 creates a visual effect that is closer to the physical movement of the left hand, which seems to be more fitting for a work written specially for the left hand.



Ex. 2.2a Study, S-S1: bars 103–4



Ex. 2.2b Study, S-S2: bars 103–4

The notation of rests in both autographs is nearly identical, except for bars 91, 93, 95 and 97. In S-S1, a quaver rest is notated in the first beat in both treble and bass clefs in bars 91 and 95, and a crotchet rest is notated in the first beat of bars 93 and 97, respectively (Ex. 2.3a). In S-S2, the quaver rest in the bass clef in bars 91 and 95 and the crotchet rest in the treble clef in bars 93 and 97 were not copied over (Ex. 2.3 b). The use of rests in piano music for the left hand can sometimes be related to voicing. For most of the time they are used to articulate counterpoint in contrapuntal passages and/or to metrically complete a bar, but they may also be eliminated from unused stave systems in order to visually convey an undisturbed musical flow. In the case of these four bars, be it having one voice in bars 91 and 95 or two voices in bars 93 and 97, a single rest will serve the purpose of completing a voice metrically and thus it is redundant to use two rests. The notation of voicing in both autographs is almost exactly the same, but in bar 89 a different voicing notation can be found. There are two voices in bar 89 of S-S1, in which the upper voice is taken up by two triads that move against a tied octave on C in the lower voice (Ex. 2.4a). S-S2, on the other hand, has three voices in bar 89 (Ex. 2.4b). As with S-S1, a tied octave on C forms the lower voice, but the upper voice on the last beat is split into two voices, with E and G forming the upper voice supported by a single B_♭ in the middle voice that is also tied over to the next bar. When looking at bars 89 and 90 together, the notation of S-S2 seems to work better. Yet, a minim rest is needed before the B_♭ in the middle voice to complete the voice, which is missing from the score. S-S1 has no problem with rests, but it is strange for B_♭ to be extracted from the triad and become an individual voice in the following bar.

pp

poco a poco dim. e rall.

piu pp e rit.

Ex. 2.3a Study, S-S1: bars 91–97

pp

poco a poco dim. e rall.

piu pp

Ex. 2.3b Study, S-S2: bars 91–97

f

molto dim.

Ex. 2.4a Study, S-S1: bars 87–90

f

molto dim.

Ex. 2.4b Study, S-S2: bars 87–90

Although the way music is notated plays an important role in affecting the visual aspect of the score, it does not reveal Walker's conception of composing for the left hand in the musical aspect. The piano figurations employed in the Study, on the contrary, reveal exactly that. Before moving onto the discussion of Walker's treatment of the piano, it is essential to find out what prompted him to compose for the left hand in the first place, for he was an able pianist with two functional hands. None of the sources has the answer and Walker did not give any reasons anywhere else, but it is not impossible to discover the answer. Technical development, injury, compositional challenge and display are the four reasons that Edel gives to explain the emergence of a repertoire of music written for piano left-hand.³ Of the four, injury is the least likely cause that prompted Walker to compose the Study. This is because there is no record of his right hand or his friends being injured around that time, and Wittgenstein certainly did not inspire the composition. Display, meaning a showcase of one's performing techniques and pianistic skills, is also unlikely to be the prime reason because Walker did not perform the work himself in any of his public performances. Instead, he hid the autograph away until he presented it to Wittgenstein in 1926 and gave him permission to perform the work. Technical development and compositional challenges are the two remaining causes and both could have motivated Walker to compose the Study. Walker himself was a competent pianist who had a high level of proficiency in playing solo or accompanying others. Even so, as Edel commented, 'virtually every pianist, whether a great virtuoso or a fumbling student, eventually comes up on a crucial gap in ability: the right hand can do things that the left finds

³ See Edel, *Piano Music for One Hand*. 3–16.

impossible'.⁴ As an active performer at the turn of the century, Walker would surely have wanted to further improve his left hand in order to maximise his performing prowess and power. Taking the perspective of a composer, Edel observed that 'left-hand music may also arise from an inner *compositional* urge. This might be the challenge to create something complete with an incomplete number of fingers or, in the case of Johannes Brahms, a special aesthetic pleasure'.⁵ It is unknown whether composing for the left hand was a pursuit of aesthetic pleasure, but it was definitely a compositional challenge to Walker as he presumably had not written any music for piano left-hand before. For the purpose of exploring the realm of composing for the left hand, Walker chose to write a study. His choice of genre suggests that he was modelling the work after Chopin, whose etudes or studies were not merely technical exercises, but were virtuosic pieces that truly possess a high level of aesthetic and musical quality.

Didactic in nature, the Study is permeated by patterns that are commonly found in music written for the left hand. The first half of section A requires the performer to use the thumb to outline the melody within a chordal texture at a quick tempo (Ex. 2.5a), while the second half demands the performer to quickly roll over the keyboard to play a widely spaced chord in the bass and the single note melody in the soprano almost simultaneously (Ex. 2.5b). Although the opening theme is set in a chordal texture, it is essentially a single line, self-accompanying melody. The single-note melody and the accompaniment in the second half, on the other hand, are assimilated into one

⁴ Ibid. 3.

⁵ Ibid. 7.

melodic line as well. Both patterns create a strong sense of linearity that keeps a continuous musical flow, which is crucial when composing for the left hand. Section B is again set in a chordal texture in which the melody is highlighted by the thumb (Ex. 2.5c). Yet, instead of incorporating the accompaniment into the melody as in section A, Walker used a series of pedal points in the bass as support. While it is already difficult to play the chordal melody smoothly at a quick tempo, the technical level is being heightened when the left hand has to jump down an interval of around two octaves to play pedal points in the bass, thus serving the purpose of training absolute accuracy.



Ex. 2.5a Study, S-S1, first half of section A: bars 1–8



Ex. 2.5b Study, S-S1, second half of section A: bars 21–30



Ex. 2.5c Study, S-S1, section B: bars 59–66

Whereas the piano writing of the Study reveals Walker's understanding of composing for the left hand, his harmonic treatments show his mastery of juxtaposing diatonic and chromatic harmonies. In diatonic music, it is essential to establish the tonal centre. Walker not only quickly established the key of A minor right at the beginning of the piece, but also made extensive use of the dominant-tonic progression throughout. To further ascertain the tonality of A minor in section A and F major in section B, Walker used tonic pedals to achieve his aim. Besides focusing on tonal establishment, Walker also employed an unexpected modulation and a few extended chords to create harmonic surprises. Rather than modulating from the tonic in section A to the usual relative major or dominant in section B, Walker set the middle section in F major, the submediant of A minor, resulting in a greater harmonic contrast. In order to maintain a certain level of harmonic interest within the conventional dominant-tonic progression, Walker used dominant ninth chords and secondary dominants for harmonic decorations and temporary tonicisation. These two particular extended harmonies were traits of the late German music romanticism, from which Walker drew and developed his musical styles. His

adherence to the German musical tradition was something he shared with Wittgenstein, who would in turn invite him to compose a piece for his left hand.

In Walker's own musical career there was no trace of his performing the Study and Wittgenstein could have been the first pianist who was given the consent to perform the work. Throughout his performing career in Britain, Wittgenstein gave altogether four performances of the Study. The first three were on private occasions that took place in 1927–8 before the work was published, and the last one was in a public concert in 1950 after the work had been published. The annotations in S-S1 and S-S3 suggested that Wittgenstein had studied both of them and probably used S-S1 for the first three performances and S-S3 for the last. Fingerings and re-arrangement, addition and deletion of notes can be found in S-S1, and these are the basic annotations that surface in all of Wittgenstein's music.

The first half of section A in S-S1 is slightly annotated, and the first annotation appears in bar 17 where Wittgenstein crossed out the E octave in the last beat. The second half of section A is the most heavily annotated section. First of all, Wittgenstein wrote 'p' on the last beat in bar 22 to indicate pedalling, which is the only pedal marking he added in the piece. Addition, deletion and re-arrangement of notes in the following bars are significant, as they demonstrate Wittgenstein's expertise in appropriating pre-existing music for his left hand. In bar 23, Wittgenstein crossed out the two lower notes of the A-minor triad in the bass on the first beat, and assigned the thumb and the index finger to play E

in the soprano and the remaining C in the bass to avoid rolling across the keyboard (Fig. 2.2). Wittgenstein's rearrangement is certainly easier and simpler, but it lessens the musical interests as well as technical challenges that were embedded in Walker's original notations.



Fig. 2.2 Study, S-S1: bars 21–8. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

Some of the annotations found in S-S1 can be seen in S-S3, but the latter is even more heavily annotated as Wittgenstein had made further changes to tempo and dynamics, and added in articulations and other performing instructions. At the top right corner on the first page of S-S3, for example, Wittgenstein wrote ‘4 Minuten’ [4 minutes] as his performing time of the Study, which is based on the new tempo he set for himself. Walker's original tempo marking was ‘*Allegro vivace*’, but Wittgenstein crossed out ‘*vivace*’ and wrote ‘*moderato comodo*’ above it. Wittgenstein's playing was not always accurate, and it had reportedly become much worse towards the end of his performing career.⁶ Therefore, it was reasonable for him to adjust the tempo of the Study to a slower and more relaxing speed so that he could play comfortably and more precisely. Occasionally, Wittgenstein added accent markings to shift the downbeat in some of the bars. In bar 35, for instance,

⁶ For more information on Wittgenstein's playing and its decline in quality, see my references to Leschestizky's, and Harvey's comments in Chapter 1, and Margaret Stonborough's opinions in the conclusion.

Wittgenstein wrote an accent mark below B in the second beat, which is the second note of the slur. This added accent not only contradicts the execution of the slur, it also shifts the downbeat to the second beat of the bar and generates a sense of rhythmic irregularity. In bar 57, Wittgenstein drew an arrow from the second last note C to the top of the treble clef and wrote ‘H?’ [B?] above it (Fig. 2.3). The reason he doubted whether the pitch should be B instead of C was that he probably saw a chromatic descent from D in bar 54 to B \flat in bar 58, and so if the second last note in bar 57 would have been B then it helped complete the scale. However, Walker probably did not intend that because he clearly inscribed C in his autograph manuscripts (S-S1) and did not change it in the fair copy (S-S2).



Fig. 2.3 Study, S-S3: bars 54–8. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

Sections B is heavily annotated with fingerings, but the most interesting annotation is Wittgenstein’s inscription in bar 87, where he wrote ‘*nicht brechen*’ underneath the C octave, meaning ‘not breaking’ or ‘not collapsing’ (Fig. 2.4). There is no reason, both technically and musically, for him to break the octave into two independent notes when he played it, so his inscription probably served as a reminder for him to remember using the sustaining pedal to hold the octave throughout the bar.



Fig. 2.4 Study, S-S3: bars 84–8. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

Walker used abundant performance instructions in section A' and Wittgenstein made changes to some of them to make this section different from its counterpart (Figs 2.5a). In bar 99, Walker put down '*f con fuoco*' as the performing instructions for section A', but Wittgenstein changed it to '*piano crescendo*'. The same instruction re-appears in bars 123–4, where Walker did not provide any dynamic markings. In bar 107, Wittgenstein did not write down a definite dynamic marking but '*vielleicht hier forte erst*', meaning 'perhaps [to play] *forte* here first', which contrasts with the '*piano*' assigned to the antecedent phrase. In bar 125, Wittgenstein added a fermata to the accented block chord on the last beat and wrote '*kurz*' [short] next to the sign. This brief pause on the last chord of bar 125 has two purposes. Firstly, the fermata tightens the accumulating musical tension to a further extent, resulting in a great dramatic musical effect that resembles that of the six-four chord before the entrance of the cadenza in a concerto. Secondly, the fermata provides a chance for Wittgenstein to quickly rest his hand before starting to play a series of descending chords and octaves that he would have to execute with force. In order to sustain the musical tension, Wittgenstein even added '*pesante*' at the end of the phrase in bar 129 and a breathing mark right before the A octave in bar 130. While the '*pesante*' marking may further intensify the musical power

and force, the breathing mark shares a similar function as the fermata four bars before. At the very end of the piece Wittgenstein not only rearranged the notes, but also added an accent marking to the last octave and wrote ‘*die volle Hand*’ [the full hand] below the last system, showing that he would play the last two bars with the fullest force of his left hand.

6

[99] Tempo I *crescendo*
f con fuoco.

[104] *vielleicht hier Fortissimo*

[108]

[113]

[117] *ten.*
sempre ff con fuoco

17121

Fig. 2.5a Study, S-S3: bars 99–120 on page 6 (to be continued). Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.



Fig. 2.5a (Cont'd)

Study, S-S3: bars 121-43 on page 7. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

The most fascinating annotation in the Study is located at bar 140, where Wittgenstein added a note E to the A octave in blue crayon and inscribed below it 'siehe nächste Seite', meaning 'see [the] next page' (see Fig. 2.5a above). The 'next page' is the back cover of the Study on which an advertisement for Francesco Berger's 6 Bagatelles for the Left Hand by Francesco Berger was printed (Fig. 2.5b). On this page Wittgenstein sketched two staves of music in pencil, including a descending broken-chord figuration

and a chord in descending motion, which he probably meant to insert in the first beat of bar 140. These typical left-hand figurations that can be frequently seen in the musical sketches Wittgenstein imposed on his other commissions, including Britten's *Diversions*, Op. 21, which will be discussed in Chapter 4.

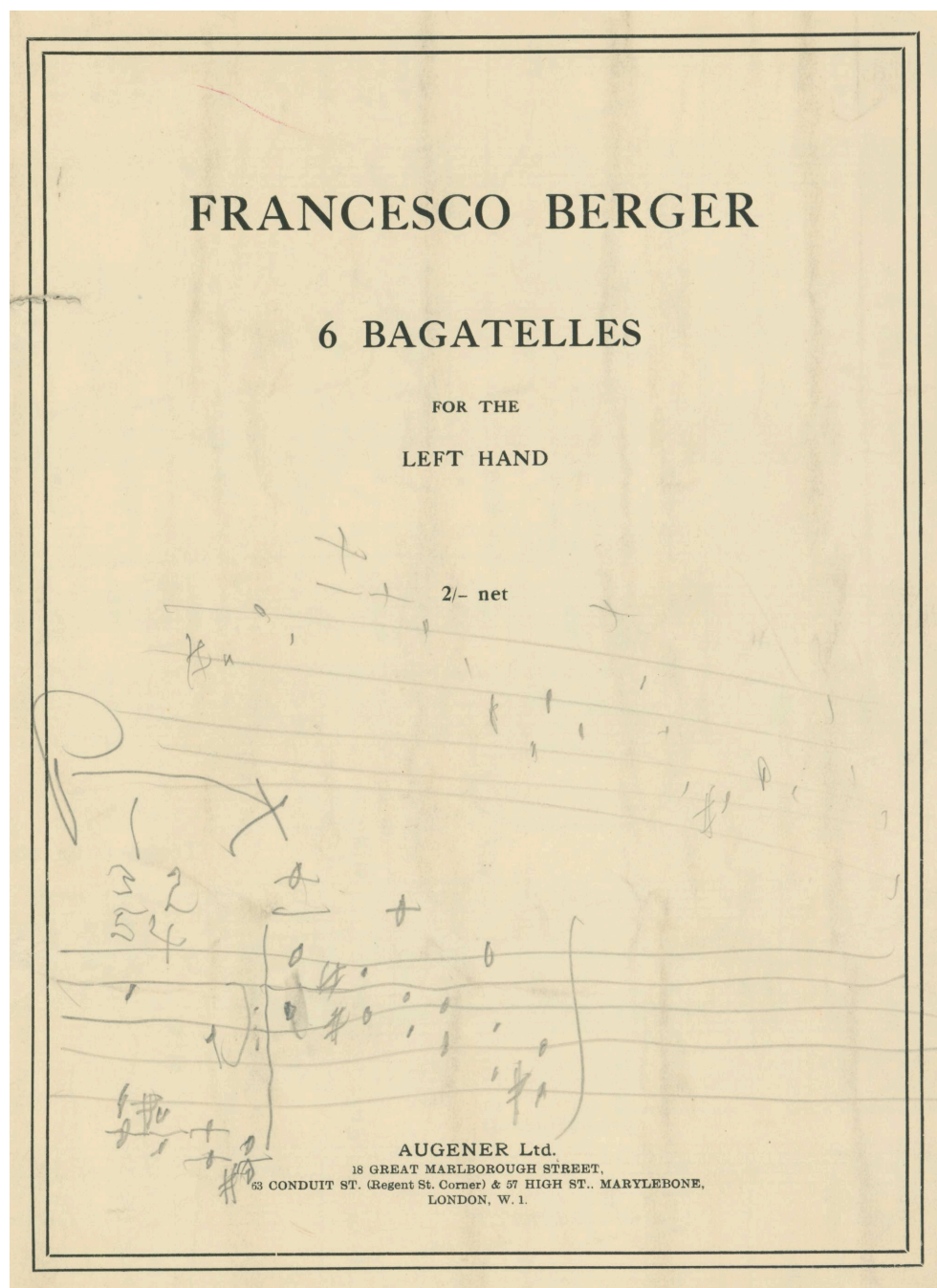


Fig. 2.5b Study, S-S3: back cover of the Study. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

Prelude for the Left Hand (undated)⁷

Apart from the Study, Walker also gave Wittgenstein his Prelude as a present. Both the date of composition and presentation of the Prelude are unknown, but it was likely that Walker composed it before meeting Wittgenstein and probably would have given it to him around the same time, if not on the same day, as the Study. This is conjectured from the fact that Wittgenstein performed the Prelude for the first time on 22 May 1927 and the Study on the following day, and for him to be able to play two new pieces on two consecutive days, he would need several months to practise. Therefore, it is highly possible that Wittgenstein received the Prelude on his first visit to England.

The Prelude has four surviving sources, including two sets of autograph manuscripts and two printed scores. The *HK-pwa* holds one set of autograph manuscripts (P-S1) and the two printed scores (P-S3 and P-S4) that Wittgenstein possessed, and the *GB-Ob* houses the other set of autograph manuscripts that Walker kept for publishing use (P-S2). Catalogued as PWMS-EW-000002, P-S1 is an undated single folio [fol. 1] and is kept in a box as loose leaves. It does not have a cover page/title page, and the music was written in black ink on both sides of the manuscript paper that was unnamed, portrait-oriented and ruled with 12 staves. Compared to the tidy and neat handwriting seen in P-S2 and other compositions by Walker, the handwriting in P-S1 is much rougher. This raises a question if P-S1 was actually written out

⁷ Like the Study, none of the surviving sources of the Prelude for the Left Hand shows an opus number, but 'Op. 61' is given to the Prelude in the work list in Deneke's book. See Deneke, *Ernest Walker*, 138.

by Walker or another person. There are two possible suggestions for this: it could have been a score written by Walker, who must have been in haste at the time of writing; or it could have been a score copied from an earlier draft by another person whose identity was not revealed and remains unknown. Both suggestions are necessarily conjectural, but if the latter possibility was true, it means that the earlier draft from which P-S1 was copied is lost.



Fig. 2.6a

Prelude, P-S1: first page. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

Catalogued as MSS. Mus. c. 93, fol. 31, P-S2 is a single folio included in an album with some other compositions of Walker's. It does not have a cover page, and the music is written in black ink on a 12-stave, portrait-oriented manuscript paper that also do not bear a brand name (Fig. 2.6b). The first page [fol. 31r] of P-S2 contains two pieces of copyright information, including a copyright statement 'Copyright 1935 by Augener Ltd.' written in red below the last system, and a plate number written in two different colours and put in two separate places: the 'R' was written in red and was placed slightly off the bottom center, whereas the number '17477' was written in dark blue and was put closer to the bottom right corner. Walker also wrote his Oxford address '28 St. Margaret's R[oad]' in pencil in the bottom left hand corner and a date '29 Sept. 1934' in ink in the top right hand corner. While the inclusion of the copyright information in P-S2 clearly suggests it was a fair copy Walker prepared for publishing use, the address and the date disclosed where and when this copy was made.

If P-S2 was the fair copy Walker prepared in 1934, there must have been an earlier draft or manuscript from which this score was copied. P-S1 could have been a possibility but only if it was a draft Walker wrote out prior to 1927. Or, the hypothesis might be that both P-S1 and P-S2 were copied from the same source at two different times and the original source is now lost.

A2467 *38593* *463* *31*
Prelude for the left hand
lento tranquillo, sempre molto legato
Ernest Walker

Piano
p cresc.
coll. And.
pp
cresc.
molto dim.
ppp
cresc.

Copyright 1935 by Angewandte
Dr. Margués & Co. Oxford

R. *17477* *11+8* *411*

Fig. 2.6b Prelude, P-S2: first page. Reprinted with permission from The Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. All rights reserved.

Two pitch differences can be found in the two autographs of the Prelude. In bar 8 of P-S1, the lower note of the second chord in the third beat is ambiguous (Fig. 2.7a). It can be read as either F or G, but the natural sign before it suggests F \natural . P-S2, on the other hand, clearly shows G \sharp (Fig. 2.7 b). Since bar 8 is constructed on a F major triad, it seems that F \natural of P-S1 makes more sense despite its ambiguity. Another pitch difference surfaces in bar 25. In P-S1, the highest note of the last chord in the treble clef is E \flat , whereas in P-S2 it is shown as E without a flat sign (Exx. 2.6a and 2.6b). Since the notations in bar 25 suggest an E \flat minor tonality (although the key signature section has two sharps), it is essential to include a flat sign here to form an E \flat minor chord. The inclusion of a flat sign in the printed score (S-S3) confirms that Walker left out the flat sign by mistake and the editor did not catch it at the proof stage.

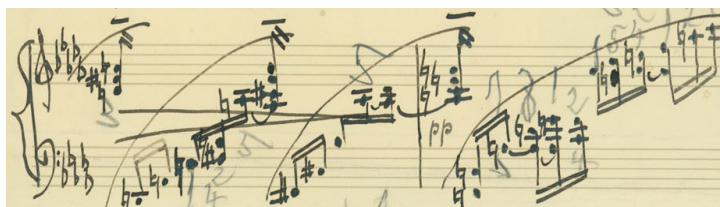


Fig. 2.7a Prelude, P-S1: bars 7–8. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

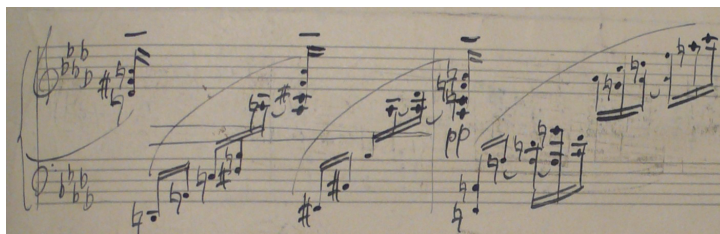


Fig. 2.7b Prelude, P-S2: bars 7–8. Reprinted with permission from The Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. All rights reserved.



Ex. 2.6a Prelude, P-S1: bars 25–26



Ex. 2.6b Prelude, P-S2: bars 25–26

Besides pitch differences, there are a number of non-pitch variances found in the two autographs, which are listed out in Table 2.2 below.

Bar number(s)	P-S1	P-S2
1	<i>p espr.</i>	<i>p. espress</i>
5	The whole second beat notated in treble clef	The first two notes of the second beat notated in bass clef
5–6	The first note in the last beat is separated from the other two notes	The last beat is beamed together
12	The last note and its tied note notated in bass clef	The last note and its tied note notated in treble clef
16	The first chord in the last beat notated in bass clef	The first chord in the last beat notated in treble clef
16	Cautionary natural sign for C [♯] in the last chord in the last beat	No cautionary natural sign for C [♯] in the last chord in the last beat
22	Cautionary flat sign for E in the second chord in the last beat	No cautionary flat sign for E in the second chord in the last beat
23	<i>cresc.</i>	A crescendo sign is used
26	<i>poco rall.</i>	<i>poco rit.</i>
27	Two group of triplets are beamed together	Two groups of triplets are beamed separately
28	The second, third and fourth chords notated in bass clef	The second, third and fourth chords notated in treble clef
33	No marking	<i>morendo</i>

Table 2.2 Non-pitch differences in P-S1 and P-S2

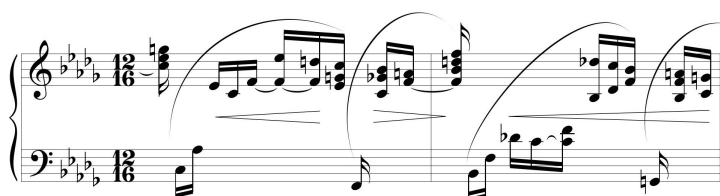
Tempo markings, as with pitch differences, actually vary the way the Prelude is played and hence the way it sounds. There are altogether two tempo discrepancies, and one of them is again uncertain. In bar 26 in P-S1, Walker used '*poco rall.*' but in P-S2 he inscribed '*poco rit.*' (see Exx. 2.6a and 2.6b above). It is for certain that '*rall.*' is the short form of *rallentando*, meaning 'gradually getting slower'; whereas '*rit.*' can be the abbreviated version of both *ritenuto* and *ritardando*, which means 'held back' and 'gradually getting slower', respectively. Although it is impossible to clarify which tempo marking was the one Walker intended for P-S2, since there is a fermata sign at the end of bar 26, it seems more convincing to slow down the tempo gradually rather than holding back immediately. Therefore, it was likely that Walker meant *ritardando* in P-S2.

As with the Study, note placement, the use of cautionary accidentals and stem directions do not affect how the Prelude is performed, but they reflect Walker's concept of writing for the left hand. The placement of notes in P-S2 seems to project better singularity and linearity than those in P-S1. In bar 5 of P-S2 for example, the first two notes of the second beat are placed in the bass clef and the last note of the beat is put in the treble clef, providing a visual connection between the staves while creating a smoother singular melody (Ex. 2.7a). In P-S1, however, the whole second beat is notated in the treble clef, and the melody seems to be broken by the gap between the staves (Ex. 2.7b). Note placement also gives rise to the different use of cautionary accidentals. In bar 16 of the P-S1, for example, the first chord in the second beat is placed in the bass clef while the following three chords are notated in the treble clef and a

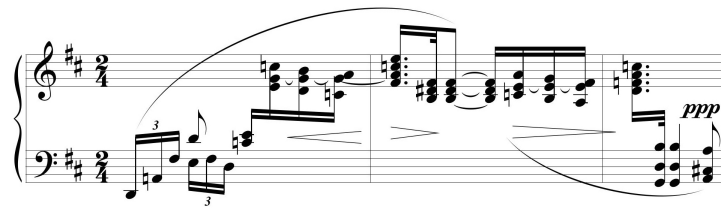
cautionary natural sign is added to C in the last chord for clarification (Ex. 2.8a). P-S2, on the other hand, does not need this cautionary natural sign because the whole second beat is placed in the treble clef, which is easier for reading, too (Ex. 2.8b). Normally, stem directions in music written for the left hand play a role in articulating the singularity of a melodic line and they are greatly affected by the placement of notes. In the case of the Prelude, however, these two elements do not demonstrate the close relationship they usually have. In P-S1, the stem directions were adjusted according to the space between staves and systems, but not necessarily arranged in a way to project a single-line melody. In P-S2, most of the stem directions were notated according to standard practice and Walker successfully created melodic lines that imply the movement of the left hand on the keyboard.



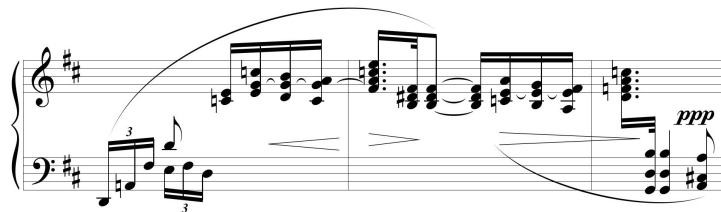
Ex. 2.7a Prelude, P-S2: bars 5–6



Ex. 2.7b Prelude, P-S1: bars 5–6

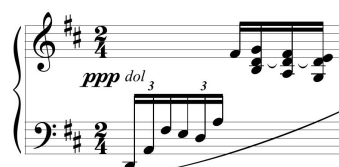


Ex. 2.8a Prelude, P-S1: bars 16–18



Ex. 2.8b Prelude, P-S2: bars 16–18

Grouping of notes in the Prelude not only serves the purpose of articulating the beats, but also helps shape musical phrases. In bars 5–6 of P-S1, for instance, the first note in the last beat is not grouped together with the following two chords of the same beat (see Ex. 2.7b above). Although both F in bar 5 and G \sharp in bar 6 articulate a stronger downbeat as they are visually isolated from the rest of the beat, they nevertheless do not correspond to the phrasing mark that actually leads from the first note of the beat to the first chord in the following bar. In P-S2, however, the whole second beat in bars 5 and 6 is beamed together, thus creating a continuous melodic line that matches with the phrasing mark (see Ex. 2.7a above). In bar 27 of P-S1, the first two groups of triplets are beamed together as one whereas in P-S2 they are ungrouped (Exx. 2.9a and 2.9b). Both groupings are technically correct, but since the triplets have always been notated separately throughout the piece, P-S2 therefore has a higher notational consistency.



Ex. 2.9a Prelude, P-S1: bar 27



Ex. 2.9b Prelude, P-S2: bar 27

The Prelude was published ten years after the Study, in 1935, by Augener Ltd., and Walker gave Wittgenstein two copies. The annotated copy (P-S3) is catalogued as PWSI-AOS-000005-E and the clean copy (P-S4) is catalogued as PWSI-NA-000029-E.⁸ P-S3 has three pages in total, including a cover page and two pages of actual music. At the top of the cover page, Walker inscribed the following message, ‘for Paul Wittgenstein with the composer’s kindest regards’ (Fig. 2.8). In terms of musical contents, the printed score is almost identical as P-S2, and only a few differences can be found between them. In bar 16 of P-S3, the second and third notes of the second half of the first beat in the bass are F and D, respectively. This notation is actually a revised version based on the correction Walker made in his fair copy. In P-S2, Walker crossed out D and F and replaced them with F and D and wrote next to the bar ‘F D, not D F’ to explain his correction (Fig. 2.9a). A similar annotation can be seen in Wittgenstein’s copy, too. Like Walker, Wittgenstein crossed out the notes D

⁸ PS-3 and PS-4 are identical copies. Since PS-4 has no annotations to be discussed, it will be excluded from this study.

and F but instead of drawing new notes in, he simply wrote '*erst fis dann d*' [first F# then D] below the system as a reminder (Fig. 2.9b). It is highly possible that Wittgenstein and Walker had gone through the piece together and decided that they wanted to change the pitch order, and mark down the correction in their own scores. The last difference is found in one of the expression markings between the sources. In bars 27 and 30, '*dolce*' is seen in P-S3 but '*dol.*' is used in P-S1 and P-S2. '*dol.*' can be the short form of both '*dolce*' and '*dolente*', meaning 'sweet' and 'grieving' respectively. Since Walker did not spell out the word in full, the marking '*dolce*' in P-S3 was probably editorial.

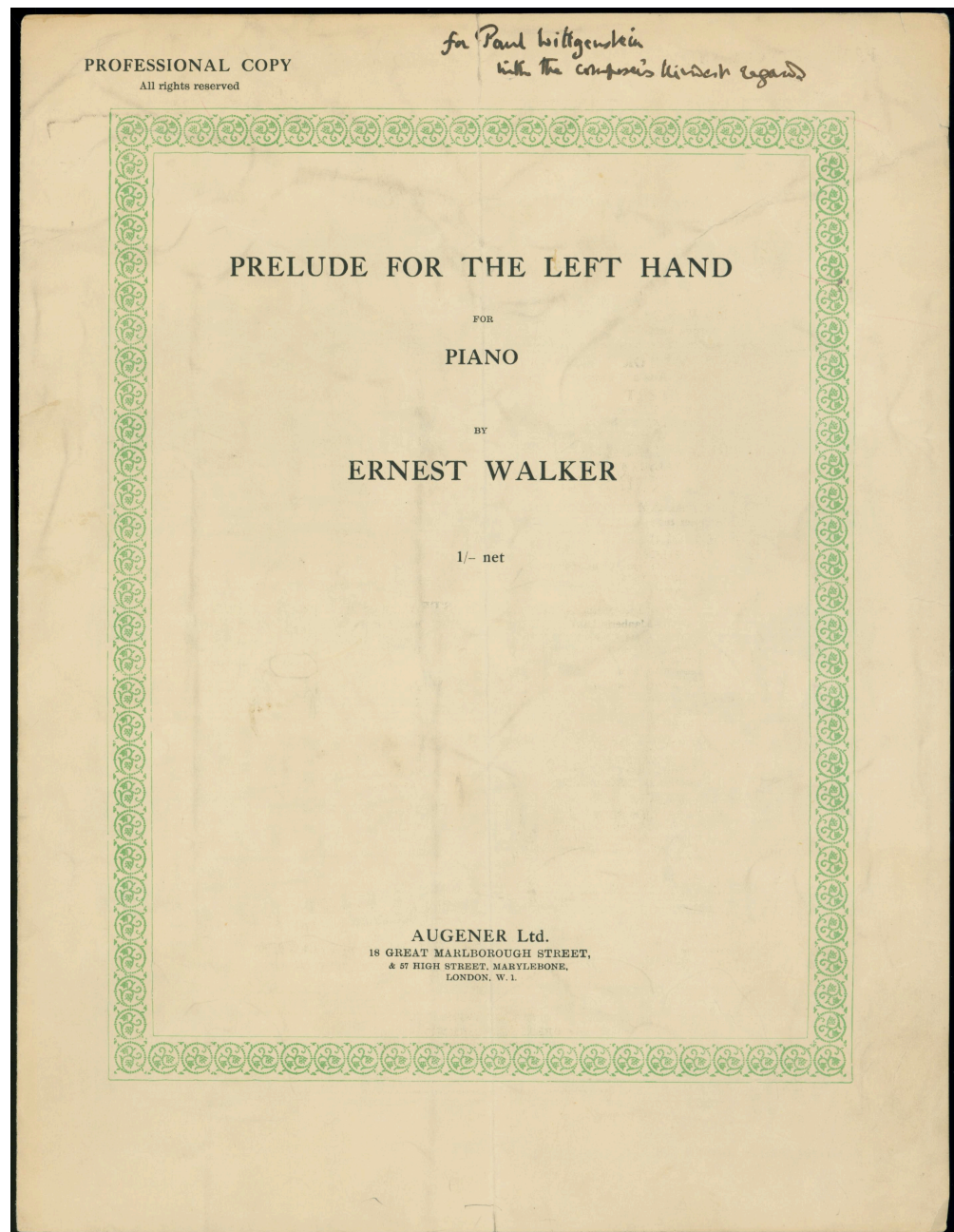


Fig. 2.8 Prelude, P-S3: front cover. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.



Fig. 2.9a Prelude, P-S2: bars 13–16. Reprinted with permission from The Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. All rights reserved.

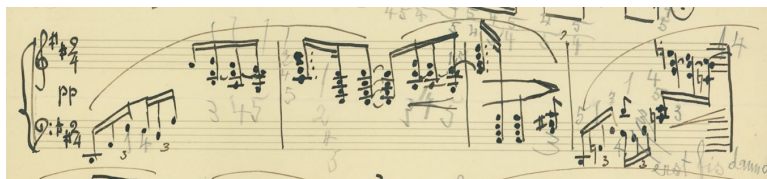
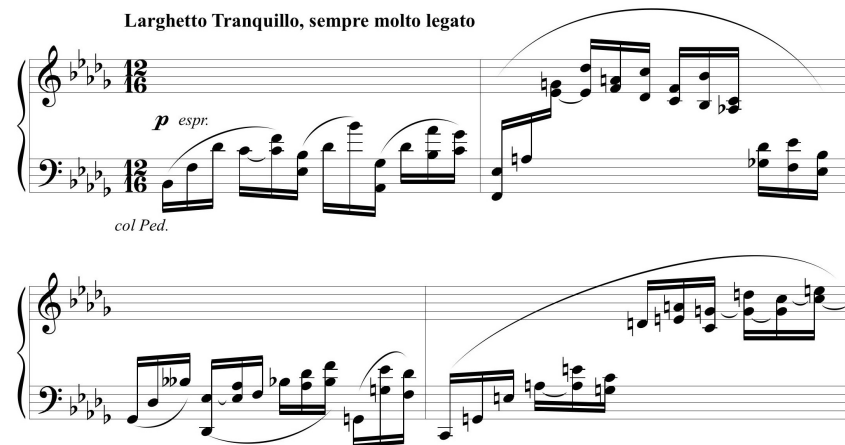


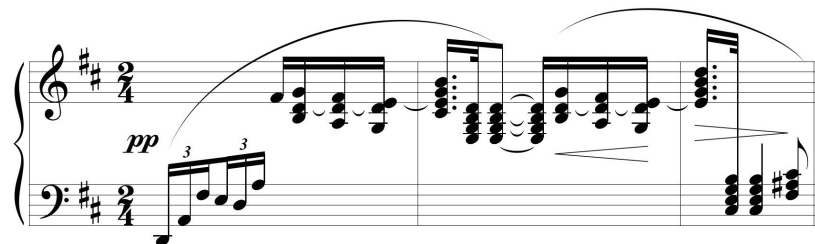
Fig. 2.9b Prelude, P-S1: bars 13–16. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

Walker constructed his Prelude mainly with chords and broken chords, the two figurations that he had already used in the Study. However, his handling of them and their effects were very different from those of the Study. Set in a slow tempo with a relaxing mood '*Larghetto tranquillo, sempre molto legato*', Walker began the Prelude in B \flat minor with a broken-chord series that spans across the keyboard in an improvisatory manner (Ex. 2.10a). This requires the performer to have well control of his five fingers to play the phrases smoothly and evenly. Lacking a definite melody as opposed to the Study, the music is punctuated by occasional chords that again demand the performer to use his thumb to outline the top notes. In the D-major middle section, the two elements are incorporated together to create a rather stepwise chordal melody accompanied by broken chords and arpeggiation in triplets (Ex. 2.10b). Although it is set in a slow tempo, this section is still technically demanding as the pianist needs to swiftly move his left hand up and down the keyboard to

play the two contrasting figurations with *legato*. With his Prelude, Walker successfully demonstrated that a musical work does not need to be fast and contains abundant technical displays to be virtuosic, as it is equally difficult, especially for the left hand, to maintain smooth playing across the keyboard while expressing the lyricism embedded in a slow piece at the same time.



Ex. 2.10a Prelude, P-S1: bars 1–4



Ex. 2.10b Prelude, P-S1: bars 13–15

While Walker's handling of the piano in his Prelude is idiomatic of the music written for piano left-hand, his use of harmonies is representational of the harmonic language of the late German romantic school. Besides using dominant seventh chords, frequent and abrupt harmonic shifts and distant

modulations, Walker also applied copious diminished seventh chords throughout the Prelude. The massive use of chromatic harmonies certainly undermined the harmonic stability of the work, but since Walker never ventured beyond tonality, it is still possible to define tonal centres within the piece.

As there is no record of Walker's performing the Prelude, Wittgenstein was likely the first pianist who played the work. The supposedly first performance of the Prelude was given in a music soirée held at the Palais Wittgenstein in Vienna in April 1927, and the second performance appeared in a private music gathering at Mrs Emile Mond's home in May of the same year. The last performance took place in October 1950, when Wittgenstein was invited to give his first performance at the Holywell Music Room in Oxford. It is not known whether Wittgenstein liked the Prelude or not, but since he had performed it both privately and publicly, it may be believed that he thought highly of the work. He had certainly used P-S1 for the first two performances and P-S3 for the last, as both sources are heavily annotated with fingerings, deletion of notes and addition of other performance directions, which in turn disclose his preparation for the performances. Except for fingerings that are almost identical in both sources, all other annotations are listed in Table 2.3 below:

Bar number(s)	P-S1	P-S3
At the top of the first page	3½ <i>Minuten</i>	Same marking
3	<i>espr.</i>	<i>espress.</i>
4	Lower note of the second chord in the last beat deleted	Same
6–7	No marking	Breathing mark added between bars 6 and 7
7	No marking	<i>pp</i> added on the first beat; a crescendo sign is inserted to replace the original descend sign
8	Accent marking added to the last note in the first beat; no other annotations	Accent marking added to the first chord of the bar and the last note in the first beat; a decrescendo sign is inserted; the lower note of the first chord in the last beat deleted
9	No marking	‘ <i>piano</i> ’ added and the original dynamic marking, ‘ <i>cresc.</i> ’ is being circled
10	No marking	Accent marking added to the first chord of the bar; a breathing mark is added between the first and second chords in the last beat
13–14, 19–20, 21–2, 27–8	No marking	Shorter phrasing marks added to shorten the phrase
16	‘ <i>erst fis dann d</i> ’	No such markings
16 and 19	No marking	‘ <i>ten.</i> ’ added to the singular note D (in bar 16) and C# (in bar 19) on the second beat
20 and 22	No marking	‘ <i>ppp</i> ’ added to the second half of the first beat
21	No marking	‘ <i>più forte</i> ’ added to the bar
26	No marking	A curve line is added to link the singular octave on D _b in the first beat in the bass with the third and fourth chords in the first beat; ‘ <i>poco rit.</i> ’ is being circled
28	No marking	original marking, ‘ <i>calando</i> ’ is being crossed out and replaced by ‘ <i>ritard più forte</i> ’
29	No marking	A breathing mark is added between the first two chords; ‘ <i>pp</i> ’ is added after the breathing mark
31	Accent marking added to the chord on the first beat	Same
31	No marking	‘ <i>das g ten.</i> ’ written below the system
33	No marking	‘silent touch?’ written above the system and ‘ <i>achtgeben, dass das Ped kein 3 Geräusch mache</i> ’
33	No marking	Pedal mark is added to the last chord of bar 33; ‘ <i>Pauke</i> ’ written below the pedal mark
34	No marking	Pedal release ‘X’ added after the first note

Table 2.3 Wittgenstein’s annotations in P-S1 and P-S3

As Table 2.3 shows, P-S3 has more annotations than P-S1. This seems to suggest that Wittgenstein was more seriously engaged when he prepared for the last performance of the Prelude. For example, at the end of the piece in bars 33–4 of P-S3, Wittgenstein gave a comprehensive instruction on how to play the final triad and the single note (Fig. 2.10), a reminder that is not seen in P-S1. For the B \flat -major chord, he added a pedal mark below it and wrote ‘silent touch?’, instructing the left hand to depress the keys quietly. He drew an arrow and pointed it to another inscription below the system, ‘*Achtgeben, dass das Ped[al] kein Geräusch mache*’, meaning that he needed to pay attention to make sure the pedal would make no noise when being pressed down (in the mechanical aspect). For the final B \flat , Wittgenstein wrote ‘*Pauke*’ and added a pedal release mark, meaning that the note should sound like a soft timpani stroke without using the pedal. Wittgenstein’s annotations in the Prelude were purely reminders for his own use, and the lack of rewritten and/or newly composed musical passages implies he was rather satisfied with the original music composed by Walker. Wittgenstein’s respect for Walker and his fondness of and appreciation for his music would eventually led to the emergence of the Variations on an Original Theme, the only composition that Walker purposely composed for him.

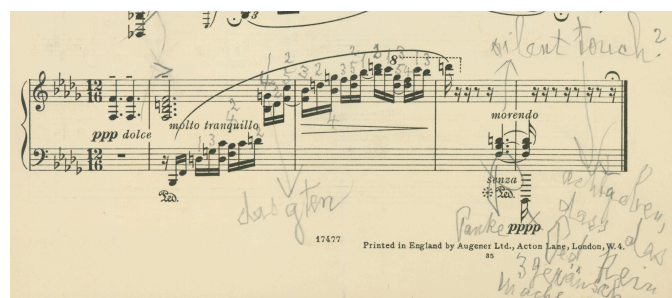


Fig. 2.10 Prelude, P-S3: bars 30–4. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

Variations on an Original Theme for Pianoforte, Clarinet, Violin, Viola and Violoncello (1933)

The Variations was Walker's third and last composition for piano left-hand but the first and only work that he composed for and dedicated to Wittgenstein. The two musicians had known each other since 1926 and supposedly Wittgenstein could have asked Walker to compose for him long before 1933. One of the reasons for Wittgenstein to delay the commission could be Walker's reception as a composer. Although Walker was one of the most important musical figures in Oxford and was also well known in London, his fame was limited to Great Britain only. Walker's lack of international renown would have prevented Wittgenstein, who usually aimed at commissioning first-rank composers with worldwide popularity, from asking him to compose a piece for his left hand immediately after they became acquainted. The other reason that made Wittgenstein delay his request was entirely musical. As already suggested, Walker had a strong adherence to late German Romanticism and most of his music was permeated by a strong influence of Brahms, which suited the musical tastes of Wittgenstein. But the absence of a sophisticated personal style might have held the pianist back from appointing him. It was only in 1930 when Walker posted the pianist his newly composed variations that Wittgenstein's hesitation was cleared away. The thank-you letter that Wittgenstein sent to the composer on 1 December was full of compliments and excitement: 'many thanks for the Variations! I can only repeat what I already told you in Overstrand: It is astonishing indeed, how far more personal your Stile [style] has become, in other words, how far more "bedeutend"

[meaningful] compared to your earlier works!’⁹ The ‘Variations’ that Wittgenstein referred to was likely to be the *Fantasia-Variations on a Norfolk Folk-song ‘Lovely Joan’*, Op. 45, which Walker composed for piano duet and then arranged for orchestra and dedicated to Deneke. In 1933 Wittgenstein finally approached Walker for a composition, and the composer responded with the Variations on an Original Theme for Pianoforte, Clarinet, Violin, Viola and Violoncello. Although Wittgenstein usually commissioned composers to write concertos for him, there were times when he requested for chamber music or solo pieces, too. It is unknown if Wittgenstein specifically requested a variation for piano quintet from Walker, or Walker made this suggestion to Wittgenstein, but it is certain that both of them liked the idea. This was because Walker, whose ‘best work was done in chamber music’¹⁰ and who felt ‘less at home’ when it came to orchestral work on a large scale,¹¹ would certainly find it an appealing thought to write a chamber piece. And Wittgenstein, who found satisfaction in the three Quintets Schmidt composed for him, would very likely welcome Walker’s proposal if he did not request it otherwise.¹²

Whatever the reason Wittgenstein might hold, Walker accepted his invitation and provided a chamber addition to his performing repertoire.

⁹ Balliol College Historical Collection Centre, Musical Society Records, Papers of Ernest Walker, Box 4 (Letter, 1 December 1930).

¹⁰ Thomas Armstrong, ‘Ernest Walker, 1870–1949’, *Musical Times*, 90/1273 (1949), 73–5.

¹¹ J.A. Westrup, ‘Stanley Robert Marchant (1883–1949) Ernest Walker (1870–1949)’, *Music and Letters*, 30/3 (1949), 201–3.

¹² In her book Deneke wrote ‘On Sunday vening, 20 February 1949, the Balliol Concert party before their performance played to him his variations for left-hand piano, clarinet, and string trio composed at Paul Wittgenstein’s suggestion, 1933’. Deneke, *Ernest Walker*, 97. This is so far the only available source that gives information on the collaboration between Wittgenstein and Walker. However, it did not say exactly if Wittgenstein in reality requested this Variations or simply suggested Walker to compose a piece for him.

No information can be found to reveal whether the Variations was a formal commission or not. On 4 May 1933 Wittgenstein sent a letter to Walker to acknowledge the recipient of the work: ‘many thanks for your variations which I have just received! ... I am sending you a small present, which I will beg you to accept as a souvenir. It is the manuscript of Brahms’[s] “Cadenza for Beethoven’s Concerto in G major”’.¹³ Wittgenstein’s message seems to suggest that no contract or payment was involved in this ‘commission’, and it was just an emblem that commemorated their friendship. Although it was not a formal commission, the Variations was the first composition that Wittgenstein received from a British composer. Normally, Wittgenstein protected himself and his commissions by signing a contract with the composers who wrote for him, in which he stated the number of years for which he held the exclusive performing rights of the piece and the condition that the composer was not allowed to publish the work. Presumably there was no contractual bond like this in the case of the Variations, but it is likely that Wittgenstein gave Walker similar terms and that the composer loyally followed his will, as the Variations was never published.

Two sets of autograph manuscripts of the Variations on an Original Theme are currently located at the *HK-pwa* and the *Gb-Ob* respectively. The autograph in *Gb-Ob*, which is catalogued as MSS. Mus. c. 93, is a complete clean copy included in an album with other compositions by Walker (V-S1) and has eight folios in total. These folios are not marked by folio numbers but page numbers

¹³ Balliol College Historical Collection Centre, Musical Society Records, Papers of Ernest Walker, Box 4 (Letter, 4 May 1933). The Brahms autograph is included in the Margaret Deneke Collection at the *Gb-Ob* and catalogued with the shelfmark ‘MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn c.10’. I am grateful to Professor Banks and Martin Holmes (Alfred Brendel Curator of Music of the *Gb-Ob*) for this information.

written in ink in Walker's hand. It has a front cover [fol. 1r], on which the dedication, composition title, Walker's signature and his address in Oxford were written (Fig. 2.11a), and 14 pages of music [fols. 1v–8r], and all of them were inscribed on 20-staved, portrait-oriented manuscript paper named 'A.L. No.14' manufactured by Augener. The other autograph housed at the *HK-pwa*, on the other hand, is an annotated copy and is catalogued as PWMS-EW-000001 (V-S2). It has fifteen folios in total, and they are also marked by page numbers inscribed by Walker in black ink. It has a outside front cover [fol. 1r] in brown colour (non-manuscript paper), on which Walker wrote 'Ernest Walker' and an abbreviated composition title, 'Variations on an Original Theme', and an inside title page [fol. 2r] that is identical to the front cover of V-S1, except it does not contain Walker's home address in Oxford (Fig. 2.11b). Both the inside title page and 26 pages of music [fols. 2v–15r] were written on a manuscript paper named 'A. L. No.8' manufactured by Augener, which was ruled with 14 staves and portrait-oriented. The *HK-pwa* also holds a complete set of performing parts copied by the Viennese music publisher Ant. Uiberlacher (V-S3), a computer-typed full score created with Finale™ (V-S4) and an archival recording of the work, both made by the *HK-pwa* itself.

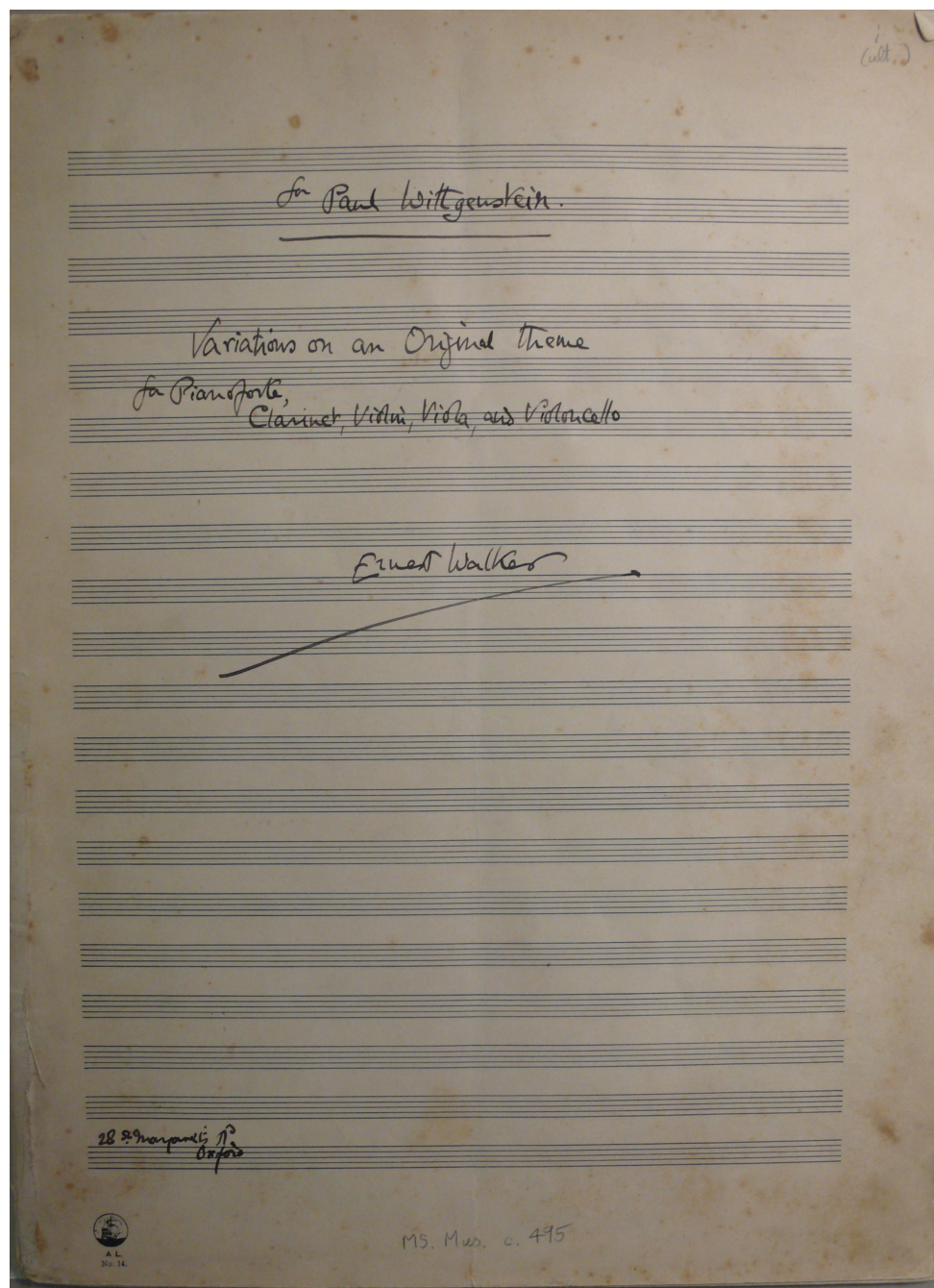


Fig. 2.11a

Variations, V-S1: front cover [fol. 1r]. Reprinted with permission from The Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. All rights reserved.

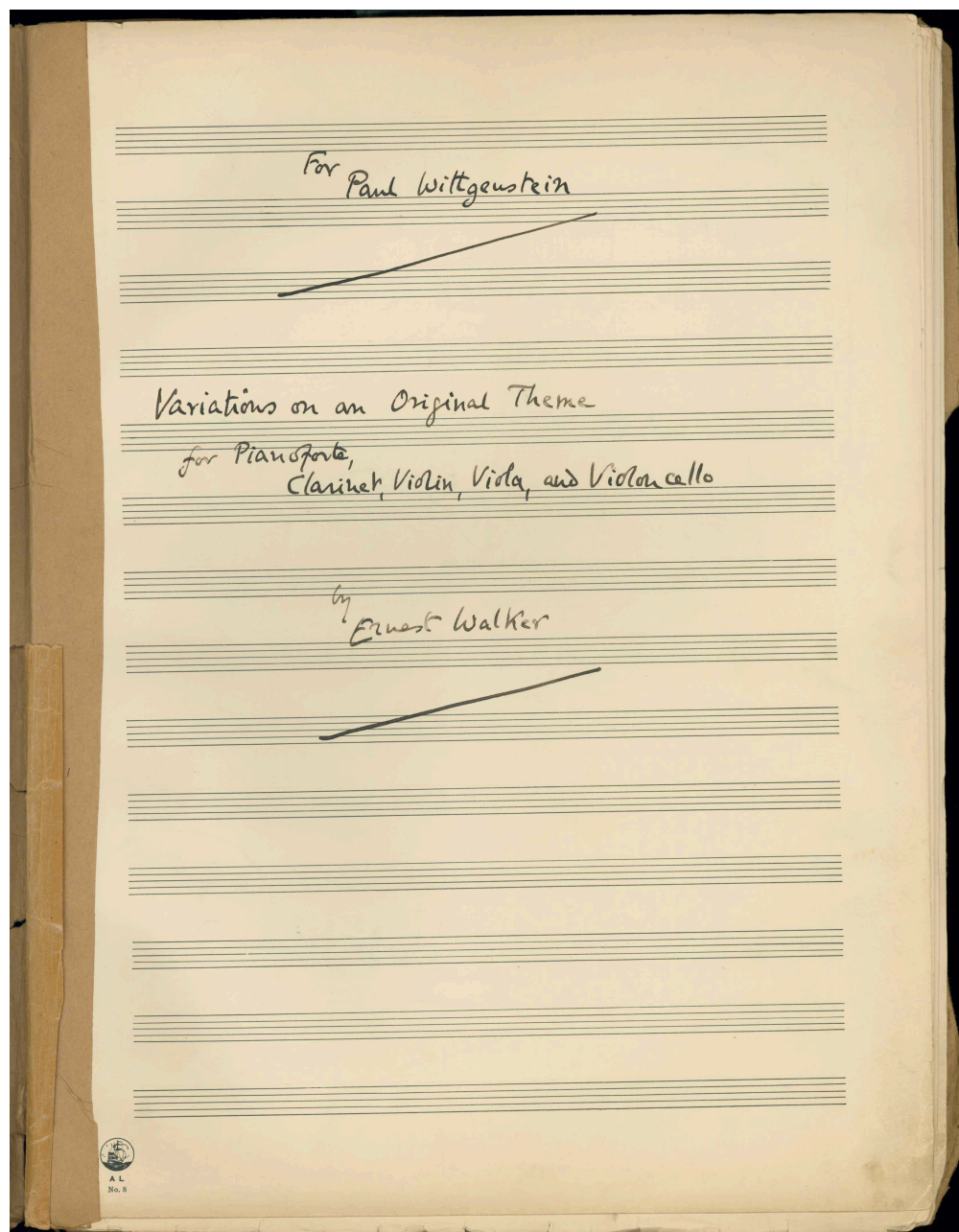


Fig. 2.11b Variations, V-S2: inside title page [fol. 2r]. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

A variety of notational differences can be found between V-S1 and V-S2 and most of them appear in the piano part, and the most notable example emerges in bars 133–5.¹⁴ In V-S1, Walker crossed out the grace notes on the last beat in bar 133 and added an E \flat octave below the half-diminished seventh chord in bar 134, which is tied over to bar 135 (Fig. 2.12a). In S2, Walker retained both the grace notes in bar 133 and the diminished seventh chord in bar 134, but he did not add the tied E \flat octave below (Fig. 2.12b). Both notations are of certain technical demand in their own rights, as they include quick jumps between registers at a fast tempo; but with the tied E \flat octave in bars 134–35, V-S1 has a richer harmonic sound than V-S2.

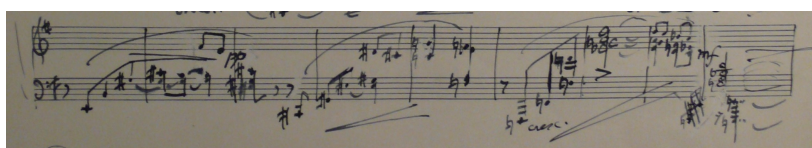


Fig. 2.12a Variations, V-S1: bars 126–34 (to be continued). Reprinted with permission from The Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. All rights reserved.

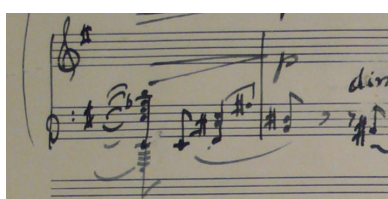


Fig. 2.12a (cont'd) Variations, V-S1: bars 135–36. Reprinted with permission from The Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. All rights reserved.

¹⁴ Walker did not use bar numbers but rehearsal numbers in his two manuscripts. All bar numbers given in this discussion are my addition.

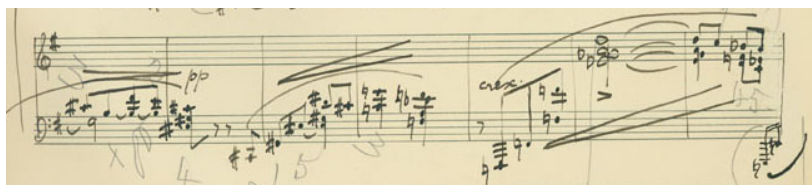


Fig. 2.12b Variations, V-S2: bars 127–33 (to be continued). Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

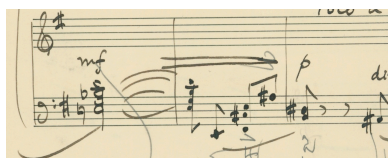


Fig. 2.12b Variations, V-S2: bars 134–6. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.
(cont'd)

Some of the note placements in V-S1 and V-S2 are not the same but they once again reveal Walker's concept of writing for piano left-hand. The three triads in bar 332 provide a good example for discussion. In V-S1, Walker split the chords and placed the higher notes in treble clef, while in V-S2 he notated the whole triad in the bass clef (Exx. 2.11a and 2.11b). Without excessive use of ledger lines, V-S1 is an easier score to read and it also suggests that Walker adopted Schmidt's notational practice to 'disregard the notational limitations of a conventional two-stave system, and attempt to project his music onto an open, single ten-stave structure'.¹⁵



Ex. 2.11a Variations, V-S1: bars 331–2

¹⁵ Georg A. Predota, ed. 'Introduction' in *Franz Schmidt: Quintet in G major for Piano left-hand, two Violins, Viola and Cello* 1926. Vienna: Josef Weinberger (2010), IX.

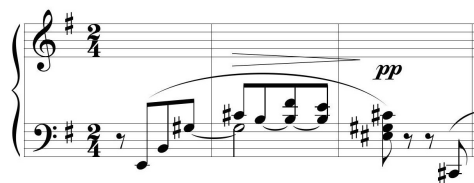


Ex. 2.11b Variations, V-S2: bars 331–2

The last two prominent notational differences are found in bars 126–8, including the use of different note values and voicing. In V-S1, the last note in bar 126, G#, is tied over to bar 127 with a series of tied notes consisting of two quavers and a crotchet (Ex. 2.12a), whereas in V-S2 it is simply notated as a minim (Ex. 2.12b). The single-voice melody starting in bar 126 is developed into a three-part counterpoint in bar 127 in V-S1, with the top notes F# and E being placed in the treble clef and the tied B and G# in the bass clef. In V-S2, the same melody is however expanded into a two-part counterpoint only, with F#, E and tied B being the top voice and G# the bottom, both notated in the bass clef. Both versions actually sound the same but the voicing presentation in V-S2 seems to make more sense than that in V-S1, because V-S2 has two complete voices while V-S1 is missing two beats of rests if F# and E were made an independent voice. The more sensible notation in V-S2 implies a correction process, which in turn suggests V-S1 is likely to be an earlier draft.



Ex. 2.12a Variations, S1: bars 126–8



Ex. 2.12b Variations, V-S2: bars 126–8

A few more examples of notational differences can be found between the two sources and they all seem to suggest V-S1 is an earlier draft of V-S2. For example in bar 193 of V-S1, Walker simply wrote ‘col 8’ underneath B to indicate it should be played as an octave. In V-S2, however, he wrote out the whole octave and thus the notation is more complete. As with Schmidt who made massive and consistent use of cautionary accidentals in his compositions for Wittgenstein, Walker also employed a considerable amount of cautionary accidentals but his usage was not always meaningful. In bar 108 of V-S1, for example, Walker added a cautionary natural sign to B on the first beat in the violin (Ex. 2.13). This addition is purposeless because the last B, the violin plays is in bar 103, which is four bars before, and these two points are even separated by three empty bars. Also, the B, in bar 103 is an octave higher than the B in bar 108, so there should not be any confusion.

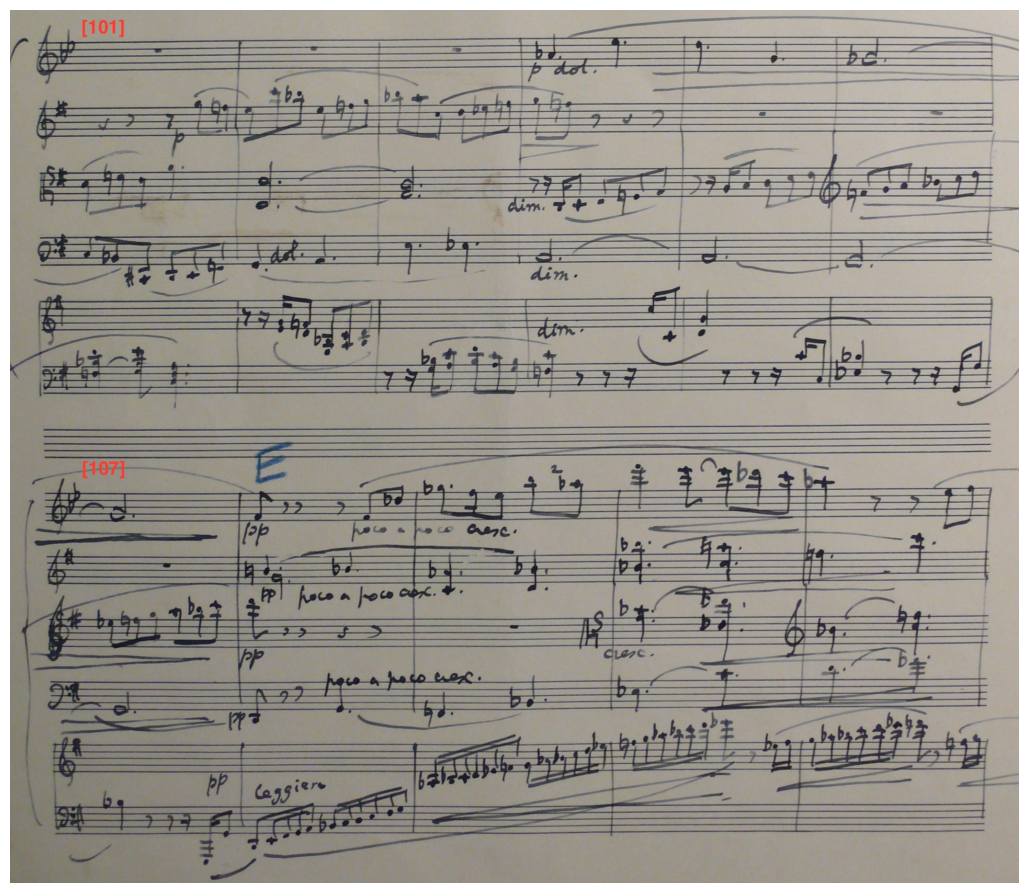


Fig. 2.13 Variations, V-S1: bars 101–107. Reprinted with permission from The Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. All rights reserved.

Although Walker was generous with the use of inessential cautionary accidentals, he skipped a handful of places where a cautionary accidental could have been useful. Bar 237 marks both the end of ‘Variation VI’ and the beginning of ‘Variation VII’,¹⁶ where a modulation from E \flat major to G major occurs. In bar 234 the piano plays a dyad built on E \flat and B \flat , which is tied over to bar 237. In V-S1, Walker gave cautionary flats to both notes of the dyad in bar 237 after the key change (Fig. 2.14a), but in V-S2 he did not do so (Fig. 2.14b). One possible explanation for this difference is that in V-S1 bar 237 is

¹⁶ Walker did not title the variation movements in his work; the division of movement and titles are my editorial decision that will be explained in the discussion of the structural layout of the work on pages 210–11.

being separated from bar 236 and is then placed at the start of a new system, whereas in V-S2 bars 236 and 237 are placed consecutively in the same system. Regardless of the change of system, however, cautionary accidentals would have been helpful in bar 237 in both sources due to the change of key. Walker's use of cautionary accidentals provides a strong evidence to support the argument that V-S1 is an earlier draft of V-S2. Firstly, V-S1 has more cautionary accidentals than V-S2 and many of them, as discussed already, are unnecessary. Secondly, as most of these inessential cautionary accidentals are not seen in V-S2, it is obvious that Walker revised his notation when he prepared V-S2 for Wittgenstein. Furthermore, for those Walker added in V-S2 by mistake, for example the cautionary natural sign for C in bar 252 and the cautionary sharp sign for F in 311 in the violin part, were both erased afterwards.

Fig. 2.14a Variations, V-S1: bars 228–46. Reprinted with permission from The Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. All rights reserved.



Fig. 2.14b Variations, V-S2: bars 233–40. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

Walker's use of different clefs for the same melodic line in the ensemble further consolidates the assumption that V-S1 is a previous version of V-S2. While some of the clef changes are constrained by the limited writing space on the manuscript paper, such as bar 93 in the cello part, there were occasions where Walker changed clef with no good reason. Consider the viola part in bars 104–13. In both sources, bars 104–105 are written in alto clef and starting from bar 106 it has been changed to treble clef. In V-S1, the alto clef was restored in bar 110 but was immediately replaced by the treble clef again in bar 111 (see Fig. 2.13 above). Since the abrupt changes of clef could cause confusion to the player and there was not an actual need for a clef change, when Walker reworked on V-S2 he simply kept the music in the treble clef from bar 106 to bar 113 to facilitate score reading (Fig. 2.15).



Fig. 2.15 Variations, V-S2: bars 104–108 (to be continued). Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

Fig. 2.15 (Cont'd) Variations, V-S2: bars 109–13. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

Apart from the use of different clefs, the treatment of empty bars also seems to suggest that V-S1 came before V-S2. ‘Variation VI’ is a piano quartet that excludes the clarinet. In V-S1, Walker wrote ‘*clarinetto tacet*’ before bar 208 and removed the clarinet part from the score. In V-S2, however, he kept the clarinet part in there with empty bars. The cello also received a similar treatment at the beginning of ‘Variation VII’, but this time Walker did not write ‘*violoncello tacet*’ and so both its disappearance in bars 238–48 and re-emergence in bar 249 were quite sudden. In V-S2, however, Walker once again retained the silent cello part with empty bars and that made its return in bar 249 less abrupt. Using empty bars as a presentation of a silent instrumental part not only makes V-S2 a more complete and consistent score for performing use, it also reveals that Walker had undergone a revision process when he prepared the score for Wittgenstein.

The performing instructions given in V-S2 are more refined and standardised than in V-S1. In bar 136 in V-S1, for example, ‘*poco a poco più tranquillo*’ is given in the ensemble only. In V-S2, however, this instruction can be seen in both the ensemble and the piano. A similar situation appears in bar 208, where the tempo marking ‘*Tempo del Tema, molto tranquillo*’ can be seen only in the ensemble in V-S1 but it is again given in both the ensemble and piano in V-S2. Also at bar 208, Walker wrote down ‘*una corda pp sempre*’ in the piano and ‘*con sordino pp sempre*’ in the strings in V-S1; but in V-S2 he changed the clause to ‘*una corda sempre pp*’ and ‘*con sordino sempre pp*’ respectively, which are more conventional. Normally in a chamber score, performing instructions, when applicable to the whole ensemble, are given in both the

ensemble part and the piano part. Therefore, together with the more standardised performing instructions, V-S2 is clearly a revised score of V-S1.

Scoring for piano left-hand, clarinet in A, violin, viola and cello, Walker's *Variations on an Original Theme* is literally a piano quintet. While Walker's *Fantasia-Variations* certainly determines the form of this quintet, it is from Schmidt's most recent composition for Wittgenstein, the Quintet in B-flat major (1932), that Walker adopted the same genre and a similar instrumentation which he only replaced Schmidt's clarinet in B \flat with a clarinet in A. The influence of Schmidt's B-flat Quintet is further extended to the thematic construction of Walker's *Variations*, which is most apparent in the four-note motive that appears right at the beginning of the 'Introduction'. Its melodic contour, chromatic inflection and the mood it creates immediately resemble the opening theme of the first movement of the Schmidt Quintet (Exx. 2.14a and 2.14b). Both are lingering and bear a melancholy and mysterious character. Their thematic similarity suggests that Walker, apart from taking Schmidt's instrumentation and choice of genre, had likely found creative inspiration in the B-flat Quintet and from it he created a motive on which his 'Original Theme' was built. Compared to the B-flat Quintet, the *Concertante Variations*, the first composition that Schmidt composed for Wittgenstein, exerted even greater influence on Walker's *Variations*. On the one hand, Walker was familiar with the *Concertante Variations* because he played the orchestral part of the work on a second piano when Wittgenstein gave a private re-run of the piece at Deneke's home in Gunfield on 6 November 1927, two weeks after his debut in Edinburgh. On the other, the

Concertante Variations was one of the commissions that Wittgenstein favoured and performed most in his performing career. Therefore, it was reasonable for Walker to draw inspirations from the *Concertante Variations* when he composed the Variations for Wittgenstein.

Adagio

Clarinet in A *pp* *morendo*

Violin *pp* *morendo*

Viola *pp* *morendo*

Cello *pp* *morendo*

Ex. 2.14a Walker's Variations, opening theme: bars 1–5

espr. *p* *cresc.*

f

Ex. 2.14b Schmidt's Quintet in B-flat major, opening theme, cello: bars 3–8

The first similarity found between Walker's *Variations* and Schmidt's *Concertante Variations* is that both of them are single-movement works that begin with a slow introduction that directly leads into the 'Theme'. Secondly, individual variation movements in both works are not marked by titles or variation numbers but double bar-lines and different tempo markings. In addition, both variations include a substantial piano solo for Wittgenstein, which is one of the very important elements in all of his commissions.¹⁷ Besides these structural similarities, the two variations also demonstrate a considerable likeness in some of their musical gestures and characteristics.

A list of variation movements in Walker's *Variations* and Schmidt's *Concertante Variations* is given in Table 2.4 below to provide references to the following discussion on the musical aspects of these two works. Individual movement titles, variation numbers as well as bar numbers have been added for ease of reference:¹⁸

¹⁷ There are three main piano solo sections in the *Concertante Variations*. Located at bars 212–27, the first piano solo is a transitional passage in *Ruhig fließend* and is the shortest among the three. The second one is the main solo that takes up the whole section marked *Sehr langsam, sehr ausdrucksvoll und durchaus frei vorzutragen* at bars 294–330, which shares the same structural importance with 'Variation V' in Walker's *Variations*. The last one, located at bars 601–63, is again a shorter passage and is part of *Mässig bewegt*.

¹⁸ At the time of writing, both works remain unpublished still and no academic research has been done on them before. Editorial movement titles and their numbering in square brackets are added by me for ease of reference. For Walker's *Variations*, I divided the movements according to the composer's use of double bar-lines, their distinctive characters, and changes in key and metre where applicable. There are two audio recordings of Schmidt's *Concertante Variations* made by Berlin Classics and CPO Records, and I adopted the movement division from the audio recording issued by Berlin Classics, which groups several individual movements (under different tempo markings) into bigger sections by their similar characters and figurations. In order to avoid confusion, editorial movement titles will be used in the discussion of Walker's *Variations*, and the original tempo markings will be retained for the Schmidt's. For more information about movement division used by the two labels, please see 'Franz Schmidt: *Concertante Variations* on a Theme of Beethoven / Beethoven: Piano Concerto in D after the Violin Concerto, OP. 61' by Berlin Classics (2006), and 'Franz Schmidt: *Beethoven Variations* / Piano Concerto' by CPO Records (2010).

Walker, <i>Variations on an Original Theme</i>		Schmidt, <i>Concertante Variations</i>	
Movement	Bars	Movement	Bars
<i>Adagio</i> [Introduction]	1–27	<i>Langsam</i> [Introduction]	1–59
<i>Poco Andantino</i> [Theme]	28–57	<i>Thema (Scherzo, allegro vivace)</i> [Theme]	60–201
Untitled [Variation I]	58–87	<i>Ruhig fliessend</i> [Variation I]	202–51
Untitled [Variation II]	88–117	<i>Lebhaft, doch nicht zu schnell (Tempo di Bolero)</i> [Variation II: piano solo at bars 295–330]	252–330
Untitled [Variation III]	118–47	<i>Langsam</i> [Variation III]	331–496
Untitled [Variation IV]	148–76	<i>Sehr ruhig</i> [Variation IV]	497–567
<i>Più Lento (Adagio): molto espressivo e largamente</i> [Variation V: piano solo]	177–207	<i>Mässig bewegt</i> [Variation V]	568–889
<i>Tempo del Tema, molto tranquillo</i> [Variation VI]	208–37		
<i>Più mosso (Allegretto vivace)</i> [Variation VII]	238–369		

Table 2.4 A list of variation movements with added titles, variation numbers and bar numbers in Walker's *Variations* and Schmidt's *Concertante Variations*

Walker adopted a great many of Schmidt's characterisations of the variation movements of the *Concertante Variations* and employed them in his *Variations* in an explicit manner. The first example can be readily found in the opening of the 'Introduction'. In his *Concertante Variations*, Schmidt opened the 'Introduction' with the ensemble and introduced the piano in bar 4 (Ex. 2.15a), who entered with a series of arpeggiations in the style of a cadenza. Walker adopted this in his *Variations* except he brought in the piano in bar 5 (Ex. 2.15b). Set in 6/8 time, the *Ruhig fliessend*, the first variation of the *Concertante Variations*, is the only variation that was set in compound metre. Walker used the same time signature in his 'Variation II', and he wrote the piano part with dotted rhythms, open octaves and widely spaced block chords (Ex. 2.16a), which are patterns that form Schmidt's *Ruhig fliessend* and *Lebhaft, doch nicht zu schnell (Tempo di Bolero)* (Ex. 2.16b). Although

‘Variation II’ shares the same time signature and similar piano writing with *Ruhig fliessend*, its musical gesture is much closer to that of *Lebhaft, doch nicht zu schnell* (*Tempo di Bolero*). In both movements the piano is established as a percussion instrument, and its percussive sound generates a vigorous yet spirited character. The flexibility of compound duple time, the driving force of extensive dotted rhythms and the power of block chords give both composers a considerable room to vary their theme, and they both managed to distort their themes to an extent that they become almost unrecognisable.

Adagio

Clarinet in A *pp* *morendo*

Violin *pp* *morendo*

Viola *pp* *morendo*

Cello *pp* *morendo*

Piano *pp* *(quasi ad lib.)* *ppp* *leggerissimo* *veloce*

A Cl. *7* *sempre*

Vln.

Vla.

Vc.

Pno. *rit.* *8va*

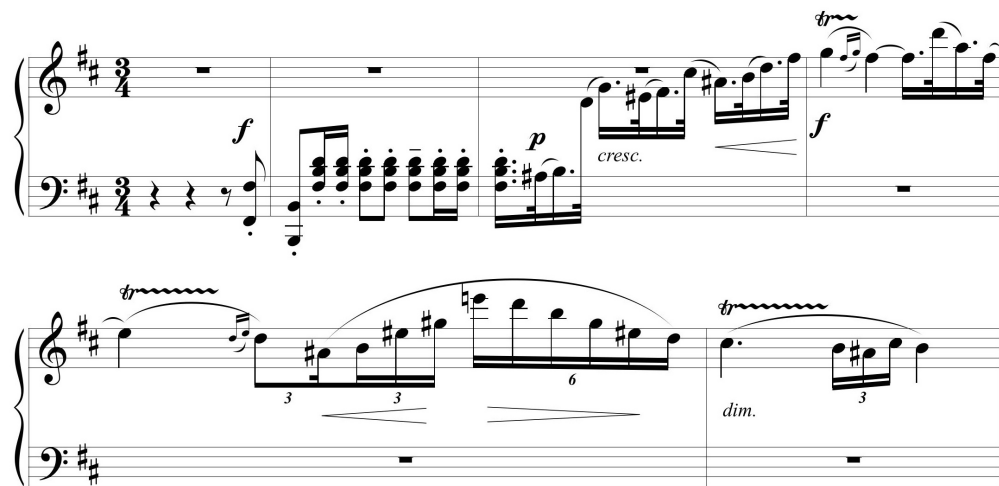
Ex. 2.15b Variations, 'Introduction': bars 1–8

(♩ = ♩)

f

Ped.

Ex. 2.16a Variations: 'Variation II': bars 87–90



Ex. 2.16b *Concertante Variations, Lebhaft, doch nicht zu schnell (Tempo di Bolero):*
bars 253–8

Two particular variation movements grouped under *Mässig bewegt* in the *Concertante Variations* serve as models for Walker to write his contrapuntal passages. The first variation at bars 568–663 is set up as a slow march in a minor mode in which the ensemble plays a walking bass in their low register, with the piano joining in at bar 601 to play a solo passage starting with counterpoint (Ex. 2.17a). A similar setup can be found in Walker’s ‘Variation III’, in which the clarinet plays the theme in inverted form in its low register with the piano playing counterpoint at the same time (Ex. 2.17b). Schmidt set the opening of the only untitled movement at bars 744–813 in the *Concertante Variations* in a fugato manner (Ex. 18a), which Walker borrowed and applied to his ‘Variation VI’ and ‘Variation VII’, in which the variant of the four-note motive and the theme were presented as imitative entries (Exx. 18b and 18c). The use of counterpoint and imitative writing in Schmidt’s work is not surprising, for he was a teacher of counterpoint and composition at the Vienna Conservatory. For Walker, however, to employ contrapuntal writings in his

piece bears two special meanings. On the one hand, this ‘learned’ device was a means for him to demonstrate his sophisticated compositional techniques; on the other, it reveals his musical predilections and self-perception as a composer.



Ex. 2.17a *Concertante Variations*, *Mässig bewegt*: bars 601–10

Ex. 2.17b shows a musical score for 'Walker's Variations', 'Variation III', bars 117–25. The score is in 2/4 time and features three staves: Clarinet in A, Piano, and A Cl. The Piano part is marked 'pp dol.' and 'legatissimo'. The A Cl. part is marked 'pp'. The tempo is marked 'Mässig bewegt'.

Ex. 2.17b *Walker's Variations*, 'Variation III': bars 117–25

Piano

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Cello

Double Bass

sempre stacc.

pp

sempre stacc.

pp

Ex. 2.18a

Concertante Variations: bars 744–53 (to be continued)

Pno.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

Vc.

D.B.

sempre stacc.

pp

Ex. 2.18a (Cont'd)

Concertante Variations: bars 754–9

**Tempo del Tema,
molto tranquillo**

Clarinet in A

Violin

Viola

Cello

Piano

A Cl.

Vln.

Vla.

Vc.

Pno.

con sordino

con sordino arco

sempre pp

una corda

poco espr.

Ex. 2.18b

Variations, VS2, 'Variation VI': bars 207–17

Più mosso (Allegretto vivace)

Clarinet in A *pp*

Violin *senza sordino* *pp*

Viola *senza sordino*

Cello *senza sordino*

Più mosso (Allegretto vivace)

Piano

A Cl.

Vln.

Vla. *pp*

Vc.

Pno.

Ex. 2.18c Variations, VS2, 'Variation VII': bars 237–47 (to be continued)

Ex. 2.18c (cont'd) Variations, VS2, 'Variation VII': bars 248–59

As opposed to many of his contemporaries who had begun to react against the influence of the late German musical romanticism, Walker 'remained firm in the traditions of the German romantic composers'.¹⁹ Among them, Brahms was the composer whose music exerted the greatest influence on Walker and his musical styles, and Walker was not ashamed of expressing his admiration for

¹⁹ Thomas Armstrong, 'Ernest Walker, 1870–1949', 74.

the great German master. Not only did he give the English premiere of Brahms's *Drei Intermezzi* Op. 117 and of the *Rhapsody* Op. 119 at the Balliol Concerts, he also presented a paper on Brahms at a Music Association Conference on 11 April 1899, at which he made the following statement: 'Brahms, in short, seems to me the ideal for music at the present time... I do not mean that we ought to imitate his individual manner of expression—for conscious imitation of a great man only means copying his weakness—but we ought to imitate his ideal'.²⁰ Staying faithful to what he said, Walker did not copy any literal musical expression of Brahms's music into his Variations. Rather, he followed the footsteps of Brahms to juxtapose the 'old' with the 'new'. Composing a variation, a form that was taken from the Classical period, Walker infused it with several harmonies typical of the New German School that could also be found in Brahms's music. One of the examples is the half-diminished seventh chord, which Brahms frequently used in his music as 'dominant preparation in cadences'.²¹ Sharing Brahms's views on harmony as 'functional, neither coloristic or rhetorical',²² Walker adopted the same approach and his first usage of the half-diminished seventh chord can readily be found at the beginning of the 'Introduction', which is presumably set in the key of G major. At bar 3, the ensemble plays a half-diminished seventh chord on F# in third inversion. Despite the absence of the fifth, the jarring sound of this dissonant chord is still very strong. It is immediately followed by a dominant chord, which is further extended to become a dominant ninth chord with the addition of the piano in bar 5 (see Ex. 2.15b above). Besides the half-

²⁰ Ernest Walker, 'Brahms', *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 25/1 (1899), 128–9. The Music Association has been renamed as The Royal Music Association in 1975.

²¹ Rey M. Longyear, *Nineteenth-Century Romanticism in Music*, 3rd edn. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc. (1988), 142.

²² Longyear, *Nineteenth-Century Romanticism in Music*, 142.

diminished seventh chord, Walker used full-diminished seventh chords as well. Occasionally he used this harmony as an independent chord as in bar 13, but sometimes he disguised it as a secondary dominant chord, for examples, the first and third chords in bar 98 in 'Variation II', which is another chromatic harmony that has been conventionalised and fully exploited by the German composers in the late romantic era. The third harmonic device Walker borrowed from the New German School through Brahms was the augmented sixth chord. He used a French sixth in bar 17 in the 'Introduction' and resolved it to a dominant ninth chord on B in the next bar, which functioned as a secondary dominant of E minor. Although the usage of secondary dominant in the Variations was common, Walker's handling of it in the 'Introduction' was slightly unusual. Instead of providing a tonic chord in E minor as an immediate resolution, Walker used rests with a fermata and brought in the four-note motive in octaves. The long awaited E-minor tonality finally emerges four bars later, in bar 22, where Walker provided yet another harmonic surprise. Instead of using an E-minor triad to firmly establish its tonality, Walker opted for an E-minor chord with an added 7th and repeated it a few times in different inversions, further extending the harmonic instability and musical tension that were in need of a resolution (Ex. 2.19a). In bar 368, Walker wrote a German sixth chord on the first beat, which was played by both the piano and the ensemble (Ex. 2.19b). Again, his treatment of this chromatic chord was a little unusual because he did not resolve it to a dominant chord but the tonic chord of G major, which immediately concludes the Variations. The brief appearance of the German sixth in the second last bar of the work and the quick restoration of

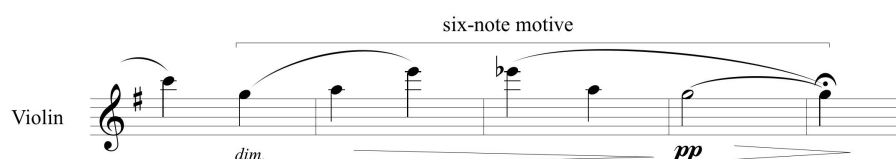
the tonic key afterwards seem to suggest that Walker intended this chromatic chord as a harmonic decoration, but not aiming to cause harmonic instability.

Ex. 2.19a Variations, VS2, 'Introduction': bars 17–27

Ex. 2.19b Variations, VS2, 'Variation VII': bars 366–9

Motivic working is a long established compositional practice in the German musical tradition that can be traced back to J. S. Bach, whose works were largely based on counterpoint. Later composers, especially Beethoven and Brahms, continued with this habit of including counterpoint in their compositions, and advanced further to construct and link their multi-movement works with just one or a small number of motives. Being a loyal follower of Brahms, Walker also used motive in his Variations. First appeared in the 'Introduction' as a standalone figure, the arch-like four-note motive is indeed the head of the original theme, which will surface in full in the following 'Theme'. Both the four-note motive and the theme will recur and be varied in the musical discourse, but the way Walker varied them was very basic. For example, he added an extra note to each of the two ends of the four-note motive to extend it into a six-note motive, which was used to conclude both the 'Theme' and the subsequent variations, except for the last two (Ex. 2.20). The four-note motive, on the other hand, frequently recurs in different parts of the ensemble in either its original or disguised forms. The theme, too, does not undergo any significant transformation process. It is at most split into smaller fragments, and members of the ensemble take turns to play them. The highest level of motivic working in the Variations can be found in third, sixth and final variations. In 'Variation III', a slight touch of counterpoint can be found in the piano part (see Ex. 2.17b above), and the ordered entrance of the four-note motive in 'Variation VI' and its variant in 'Variation VII' suggested that Walker probably intended them as a fughetta. Yet, his contrapuntal style here can only be classified at the most as imitative but certainly not fugal. Walker's handling of the motive and the theme clearly shows that his aim was not to

carry out what Arnold Schoenberg described as ‘developing variation’, a compositional technique that is closely associated with Brahms, nor was he trying to use strict counterpoint in his Variations. Rather, Walker probably saw the four-note motive as a unifying device to link his Variations thematically, thus explaining the reason why he made the four-note motive explicit in his work.



Ex. 2.20 Variations, VS2, ‘Theme’, violin: bars 83–7

The discussions so far have suggested that Walker intentionally modelled his Variations after Schmidt’s Quintet in B-flat major and *Concertante Variations* for its formal structure, thematic treatment and musical gestures, and Brahms’s motivic handling for the treatment of the four-note motive. It was certainly a safe bet for him to have chosen Schmidt and Brahms as the role models for his own work, because they were among Wittgenstein’s most favourite composers. For the piano part, Walker once again borrowed ideas from Schmidt’s *Concertante Variations*, which at the same time were typical patterns used in music written for piano left-hand. These include series of fast running scales and sextuplets, scales in thirds and sixths, widely spaced block chords, open octaves and counterpoint, with which Walker added a slight touch of virtuosity to his Variations.

Walker's treatments of the piano in his Variations revealed his intention of creating a work (especially a piano part) that could hopefully meet Wittgenstein's expectation of a commission. As a personal friend as well as a *Hausmusik* [house-music] partner of Wittgenstein who assisted the pianist on a second piano to play music by Schmidt and Strauss, Walker knew very well and clearly that Wittgenstein favoured concertos that feature as many solo passages as possible for him to show off his pianistic skills. Since Walker's own talents laid in the chamber genre but not the orchestral, he therefore chose to compose a chamber work and brought in some of the essences and gestures typical of a concerto, and the most obvious evidence can be found in the 'Introduction'. It opens with the ensemble playing the four-note motive, which pauses on a dominant ninth chord in bar 5 as the piano joins in to play a rapid ascending broken-chord series in sextuplets, followed by widely spaced chords and other scale patterns. The 'Introduction' not only bears musical gestures that clearly suggest a cadenza (see Ex. 2.15b above), which in this case functions as a preview of the musical patterns that will be used in the subsequent variations, but also overtly establishes Wittgenstein's role as the soloist, the first of the three roles that Walker assigned him to fulfil. In the latter part of the Variations Walker used different ways to highlight the piano from the ensemble. For example, he characterised 'Variation V' as a piano solo, in which Wittgenstein could fully show off his performing skills through playing a variety of patterns (Exx. 2.21a and 2.21b). Also, in other variations when the piano took the lead to play the four-note motive or the theme, Walker limited the ensemble to the role of accompaniment or even silenced them to make sure the piano can be heard.



Ex. 2.21a Variations, VS2, 'Variation V': bars 177–81

Ex. 2.21b Variations, VS2, 'Variation V': bars 194–204

Besides accentuating Wittgenstein's role as the soloist, Walker also presented him as an accompanist. In 'Variation IV', the strings take turns to play the theme with first *pizzicato* and then *arco* while Wittgenstein played scales in thirds as accompaniment (Ex. 2.22). Although this scale pattern looks simple,

its dynamic and articulation markings such as ‘*sempre ppp*’, ‘*molto legg: e legato*’ and ‘*leggerissimo*’ requires Wittgenstein to play his part smoothly, lightly and quietly without disturbing or overriding the theme in the ensemble. The last role Walker appointed Wittgenstein to take on was a partner with the ensemble, which emerged in the last two variations. In ‘Variation VI’ (see Ex. 2.18b above), Wittgenstein was both the accompanist for and partner with the ensemble, whereas in ‘Variation VII’ he held a close partnership with other members of the ensemble. The final variation is an exciting *stretto*, in which each instrument enters in quick succession to play a subject with the four-note motive as the head (see Ex.2.18c above). With the use of *stretto*, Walker allowed each instrument a brief solo time and through this he succeeded in achieving both instrumental transparency as well as a sense of imitate collaboration within the ensemble in the movement, which in turn demonstrated his mastery of chamber composition.

The musical score for Variation IV, bars 147-52, is presented for five instruments: Clarinet in A, Violin, Viola, Cello, and Piano. The Clarinet in A part is mostly silent, with a few notes in the final bars. The Violin part begins with a *pizz.* (pizzicato) marking and a *pp* (pianissimo) dynamic, playing a series of chords. The Viola part is also mostly silent, with a few notes in the final bars. The Cello part is mostly silent, with a few notes in the final bars. The Piano part is the most active, featuring a *molto legg: e legato* (very light and legato) marking and a *sempre ppp* (always pianissimo) dynamic. The piano part includes a *una corda* marking, indicating a soft, intimate sound. The score is written in G major and 4/4 time.

Ex. 2.22 Variations, VS2, ‘Variation IV’: bars 147–52

Aside from exploiting both the versatility of the piano and the possibilities of Wittgenstein's left hand, Walker also showed his awareness of the physical limits of his friend's hand and he applied several appropriate approaches to tackle them. For example, he was cautious with the use of register. For most of the time the piano part was written in the low and middle registers of the instrument with occasional touches in the high register. This would allow Wittgenstein to keep a rather steady sitting posture without having to move his body to the far right for the left hand to strike the notes in the high register of the keyboard. Also, he was careful not to overwork Wittgenstein's left hand; instead of giving him extreme and long passagework to play, he always allowed Wittgenstein to rest his hand after a technically more demanding movement, for example, after the slightly challenging 'Introduction', Wittgenstein was given seventeen bars of rests before re-entering to play a few brief phrases as accompaniment near the end of the 'Theme'.

Walker's piano writing clearly shows that he did not equate virtuosity with technical display here in the Variations, and his goal was to test the Wittgenstein's ability to maintain a continuous musical flow while having to play both melody and accompaniment at the same time using his left hand. Undoubtedly, Wittgenstein was celebrated for his left-hand piano techniques; however, he was infamous for his pitch inaccuracy and somewhat unrefined rendering of the music he performed. As a considerate composer and a genuine friend of Wittgenstein, Walker cleverly avoided lengthy virtuosic passages in

the Variations, and allowed copious opportunities for Wittgenstein to prove his ability in playing lyrical music.

Wittgenstein's reception of the Variations was totally positive. Besides sending Brahms's Cadenza for Beethoven's Concerto in G major to Walker to thank him for the composition, he also spent a long time studying the piece before performing it. These are the proofs to show that Wittgenstein was delighted with the composition because for those with which he was not, he did not acknowledge them and certainly would not perform them. In his 'thank you' letter to Walker dated 4 May 1933 Wittgenstein expressed his admiration for Walker's compositions, and gave a thorough explanation about his procedure for studying a new composition. He wrote,

Many thanks for your variations which I have just received! Of course I can say nothing yet about the work itself; if I did, it would only be a vain compliment, as a work of yours has to be studied if one wants justly to appreciate it... I will begin at once with the learning of the piano part; as far as I could judge after only looking at it, I think I will be able to play it decently after a couple of months. The first part of studying, just to get through the whole thing, is rather quickly done; but after that I have always to leave it for some weeks, then work at it again, then again an interruption a. s.f. [and so forth], and that always takes rather a long time. I can't work at the same composition without interruption for a very long time; or else it gets worse instead of better. I am only telling that in order to explain why I want so long a time to study a comparatively short work.²³

The exact time Wittgenstein spent on studying the piano part of the Variations is not recorded, but he had probably devoted more time than usual. Normally, he would premiere a new commission within a year after its completion, but it

²³ Balliol College Historical Collection Centre, Musical Society Records, Papers of Ernest Walker, Box 4 (Letter, 4 May 1933).

took him two years after the recipient of the Variations to give its first performance in Vienna. No correspondence or documents can be found to explain the reason for this two-year gap, but it is unlikely to be a case in which Wittgenstein had any disputes with Walker over the Variations that caused such a delay. This is because the level and amount of annotations found in the manuscripts show that Wittgenstein was definitely satisfied with the work and was loyal to the score. Apart from the usual fingerings, pedal markings and performing instructions, Wittgenstein did not delete, rewrite or insert any music, which was a rare phenomenon. He made only a few alterations to the score, and that happened in 'Variation V' in which he crossed out one of the notes from some of the block chords to facilitate his playing.

While it is certain that Wittgenstein favoured the Variations, it does not necessarily mean that he understood and could handle the work easily. In the letter dated 25 March 1935, the day after the world premiere in Vienna, Wittgenstein told Walker about the audience's reception of the Variations which could well have been his viewpoint, too:

We had rehearsed them [the Variations] thoroughly, and I think, or at least I hope, we have played them tolerably well. I would have wished that you could have been present; at all events you would have enjoyed how beautiful your work sound... We musicians liked your work more and more, that is to say; the more we rehearsed it, the better we understood it and consequently the better we did like it ... it can scarcely be understood at first hearing... The public applauded ... but I am sure they would have applauded still more, could they have heard it two or three times instead of once. Of course, you can't expect a thorough understanding from the general public for a complicated work like yours.²⁴

²⁴ Balliol College Historical Collection Centre, Musical Society Records, Papers of Ernest Walker, Box 4 (Letter, 23 March 1935).

This letter shows a mixture of feelings and thoughts. On the one hand, Wittgenstein reassured Walker of how much the musicians, especially he himself, liked the work. On the other hand, by reiterating his opinion that it would be impossible for the audience to understand the *Variations* at first hearing, Wittgenstein was perhaps speaking for himself, too. Although he did not specify what makes the *Variations* a complicated work for the audience to comprehend, he himself might have had some difficulties in learning several sections in the work, especially in the final variation. Below the first system on page 24 of VS-2 (Fig. 2.14), Wittgenstein wrote ‘*schon hier vorbereiten*’ [to prepare here already] and drew two arrows that pointed respectively to the tied chord in bar 326 and the upbeat to bar 328. Originally he wrote ‘*auswendig!*’ [to memorise by heart!] and ‘*nahe!*’ [near!] below the *staccato* chords in bars 329–30, too, but he crossed them out eventually. While it is a normal practice for a pianist to prepare for the next entrance by both heart and sight, it seems that Wittgenstein found it difficult to completely secure the *staccato* chord series that he felt the need to remind himself to prepare for it much earlier. A similar reminder recurs near the end of the piece on page 26 of V-S2 (Fig. 2.15). Below the bottom system, Wittgenstein inscribed ‘*Schon etwa hier auf das kommende tiefe G schauen*’ [Look at the upcoming low G at about here already] and pointed an arrow to the first chord in the second bar. The ‘low G’ Wittgenstein referred to is the first note of the *glissando* that takes place in the next bar. As with the previous example, both phrases are played by the piano only and it was likely that Wittgenstein was trying to make sure he would not hit a wrong key by writing down these reminders. The most interesting annotations are the ones that surround the concluding chords, at which

Wittgenstein penned down several inscriptions. Underneath the G octave in bar 366 he wrote '*jede die erste 8 vorbereiten*' [to prepare each of the first octave], and above bars 366–9 he wrote down two reminders, '*auswendig*' [to memorise by heart] and '*eher langsamer*' [rather slow]. First of all, the musical tension is intensifying as the work is hurrying to a powerful close, but Wittgenstein's slowing down of the tempo greatly reduced the level of excitement and tension associated with its original. Secondly, if Wittgenstein had in fact slowed down at the end, then, he would have sufficient time to prepare each of the G octaves and their following block chords, and that he certainly did not need to memorise the first block chord of the series. Although many of these annotations or reminders seem unnecessary, Wittgenstein was lavish with the use of them in all of his commissions, including Britten's *Diversions* that will be discussed later in Chapter 4.

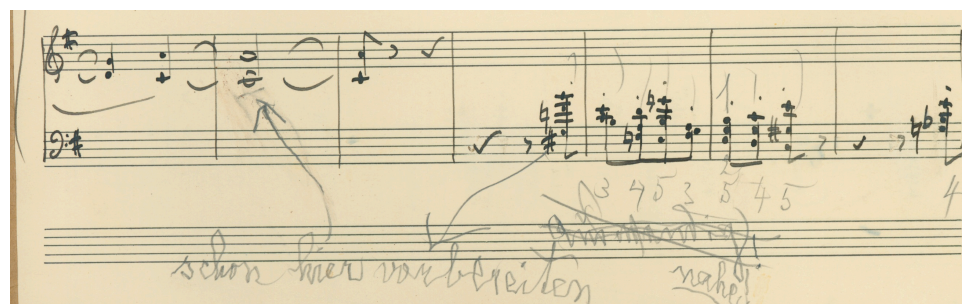


Fig. 2.14 Variations, VS2, first system on page 24: bars 325–31. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.



Fig. 2.15 Variations, VS2, last system on page 26: bars 362–9. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved

The ‘difficulties’ mentioned above are technical issues that can be fixed by sufficient practice. However, what was complicated in the work that made Wittgenstein find it hard to understand was perhaps Walker’s use of extended harmonies, which was likely to be slightly too advanced and unsettling for his ears due to the lack of proper resolution that he was adapted to. This may explain the reason why even though Wittgenstein had repeatedly expressed his appreciation of the Variations, he did not include the work in his regular repertoire like Schmidt’s Quintets. Besides the premiere in Vienna, he performed the piece only twice more. Firstly he played it privately before the composer at the Deneke’s on 20 February 1949, and then publicly at his Balliol debut a day later, on 21 February 1949. Whether or not Wittgenstein conceived the *Variations* as a complicated piece and found it difficult to play, the very limited number of performances of the work suggests that he probably did not like it as much as he stated.

CHAPTER 3

The Ignored Treasures: Norman Demuth and His Compositions for Piano Left-hand

Being the last British composer who followed in the footsteps of Ernest Walker and Benjamin Britten to write specifically for Wittgenstein's left hand, Norman Demuth (1898–1968) was however the only one who provided the pianist with two works: the Three Preludes and the Concerto for Piano (Left Hand) and Orchestra, both completed in 1946. According to Edel, Colin Mason and Robert Barnett, Demuth composed the *Legend* for piano left-hand and orchestra, three years later, in 1949. I have sought advice from Edel for the location of the manuscripts for the *Legend*, and he clarified that he might have just come across it from an article that involved Wittgenstein and he himself did not actually see the manuscripts. I believe that the article that Edel mentioned is the work list compiled first by Mason and then revised by Barnett on Oxford Music Online, which is so far the only source that I can find in which the *Legend* is included. The *HK-pwa* does not have any source materials of the *Legend*, and so it is unknown if Demuth had actually composed the work and where its autograph manuscript is located.¹

Born in South Croydon, London, Demuth was a violin, viola and composition student at the Royal College of Music (RCM) when the First World War broke out in 1914. In 1915 he abandoned his studies and joined the army, but was

¹ For more information on the *Legend*, see Edel, *Piano Music for One Hand*, 109, and Colin Mason and Robert Barnett. 'Demuth, Norman.' *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press. Web. 20 Jan. 2015.
<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/07547>>.

invalided out a year later.² Instead of re-entering the RCM to continue his studies, Demuth carried on composing on his own under the guidance of Dan Godfrey, who helped him greatly with the establishment of his musical career.

Today, Demuth is best remembered as a musicologist whose expertise was on French music, but his other musical identities such as organist, teacher, composer, conductor and speaker have been largely forgotten.³ As an active and all-round musician in both his native Britain and in France, Demuth had a long and highly diversified music career that was always closely bound up with the BBC. On 1 April 1927, Demuth conducted the Bognor Philharmonic Society in the closing concert of the West Sussex Choral Competition held in Bognor, which was broadcasted on 'BBC 6PM Bournemouth'.⁴ This concert was Demuth's first appearance on a BBC radio channel, which at the same time officially marked the beginning of his conducting career. Between 1929 and 1935 Demuth took up the conductorship of the Chichester Symphony Orchestra, but for most of the time he conducted both his own compositions and works by other composers in BBC concerts, whether live or broadcast. As a composer, Demuth was prolific and his compositional output consist of nine symphonies, six operas, eight ballet scores, several vocal and choral pieces, a few pieces for military band, a number of chamber and solo works and film music, as well as an impressive amount of incidental music and arrangements

² Demuth re-joined the army in 1941, but his position and duties were unknown. For more details, see BBC Written Archives Centre (WAC), RCont 1, Demuth, Norman (Composer File II, 1938–1944; Letters, 6 and 8 January 1941).

³ Apart from Oxford Music Online, the Harvard Biographical Dictionary of Music also contains a short biography of Demuth, which contrasts with the one on Oxford Music Online. There was no entry of Demuth in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, however.

⁴ Anonymous, 'Genome Project: Radio Times 1923–2009', *BBC Genome*. Web. 22 Jan. 2015. <<http://genome.ch.bbc.co.uk/search/0/20?order=asc&q=Demuth>>

of works by other composers that were commissioned by the BBC in the 1930s–50s. Demuth’s music was heard on the radio for the first time in 1928, when B. Walton O’Donnell conducted the Wireless Military Band performing his *Spanish-Dance Suite* in the Military Band Concert that was concurrently transmitted on ‘5XX Daventry’ and ‘2LO London’.⁵ Before this, Demuth had already introduced himself as a composer to the London audience in 1925, when the London Symphony Orchestra premiered his *Selsey Rhapsody* under the direction of Adrian Boult. However, it was the radio broadcast in 1928 that firmly established Demuth’s status as a composer.

Demuth’s ultimate goal was to establish a career as a full-time composer. However, as he later commented, being a full-time composer ‘was only possible with private means. It takes very much longer to become established in this branch of music than in any other... The composers who do nothing else but compose are very few and far between, and the majority have at one time or another earned their income from a variety of sources’.⁶ Knowing that he could not rely only on composing, Demuth quickly explored other employment opportunities both within and outside the BBC. For example, he entered the education sector in 1930 when he was appointed as Professor of Composition at the Royal Academy of Music (RAM), a post that he held until the end of his career. In 1935 he branched out into the field of musicology, and started giving introductory talks to concerts both on radio and at live performances.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Demuth made this comment in 1960 but it could have been the reflection of his own experiences and difficulties when he was setting up his musical career, especially the branch of composing. For more information about Demuth’s thoughts on starting a composing career, see Norman Demuth, ‘The Composer’, in Robert Elkin, ed. *A Career In Music* (London: Novello and Company Limited, 1960), 66.

Concurrently, he volunteered to write articles for the *Radio Times*, which laid the foundation for his literary career. Although Demuth started writing about music in the early 1930s, his first publication did not emerge until the late 1940s. He authored altogether eleven books, seven of which were on French music including three acclaimed biographies of composers such as Albert Roussel (1947), Maurice Ravel (1947) and César Franck (1949). In order to acknowledge Demuth's contributions, the French government made him a *Palme Académique (Officier d'Académie)* in 1949, a *Membre correspondant de l'Institut de France (Académie des Beaux Arts)* in 1954 and finally, a *Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur* in 1956.

Compared to his highly successful literary career, Demuth's musical career was relatively less promising. Although he was the first British musician to have received three invitations to act as Examiner at the Paris Conservatoire as well as the first British composer to have an opera accepted for production at the Opéra-Comique, Paris, he was never perceived as a first-rate composer. His music, which was already infrequently performed during his lifetime, has completely vanished from the concert halls today. In fact, Demuth tried very hard to publicise his music all his life. Starting from the late 1920s he kept sending his manuscripts to the Music Department of the BBC on a regular basis with the hope of getting them performed, but most of them were rejected by the Panel of the BBC New Music Committee straight away. Occasionally when a work was accepted for performance, it was mainly included in provincial programmes. The premiere of his *Selsey Rhapsody* in 1925 and the first performance of his *Valses graves et gaies* at Prom 37 in 1942, both of

which took place in London, were already the most notable among all the performances in which his music was played.⁷

Every time Demuth received a returned score from the BBC, he would immediately send a letter to ask for the reason of rejection, and each time the BBC gave a similar reply saying that his work was unsuitable for their programmes. Clarence Raybould, the assistant conductor of the BBC Symphony Orchestra, and Harry Croft-Jackson, one of the BBC Music Programme Organisers, however, revealed the real reasons behind the BBC's decisions. After conducting Demuth's *Fantasia and Fugue* in Bedford on 25 June 1945, Raybould wrote in an internal circulation memo that,

although as a matter of interest in the composer, I pleaded for a broadcast of his "Planetomania", I think it would be wise to delay its inclusion, at any rate, so far as I am concerned, because we had, in the recent broadcast of his "Fantasia and Fugue", a most annoying experience with the material, and, in addition, I am afraid I must admit that, despite the number of notes this man writes, there is never any music, and personally I should not mind if I never heard any more of his compositions.⁸

⁷ This was the delayed world premiere of Demuth's *Valses graves et gaies* played by the BBC Symphony Orchestra and conducted by Demuth himself. Originally, the BBC accepted this work in 1940 and Demuth was supposed to conduct its premiere at Prom 20 on 12 September. However, due to the intensifying nightly air raids in London, the Proms ceased on 8 September and the rest of the season was cancelled. Prom 25 on 7 September was the last concert of the 1940 season, as well as the last concert to be held at the Queen's Hall. For more information about the 1940 season, see 'Seasons – 1940 season', *BBC Proms Archive. British Broadcasting Corporation*. Web. 26 October 2014. <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/proms/features/history>>.

⁸ BBC Written Archives Centre (WAC), RCont 1, Demuth, Norman (Composer File III, 1945–1947; Internal memo, 9 July 1945).

While this could well have been Raybould's subjective view, Croft-Jackson's revelation of the BBC Panel's exact criticism of Demuth's music and his own commentary on the personality of the composer in a letter to his colleague dated 14 December 1956 further supported Raybould's opinions. He wrote that Demuth

is still as muddle-headed, illogical, and self-contradictory as ever. He obviously finds comfort in a spate of notes and refuge in self-deception. I wish he would perceive more and conceive less. (I see that yet another of his works – Sonata for alto saxophone and piano – was rejected at yesterday's New Music Committee meeting; same criticism as usual: 'mere note-spinning; piano part over-written; pouring out his ill-assorted sounds; composed with no inspiration'.⁹

No concert reviews can be found to disclose the audience's reception of Demuth's performed works, but the eventual extinction of his music seems to suggest that the audience's judgements could well have been similar to that of Raybould and the BBC Panel. Possibly unaware of these criticisms, however, Demuth continued his composing activities and produced a large number of pieces that would never be performed, including the two works he composed for and dedicated to Wittgenstein.

It is well documented that Wittgenstein privately invited Walker and formally commissioned Britten to each compose a work for his left hand. In the case of Demuth, however, it is not known if Wittgenstein actually commissioned two works from him. Since both Wittgenstein and Demuth worked with the same

⁹ BBC Written Archives Centre (WAC), RCont 1, Demuth, Norman (Composer File V, 1954–1956; Letter, 14 December 1956).

conductors and orchestras repeatedly during their long careers in Britain, they could well have made an acquaintance through their common collaborators. Even so, the absence of any kind of correspondence between them suggests they were not personal friends, and it is therefore unlikely that Wittgenstein informally asked Demuth to compose for him. It was also doubtful if Wittgenstein would have desired to commission Demuth on a professional and practical level. Firstly, if Wittgenstein were eager to use a new commission to save his declining performing career in the mid-1940s, he would only, as per his usual practice, hire the most prominent composers of the era to help him achieve his goal. Since Demuth was never categorised as a first-rate composer but one with poorly received music and a limited reputation, Wittgenstein simply would not have considered engaging Demuth in his commissioning project. Secondly, if Wittgenstein had listened to Demuth's compositions before, he would have realised that his and Demuth's musical style were situated at two extremes. Having commissioned several composers such as Prokofiev and Hindemith, whose musical styles were far beyond his understanding, it was unlikely that Wittgenstein would want to repeat the same 'mistake' again.

If Wittgenstein did not commission Demuth, what would have motivated Demuth to compose two compositions for piano left-hand and dedicate them to the pianist? And why did he do so only in 1946 and not earlier? Before re-joining the British Army in 1941, Demuth wrote a letter to Raybould suggesting him to contact J. & W. Chester to obtain his scores when and if he

decided to perform any of his works during his absence.¹⁰ At the end of the same letter Demuth added in a postscript saying that he was ‘doing a Piano Concerto in my odd moments’.¹¹ Although he did not reveal whether the piano concerto was intended for two hands or just the left hand, since the piano concerto he composed for and dedicated to Wittgenstein in 1946 was the first and only piano concerto he wrote after the Second World War, it is possible that he contemplated composing for the pianist as early as in 1941.

The reason that prompted Demuth to write music for Wittgenstein in 1946 but not earlier was largely due to the development of his composing career. When Wittgenstein commenced his performing career in Britain in 1927, Demuth has already established himself as a composer and his compositions were regularly performed. However, when he was serving in the British Army in 1941–6, only one work of his, the *Fantasia and Fugue*, was performed. Being eager and perhaps desperate to resume his composing career after the War, Demuth needed to produce a work that would guarantee him a success, and composing for Wittgenstein, which could bring both fame and fortune as many of his predecessors had shown, seemed to be a fitting option.

¹⁰ BBC Written Archives Centre (WAC), RCont 1, Demuth, Norman (Composer File II, 1938–1944; Letter, 6 January 1941). As the surviving record shows, Raybould only performed Demuth’s *Fantasia and Fugue* in 1945.

¹¹ Ibid.

Three Preludes (1946)

Demuth's first dedication to Wittgenstein was a solo piano piece titled *Three Preludes*, which he completed on 25 April 1946.¹² The work remains unpublished, and its autograph manuscript is currently residing at the Paul Wittgenstein Music Library and Archives in Hong Kong (*HK-pwa*). Without a cover page, this manuscript has two bifolios [fols. 1–4] in total, of which the *verso* of the last folio is blank. The actual music [fols. 1r–4r] is written on portrait-oriented, 12-stave manuscript paper whose brand name is not printed. The dedication and title of composition are written at the top of the first page [fol. 1r] (Fig. 3.1), and Demuth signed and dated the manuscript at the bottom right corner following the ending of the piece on the second last page. Since the manuscript is completely clean and does not contain any corrections, it is certainly not a working draft but the final version ready for the performer's use. The lack of Wittgenstein's typical annotations, on the other hand, confirms that even if he had seen or looked through the manuscript, he did not study it and probably had no intention of performing it.

¹² The month in the date of composition is given in roman numerals and Demuth's handwriting can be read as III (March) or IV (April). I take April as my conjecture because the middle stroke looks more like the diagonal stroke on the left side of the V rather than a straight-down stroke in the middle of the III.



Fig. 3.1 First page [fol. 1r] of the Three Preludes (1946): bars 1–9. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

Demuth's first attempt has a close relationship with the number 'three': it is titled as Three Preludes and each prelude is set in a three-part structure. Also, they can either be interpreted as three self-contained pieces or grouped as a quasi-sonata in three movements: *Allegro–Andante con moto–Vigoroso*. Either way, the three preludes share a number of musical similarities that represent some of Demuth's musical styles and the musical trends in the 20th century. The first notable thing they have in common is the lack of 'definable tunes',¹³ which is a musical characteristic commonly found in Demuth's compositions, as Colin Mason and Robert Barnett observed. The opening of the first prelude shows a self-accompanying melodic line that is not tuneful but highly chromatic (Ex. 3.1a). In the second prelude, a vague melody can be extracted from the chordal texture but it is quite angular in contour (Ex. 3.1b). Permeated by successive octaves and block chords, the third prelude is the least 'melodious' and the most percussive one within the set (Ex. 3.1c).

¹³ Colin Mason and Robert Barnett. 'Demuth, Norman.' *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press. Web. 11 Apr. 2014.
<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/07547>>.

Allegro

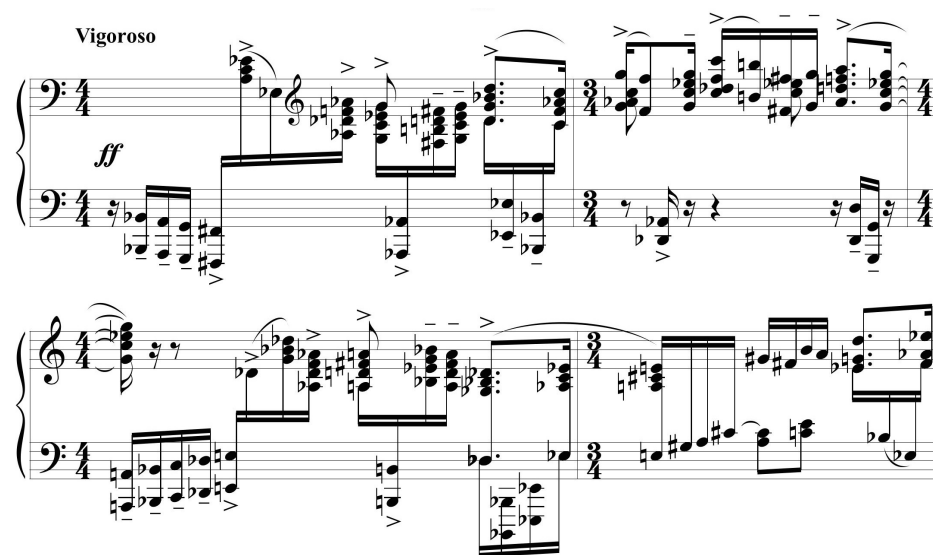
The first prelude: bars 1–4

Ex. 3.1a The first prelude: bars 1–4

Andante con moto

The second prelude: bars 1–4

Ex. 3.1b The second prelude: bars 1–4



Ex. 3.1c The third prelude: bars 1–4

Mason and Barnett commented that Demuth's harmony was 'complex but subtle', and became 'rather hard and severe' especially in the later works.¹⁴ In this composition from Demuth's mid- to late compositional period, the harmonies used in the Three Preludes are both complex and dissonant. Firstly, Demuth did not use a key signature in the Preludes to purposely avoid any explicit key establishment. Secondly, even though diatonic and chromatic chords can be found in the preludes, they did not form any conventional harmonic progressions. Instead, these chords, together with the octaves and the so-called 'self-accompanying melodies', progress through loose sequences in semitones that make all three preludes sound highly chromatic. The deliberate avoidance of key establishment and traditional dominant-tonic progressions are undoubtedly some of the compositional techniques that were favoured by many of Demuth's contemporaries.

¹⁴ Ibid.

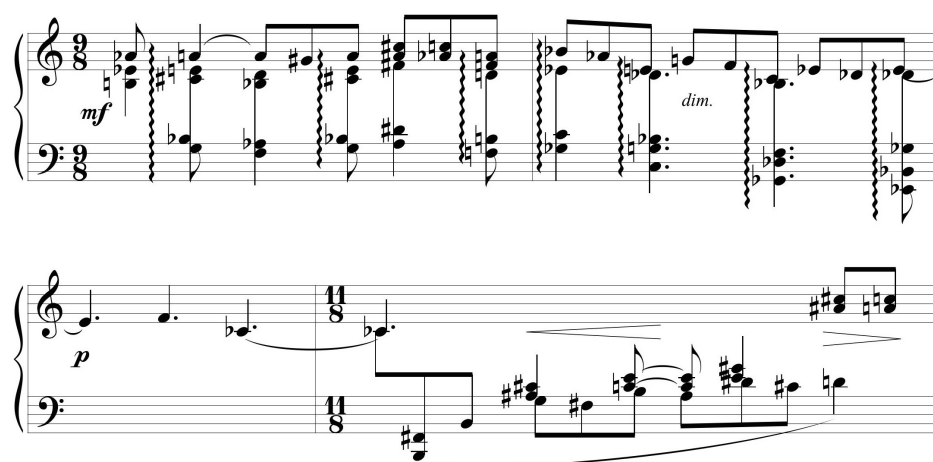
Frequent change of metre is the last similarity shared by all three preludes, which is once again a musical characteristic typically found in 20th-century music. All three preludes were set in a regular time signature, but they were metrically unstable. In the third prelude, the first change in time signature takes place as early as in bar 2, which is then followed by a series of metrical changes (see Ex. 3.1c above). A similar procedure is also applied in the other two preludes in which more irregular time signatures can be observed (see Exx. 3.1a and 3.1b above). The extremely rapid and frequent metrical changes, together with the use of irregular rhythms added another level of instability to music which is already melodically and harmonically unstable.

While Demuth's melodic, harmonic and metrical handling in his Three Preludes was quite personal, his piano writing was nonetheless similar to that of the other composers who had composed for Wittgenstein. Even so, each prelude has its own particular pattern(s) to distinguish themselves from the others. Marked *Allegro*, the first prelude is essentially built on a two-part, self-accompanying melodic pattern, which later develops into a multi-layered, self-accompanying melodic figuration whose texture is thickened by dotted block chords (Ex. 3.2a). The second prelude, *Andante con moto*, begins in a similar way with its predecessor, but soon develops into a chordal texture in which series of arpeggiated chords become its own characteristic (Ex. 3.2b). The third prelude, *Vigorouso*, is based on two of the most usual figurations that are associated with virtuosity, including successive octaves (in descending motion in this case) and block chords (Ex. 3.2c). The quick alternations between octaves and block chords spanning across several registers clearly place a high

technical demand on the pianist. Besides these two typical patterns, the third prelude also recycles materials from the previous two preludes. These include the two-voice, self-accompanying melody from the first prelude and the arpeggiated chords from the second (Ex. 3.2d). According to Mason and Barnett, ‘Demuth’s form is often cyclic, and in many cases a large-scale work is evolved from one or two short motifs’. Although the Three Preludes is not a large-scale work, it does demonstrate Demuth’s cyclic treatment of materials. Reusing materials from the previous preludes in the last not only helps to achieve thematic unity within this set, it also validates the assumption that the three preludes were conceived as a quasi-sonata in three movements.



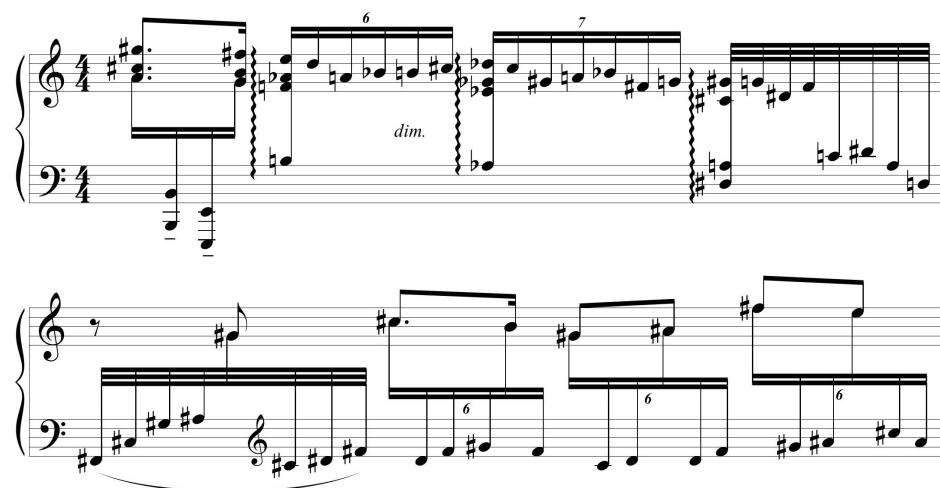
Ex. 3.2a The first prelude: bars 8–11



Ex. 3.2b The second prelude: bars 10–13



Ex. 3.2c The third prelude: bars 11–14



Ex. 3.2d The third prelude: bars 5–6

The Concerto for Piano (Left Hand) and Orchestra (1946)

In November 1946 Demuth completed another composition for Wittgenstein. Instead of composing another solo piece or a chamber work, Demuth tried the genre that Wittgenstein favoured most: the concerto. Scoring for piano left-hand, 2 flutes, 1 oboe, 1 English horn, 2 clarinets in B-flat, 2 bassoons, 4 horns in F, 3 trumpets in B-flat, 2 tenor trombones, 1 bass trombone, 1 tuba, 3 kettledrums and the strings family, the Concerto for Piano (Left Hand) and Orchestra (1946) has three movements in total, which is set in a fast-slow-fast structure. As with the Three Preludes, the Concerto is also unpublished. Its two surviving sources, a full score (C-S1) and a two-piano reduction score (C-S2) that were written out by Demuth himself, are currently housed at the *HK-pwa*. C-S1 has 33 bifolios in total, which are held together by plastic tape. It has a front cover/title page [fol. 1r], and 130 pages of music [fols. 1v–66r] that are written in black ink with special annotations marked by Demuth in red. The whole autograph is written on a 24-stave, portrait-oriented manuscript paper that does not bear a brand name.

C-S2, on the other hand, has 26 folios in total and they are also held together by plastic tape. It has a front cover/title page [fol. 1r], and 50 pages of music [fols. 1v–26r] that are also written in black ink with special annotations marked by the composer in red. The whole autograph for C-S2 is written on a 12-stave, portrait-oriented manuscript paper that is also unnamed. One point to note about the two-piano reduction score is that, instead of placing the piano part in the upper system and the orchestra part in the lower system, Demuth reversed

the order of their placement. However, this has been corrected according to standard practice in all musical examples provided in this discussion.

Representing the same piece in two different formats, CS-1 and CS-2 nevertheless show a number of pitch differences that are listed in Table 3.1 below:

Movement	Bar	Voice/Beat	CS-1	CS-2
I	4	Whole bar	Not notated	‘Kettledrum pattern’: 4 octaves on D, D, G and G in the bass clef ¹⁵
	26	1 st beat, 1 st chord	G–C#–F#	G#–C#–F#
		2 nd beat, 1 st chord	C#–G#	G#–C#–G#
	28	3 rd beat, 3 rd note	D	B _b
	57	1 st beat, 1 st note	D _b with a flat sign	D; original flat sign being crossed out
	62	Top voice, 1 st beat, 1 st chord	A _b –D	A _b –C
	63	Last beat, 2 nd note	C#	C
	66	Lower voice, 1 st beat, 1 st note	F	F#; the original natural sign was replaced by the sharp sign
		Upper and lower voices, 2 nd beat, 1 st note	F	F _‡
		Lower voice, 3 rd beat, last chord	Single F#	F#–D
	77	Last beat, 3 rd note	F#	F _‡
	89	Whole bar	Not notated	‘Kettledrum pattern’ in lighter ink
	93	Last beat, last note	B _b	G _b
	114	1 st beat, 3 rd note	F#	F
	124	2 nd beat, 2 nd note	D	D _b
	127	2 nd beat, 2 nd octave	D _‡ –D	D _‡ –D _‡
	129	2 nd beat, 2 nd last note	A	G#

Table 3.1 Pitch differences between CS-1 and CS-2 (to be continued)

¹⁵ Although the ‘Kettledrum pattern’ was played by several instruments when it first appeared in bar 4 of the first movement, Demuth marked the same pattern with ‘K. sim.’ [Kettledrum *simile*] in the piano part in bar 89 of CS-2 and thus I associate this pattern with the kettledrum.

Movement	Bar	Voice/Beat	CS-1	CS-2
II	19	Top voice, 1 st beat, 1 st chord	B–D [♯]	D–F [♯]
	29	Last beat, 2 nd note	C	C _♭
	83	Chord in the treble clef	D _♭ –E _♭ –F–B _♭	D _♭ –E _♭ –F–G _♭ –B _♭
III	5	Last note	A	G
	10	2 nd beat, 2 nd note	E	E [♯]
	129	1 st beat, 1 st note	No notation	A _♭
	134	1 st beat, 1 st note	No notation	C
	155	Last octave	G–G	A–A

Table 3.1 (Cont'd) Pitch differences between CS-1 and CS-2

A number of pitch differences listed above significantly alter the way the piano part is constructed or sounded. For example, there is a ‘Kettledrum pattern’ in bar 4 of the first movement in CS-2, which is not seen in CS-1 (Exx. 3.3a and 3.3b). In CS-2, the first two beats in both clefs in the second piano are taken up by a minim block chord and the solo piano part falls silent after striking a block chord on the first beat, so the inclusion of the ‘Kettledrum pattern’ in the solo piano part can both avoid idleness and help propel the music forward. The solo piano part in CS-1, on the other hand, does not need this notation because the bass trombone, bass tuba, cellos and the basses as well as three kettledrums are playing this pattern. The second significant pitch difference appears in bar 57. In CS-1, the first note is clearly notated as D_♭, whereas in CS-2 the flat sign is crossed out totally (Figs. 3.2a and 3.2b). No hints can be drawn from the orchestra as the solo piano is the only instrument that sounds here, but by looking at the same pattern (F–C–D–C) in the previous bar, it was possible that Demuth changed his mind and changed D_♭ back to D as a repeat. Occasionally, the choice of pitch makes more sense in one source than the other. In bar 77 of CS-2, for example, F_♯ is used as the third note in the broken-chord figuration in the last beat in the lower voice, while F[♯] is used in CS-1 (Exx. 3.4a and 3.4b).

As the second and third notes of all broken-chord figurations in this bar are at a minor third apart, the pitch notation seems sensible in CS-2. When a similar pattern returns in bar 114, however, CS-1 uses F \sharp as the third note in the broken-chord figuration on the first beat whereas CS-2 uses F (Exx. 3.4c and 3.4d). Since both the upper part of the solo piano and the second piano plays F \sharp here, the pitch notation in CS-1 is correct this time around.

Ex. 3.3a CS-1, first movement: bars 1–4

Ex. 3.3b CS-2, first movement: bars 1–4



Fig. 3.2a CS-1, first movement: bars 56–8. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

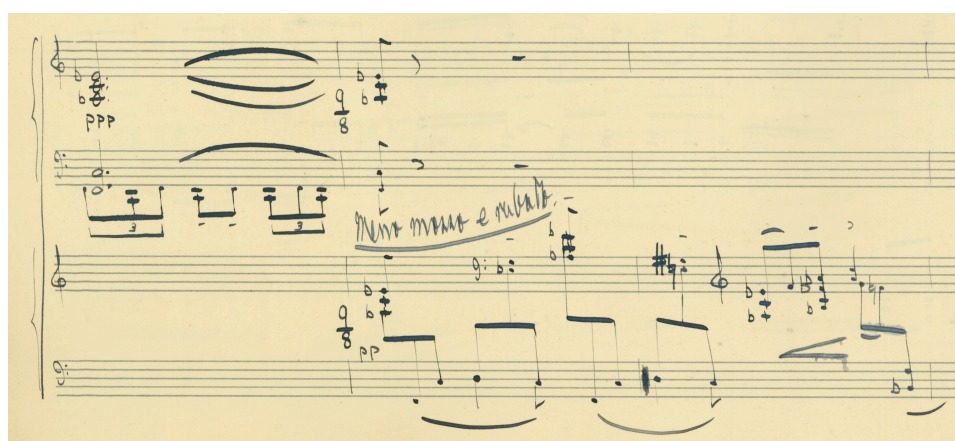
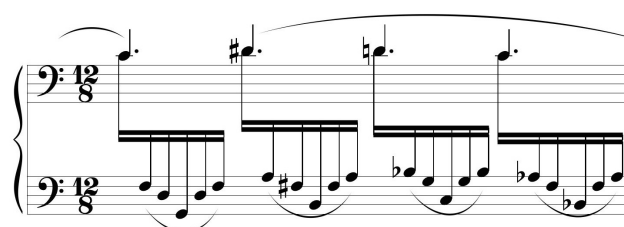
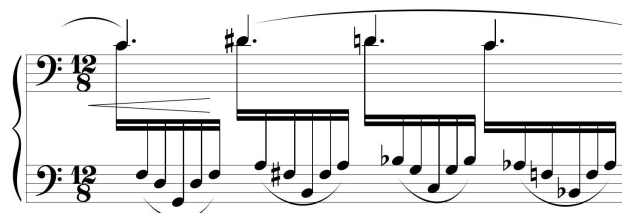


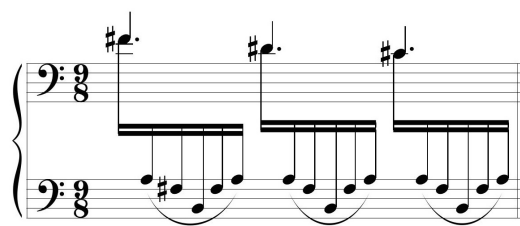
Fig. 3.2b CS-2, first movement: bars 55–7 [fol. 5v]. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.



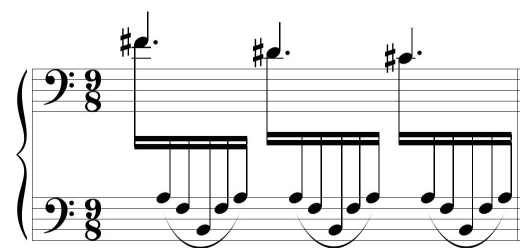
Ex. 3.4a CS-1, first movement: bar 77



Ex. 3.4b CS-2, first movement: bar 77



Ex. 3.4c CS-1, first movement: bar 114



Ex. 3.4d CS-2, first movement: bar 114

Occasionally, some pitch differences are simply mistakes. In bar 83 of the second movement, for example, the single chord in the treble clef is apparently written as a five-note chord (D \flat –E \flat –F–G \flat –B \flat) in CS-2. In CS-1 the same chord has only four notes (D \flat –E \flat –F–B \flat) with a flat sign notated on the second line (Figs. 3.3a and 3.3b). This extra flat sign on the G line suggests that Demuth probably intended to include G \flat in the chord, yet he forgot to write out the note-head. Two further errors can be found in bars 129 and 134 of the third movement. Both bars are empty in CS-1, but in CS-2 bar 129 is notated with A \flat and bar 134 with C (Exx. 3.5a and 3.5b). As the notation in bars 126–27 shows, this is a 9-note pattern in descending motion that ends with a single quaver on the downbeat of the second bar. Since bars 128–29 and 133–34 are melodic sequences of bar 126–27, the notation in CS-2 is right. Comparing the two sources, CS-1 contains more doubtful or even wrong pitches, many of which are clarified or corrected in CS-2. This seems to suggest that CS-2 was

made after CS-1, and when Demuth prepared the two-piano reduction he did not merely copy the solo part over but actually revisited, re-considered and revised his pitch notations.

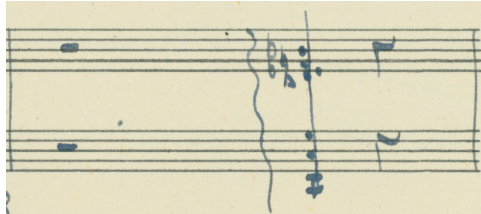


Fig. 3.3a CS-1, second movement: bar 83 [fol. 45r]¹⁶
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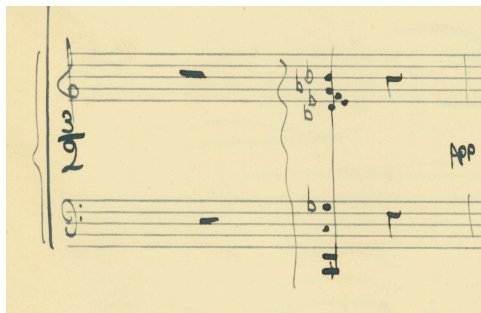
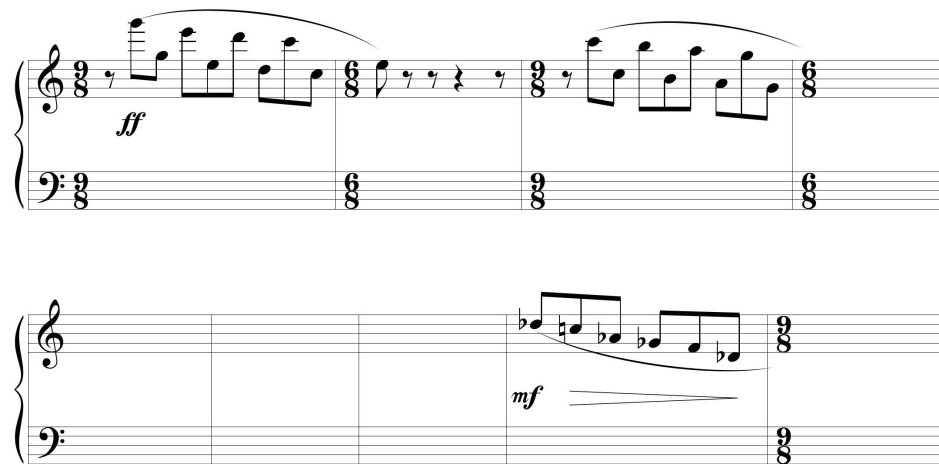
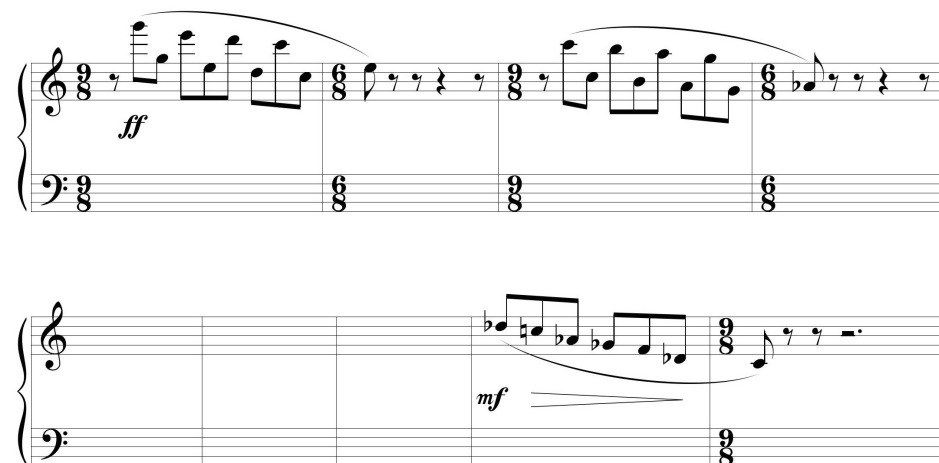


Fig. 3.3b CS-2, second movement: bar 83 [fol. 19r]
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¹⁶ No clefs are shown on this particular manuscript page, but the clefs appeared two pages before suggest here in bar 83 the notes in the upper stave belong to the treble clef and the notes in the lower stave belong to the bass clef.



Ex. 3.5a CS-1, third movement: bars 126–34



Ex. 3.5b CS-2, third movement: bars 126–34

Besides pitch deviations, the use of cautionary accidentals and note placements also differ between the two sources. Demuth's application of cautionary accidentals in both sources was extensive yet inconsistent, with CS-2 containing a larger number of cautionary accidentals that are quite unnecessary. In bar 22 of the first movement, for example, Demuth assigned two cautionary natural signs to the B octave in the second beat. However, the solo piano last played B \flat in bar 19, which is three bars before and the flattened

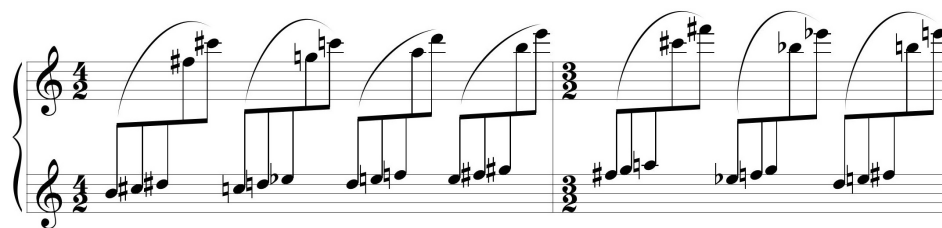
B has already been cancelled in bar 20 (Ex. 3.6). Sporadically, some cautionary accidentals are only seen in CS-2 and there is a good reason for this. In bar 71 of the first movement, for example, there are five beats in total, and they all share the same broken-chord pattern in the lower voice, with accidentals given in the first beat. Due to insufficient space in the first system, this bar is being split into two halves and the last two beats have been moved down to the second system (Fig. 3.4). Thus, it is necessary to use cautionary sharp signs for F \sharp , C \sharp and D \sharp in the second half of bar 71 in the second system to prevent the pianist from playing them wrongly. The most interesting use of cautionary accidentals emerges in bar 17 of the second movement. In CS-1, the second and third notes in the first beat are G and A \natural , whereas in CS-2 they became G \natural and A (Exx. 3.7a and 3.7b). Despite being named differently, these two sets of pitches are literally the same. The \natural sign for the A in CS-1 and the G in CS-2 are both cautionary yet redundant, but the latter is more sensible as the G \natural in CS-2 immediately cancels the G \sharp in the last beat of the solo piano part in the previous bar while the A \natural in CS-2 cancels the A \sharp in the first beat of the second piano part in bar 16. The large difference in the number of cautionary accidentals between the two sources and the way they are used in CS-2, as with pitch notations, once again show that Demuth has undergone a process of revision when he made the two-piano reduction from the full score. It is not difficult to understand why Demuth would have been lavish with the use of cautionary accidentals in CS-2. This is because CS-2 would be the score that Wittgenstein used to practise if he were to perform it, and since the concerto is highly chromatic, it is necessary to use precise notations in order to make sure the pianist can identify all the chromatic notes and play them correctly.



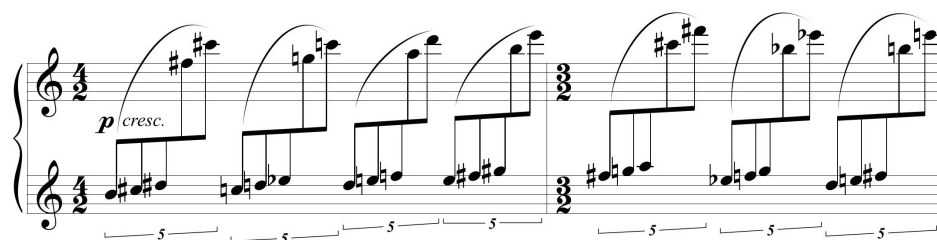
Ex. 3.6 CS-2, first movement: bars 19–22



Fig. 3.4 CS-2, first movement: bars 70–2 [fol. 7r]. Reprinted with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.



Ex. 3.7a CS-1, second movement: bars 16–17



Ex. 3.7b CS-2, second movement: bars 16–17

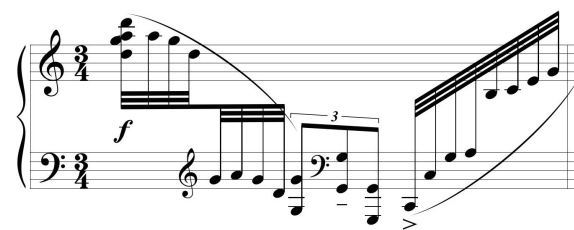
Quite a number of note placements are not identical between CS-1 and CS-2, mainly because of the different writing spaces on the manuscript paper on which these two sources are based. Unlike pitches and cautionary accidentals, there is no right or wrong note placement in the sources, only better or worse. In bars 47–56 of the second movement of CS-1, for example, the lower voice is written in the bass clef in bar 47, and despite the clef change in bar 48, the lower voice in treble clef is still placed in the lower stave (Ex. 3.8a). Although both voices are notated in treble clef, their placement in two different staves seems to portray a ‘melody with accompaniment’ texture. In CS-2 the entire lower voice is notated in the treble clef in the upper stave as with the top voice (Ex. 3.8b). This format brings the two voices closer, which makes it easier to read; it also looks more like a self-accompanying melody typical of left-hand piano music. Not all note placements are necessarily musically related, as sometimes they simply reflect concerns for score reading. For example, the

second half of the first beat and the first octave of the second beat triplets in bar 118 of the first movement are placed in the treble clef in CS-1, whereas in CS-2 these are placed in the bass clef (Exx. 3.9a and 3.9b). The note placement in CS-1 is more effective as it is perhaps because it shows clearly a continuously unfolding melodic line that can be read easily. The setup in CS-2, on the other hand, lacks the visual continuity in CS-1 and is less idiomatic for ease of reading due to the use of excessive ledger lines.

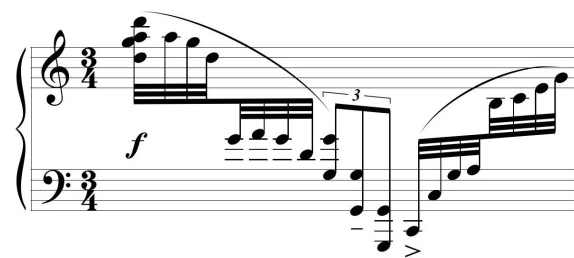
Ex. 3.8a CS-1, second movement, bars 47–56



Ex. 3.8b CS-2, second movement: bars 47–56



Ex. 3.9a CS-1, first movement, bar 118



Ex. 3.9b CS-2, first movement, bar 118

Bearing the name ‘concerto’ in its title and being set in a conventional three-movement formal structure, the concerto seems to be like any other ordinary piano concerto. However, Demuth’s handling of musical form, especially in the first movement, and his use of tonality and harmonic treatments show that the concerto is a highly original and personal work that does not really follow the tradition. For the opening *Allegro risoluto*, Demuth did not use a double-exposition form but a distorted sonata-allegro form, which is illustrated in Table 3.2 below. Without composing definite themes, Demuth presented his musical ideas as theme-areas and connected them with an orchestral interlude to form the exposition. The long developmental section combines materials from the two theme-areas, followed by a brief cadenza based on the second theme-area before the opening passage returns to conclude the movement. Theme-areas and other sections are marked by changes in piano writing, not key areas and/or modulations.

Bar	Section
1–69	Exposition: first theme-area—orchestral interlude—second theme-area
70–131	Development: combined first theme- and second theme-areas
132–145	Cadenza: second theme-area
146–156	Recapitulation: opening passage of the first theme-area

Table 3.2 Formal structure of the first movement

As with the Three Preludes, the Concerto is also highly chromatic. Demuth once again did not use a key signature in any of the three movements in the concerto, and he constructed the work with pentatonic and modal harmonies. The first movement begins with a pentatonic scale on G–A–C–D–E, and the emergence of the notes B in bar 4 gives a strong trace of G major. However,

the appearances of F \sharp in bars 6–9, for example, overthrow the pseudo establishment of G major and confirms the G Mixolydian mode (Ex. 3.10a). The same setup recurs as the first-theme area returns in bar 146, but in bar 154 Demuth removes the note C from the orchestra, creating a major pentatonic scale on G, A, B, D, and E, which brings the first movement to a close (Ex. 3.10b). Compared to the two outer movements, the second movement is relatively less dissonant and it opens and ends in the same mode. It starts off with an ascending E major scale in Ionian mode that accumulates to a stack of notes in bar 6 (and again in bar 92 towards the end of the movement), and Demuth's deliberate avoidance of the subdominant here gives both the opening and the ending a pentatonic sound. (Exx. 3.11a and 3.11b). The final movement is set in a pentatonic harmony based on A and Demuth switches between its major (A–B–C \sharp –E–F \sharp) and minor forms (A–C–D–E–G) throughout (Ex. 3.12a). The excessive use of semitones gives the movement a highly chromatic sound and the repetitive open fourths and fifths add an extra level of hollowness to it. The juxtaposition of A minor pentatonic and A major pentatonic still holds strong towards the end of the movement, but the removal of C \sharp after bar 155 and F \sharp after bar 158 suggest Demuth eventually decided to conclude the concerto in a minor mode (Ex. 3.12b)

Allegro risoluto

The musical score is for the opening of the first movement, bars 1-4. It is in 3/4 time and features a 4-measure phrase. The Piano part starts with a forte (ff) dynamic and a sixteenth-note triplet. The Orchestra part starts with a mezzo-forte (mf) dynamic and a half-note triplet. The Piano part continues with a sixteenth-note triplet and a half-note triplet. The Orchestra part continues with a half-note triplet and a half-note triplet. The Piano part ends with a half-note triplet and a half-note triplet. The Orchestra part ends with a half-note triplet and a half-note triplet.

Ex. 3.10a

CS-2, opening of the first movement: bars 1-4 (to be continued)

This musical score excerpt shows the piano and orchestra parts for bars 5-8 of the opening of the first movement of CS-2. The piano part features a complex melodic line with triplets and slurs. The orchestra part consists of two staves, with the upper staff playing chords and the lower staff playing a more rhythmic accompaniment. The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#), and the time signature is 2/4.

Ex. 3.10a (cont'd) CS-2, opening of the first movement: bars 5–8 (to be continued)

This musical score excerpt shows the piano and orchestra parts for bar 9 of the opening of the first movement of CS-2. The piano part continues with a melodic line that includes a triplet and a sextuplet. The orchestra part features a rhythmic accompaniment with triplets and slurs. The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#), and the time signature is 2/4.

Ex. 3.10a (cont'd) CS-2, opening of the first movement: bar 9

The image displays a musical score for Piano and Orchestra, specifically the ending of the first movement, bars 153-6. The score is written in 3/4 time and consists of three systems of staves.

System 1: The Piano part (Piano) begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. It features a melodic line with a trill in the first measure, followed by a series of eighth notes and a final eighth-note chord. The Orchestra part (Orchestra) is in the bass clef and features a series of eighth notes and a final eighth-note chord. A bracket of 7 measures is indicated.

System 2: The Piano part (Pno.) continues with a melodic line that includes a trill and a series of eighth notes. A bracket of 10 measures is indicated. The Orchestra part (Orch.) features a series of eighth notes and a final eighth-note chord. A bracket of 9 measures is indicated.

System 3: The Piano part (Pno.) continues with a melodic line that includes a trill and a series of eighth notes. A bracket of 6 measures is indicated. The Orchestra part (Orch.) features a series of eighth notes and a final eighth-note chord. A bracket of 3 measures is indicated.

Ex. 3.10b CS-2, ending of the first movement: bars 153-6

Adagio ma non troppo

Piano

Orchestra

pp

Pno.

p

Orch.

Ex. 3.11a CS-2, opening of the second movement: bars 1–6

The musical score is arranged in three systems, each featuring a Piano (Pno.) and an Orchestra (Orch.) part. The key signature is three sharps (F#, C#, G#), and the time signature is 3/4.

- System 1:** The Piano part consists of whole rests. The Orchestra part features a melodic line in the upper strings and a harmonic accompaniment in the lower strings.
- System 2:** The Piano part begins with a five-measure rest, followed by a melodic phrase starting on a half note G#4, marked *p* (piano). It concludes with a *pp* (pianissimo) flourish. The Orchestra part provides a steady accompaniment with chords and moving lines.
- System 3:** The Piano part continues with a melodic line, including a triplet of eighth notes. The Orchestra part maintains its accompaniment, with some chords held across measures.

Ex. 3.11b CS-2, ending of the second movement: bars 87–97

Vivace

Piano

mf

Orchestra

sfz

mf

p

p

Pno.

f

Orch.

Ex. 3.12a CS-2, opening of the third movement: bars 1–6

Ex. 3.12b CS-2, ending of the third movement: bars 154–63

Although the Concerto was Demuth's first attempt in writing a concerto for piano left-hand and orchestra, it was his second composition for piano left-hand, and his handling of the piano shows that he has a thorough understanding of writing for this medium. He fully exploited the versatility of the piano in his Concerto by requiring the pianist to take on the roles as soloist, partner with the orchestra, accompanist and percussionist. The virtuosic role as a soloist is immediately introduced at the beginning of the first movement, as the piano plays a cascading broken-chord figuration in a cadenza-like gesture (see Ex. 3.10a above). This agitated opening is followed by passages that are filled with the usual figurations for technical displays, including block chords, octaves,

fast-running scale-like patterns in both regular and irregular rhythms and self-accompanying melodies. The role as a partner with the orchestra emerges in a musical dialogue initiated first by the orchestra in bar 70, then responded to by the piano in the next bar with an arch-like melody in the upper voice accompanied by a repetitive, also arch-like but inverted broken-chord pattern in the lower voice (Ex. 3.13). This allows the piano to be heard clearly while giving the pianist an opportunity to exhibit his techniques in using his thumb to outline the stepwise, legato melody in the upper voice while controlling his other four fingers to play a murmuring accompaniment evenly in the lower voice. The piano's third role as accompanist is presented in bars 20–30 of the second movement, in which the piano plays an extended series of rippling sextuplets as accompaniment for the orchestra who plays a stepwise melody (Ex. 3.14). These ten bars of broken-chord figurations show that the piano is capable of producing continuous, legato and steady single-line accompaniment comparable to that of the strings. The piano's last role as percussionist emerges in the last movement, in which it plays extended staccato phrases and series of powerful running octaves (Ex. 3.15). These highly percussive passages are occasionally contrasted by legato, scale-like melodic lines that burst out like a glissando struck by a harp. In the latter part of the movement Demuth introduced a new pattern featuring octave displacement, resembling a typical melodic line played by a xylophone or a marimba (Fig. 3.5). Requiring the pianist to roll his wrist to articulate both notes of the octave and execute them with a slur at *Vivace*, this is the most difficult part to play within the third movement. Clearly, Demuth was aware of the great difficulty embedded in the pattern as he has suggested to Wittgenstein that 'if the ♭'s are impossible at the

speed, play ♯'s as written in red'. Consisting of a single-line melody with an angular contour moving at a slower speed, the simplified version is much easier but has inevitably suffered a great loss in both the virtuosity and excitement that had made the original version so extraordinary. The four roles of the piano and the figurations it plays in the Concerto show that Demuth, in contrast to Walker who equated virtuosity with lyricism, adopted the most traditional way to interpret virtuosity: that is, to present it through mere technical displays.

Ex. 3.13 CS-2, first movement: bars 70–72

Piano

pp

Orchestra

p

Pno.

Orch.

Pno.

Orch.

Ex. 3.14 CS-2, second movement, bars 20–22



Ex. 3.15 CS-2, third movement, bars 82–93



Fig. 3.5 CS-2, third movement: bars 111–14 [fol. 24]. Reproduced with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

While exploring the technical possibilities of the left hand, Demuth also brought Wittgenstein's physical disability into consideration. As with other composers such as Walker, who was careful not to overwork Wittgenstein's hand in his *Variations on an Original Theme*, Demuth also allowed plentiful chances for Wittgenstein to rest his hand using plentiful rests and/or empty

bars after each of the long passageworks. Besides taking care of Wittgenstein's hand, Demuth also tried to satisfy his desire to be the soloist who is superior to the orchestra. For example, Demuth included several brief solo passages and a short cadenza in the first movement for him to demonstrate his piano techniques. The cadenza is not particularly virtuosic, however, as it is based on the two-part counterpoint in the second theme-area and the self-accompanying melodic writing in the development, which lacks the breathtaking running octaves and other scale patterns introduced in the first theme-area. If Wittgenstein ever intended to play the Concerto, it seems highly likely that he would have recomposed a cadenza to his own liking or repeated exactly what he had done to Strauss, who initially provided him with a five-bar cadenza in the first draft of the *Parergon*, by demanding Demuth to expand the cadenza of fourteen bars into an extended, brilliant cadenza.

Similar piano writing can be found in both the Three Preludes and the Concerto, but since these two compositions are of a different genre, it is inappropriate to compare Demuth's handling of the piano in them. Yet a point can be made on the level of virtuosity embedded in the piano part in these two compositions. The piano part in the Three Preludes covers a wide range of the keyboard, meaning that the pianist needs a highly proficient left hand to jump up and down the keyboard to play the patterns both accurately and punctually. However, the piano part in the Concerto is less complex and covers a smaller keyboard range, and thus the level of virtuosity associated with it has been greatly reduced. Although it was unusual for Demuth to use a simpler piano part in his Concerto while most of the other concerto composers tried to

compose one with the highest level of virtuosity possible, he maximised the probability of impressing Wittgenstein by providing two compositions for him. Unfortunately however, the hypercritical pianist accepted neither of them and it is not difficult to understand why. Demuth declared once that he was ‘particularly interested in all new music of any style and in unfamiliar music of any period ... and the “Great Masters” do not interest me very much’ and he also described the music of ‘Beethoven and Brahms as ‘antipathetic’.¹⁷ Although Demuth chose the conventional prelude and concerto to be the form of his two compositions, the modernist musical styles he expressed in them would have prevented Wittgenstein from accepting them. To Wittgenstein, the Three Preludes would have been exceedingly difficult and musically unapproachable because of its intense use of chromaticism and the lack of tuneful melodies. With a much simpler piano part and more lucid melodic interests and hints of functional harmonies, the Concerto was still too distant from the conventional concertos that Wittgenstein was accustomed to and could understand. ‘Thank you for your concerto, but I do not understand a single note and I shall not play it’ was the reply Wittgenstein bluntly sent to Sergei Prokofiev upon receiving the concerto he commissioned from the Russian composer,¹⁸ which could well have been Wittgenstein’s reaction to the two compositions Demuth composed for and dedicated to him.

¹⁷ BBC Written Archives Centre (WAC), RCont 1, Demuth, Norman (Composer File I, 1935–1938; Letter, 11 May 1935).

¹⁸ Sergei Prokofiev, *Autobiography*, Articles, Reminiscences, ed. S. Shlifstein and trans. Rose Prokofieva (Honolulu, HA.: University Press of the Pacific, 2000), 293.

CHAPTER 4

Whose Composition Is It? Benjamin Britten's *Diversions for Piano (Left Hand) and Orchestra*, Op. 21

Wittgenstein's extensive and intensive commissioning programme starting from 1923 entered into a state of complete stagnation after the receipt of the *Toccata* from Schmidt in 1938. His performing activities, too, were totally suspended in this particular year. This was because Wittgenstein, after learning that he and his family members were considered by the Nazis as Jews, promptly decided to flee Austria. In August he first went to Switzerland, but since there were absolutely no performing and teaching opportunities, he then set his eyes on America. It was on 9 December 1938 that he finally arrived in New York, where he would remain for the rest of his life. Barely two months later, in February 1949, Wittgenstein performed Ravel's Concerto with the Cleveland Orchestra under the baton of its principal conductor, Artur Rodzinski,¹ and a series of solo recitals followed. As his performing career was slowly recovering, Wittgenstein set about resuming his commissioning project, too. Officially he commissioned only two more composers, including Benjamin Britten (1913–1976) and Alexandre Tansman (1897–1986). Tansman, a Polish-born French composer with a considerable international reputation, was also hailed as an exceptional pianist. He fled Europe in 1941 for Los Angeles and remained there until the Second World War was over. Tansman's compositions, which fuse French neoclassicism with Polish

¹ According to Waugh, this concert engagement was one of the professional invitations from America. The other commitment was to work as an unpaid faculty member at the Westchester Affiliation of the David Mannes Music School at New Rochelle. For a list of Wittgenstein's earliest US engagement and employment, see Waugh, *The House of Wittgenstein*, 247–8.

nationalism and folklore, are reminiscent of music by Ravel, Chopin and Scriabin. Possibly attracted or even convinced by Tansman's musical style, which was somewhat close to his own musical tastes and preferences, Wittgenstein approached the composer in 1943, three years after he commissioned Britten. Tansman responded with the *Concert Piece for Piano and Orchestra* (1943), which Wittgenstein studied but never performed.²

The first composer Wittgenstein commissioned after he settled in the United States was Britten, who arrived in New York four months after him, in June 1940. Britten's style was rather far removed from Wittgenstein's musical tastes and aesthetics, but this did not prevent him from approaching the British composer for a commission. Having to start his musical career all over again in America, Wittgenstein was eager to play something new to capture his audience. The last concerto he commissioned was the Piano Concerto in E \flat major composed by his favourite composer Schmidt in 1934, but he had played it three times only including the premiere in 1935, and the one concerto that he had kept repeating in the past ten years or so was the concerto by Ravel. Since Wittgenstein would not tolerate any failure in re-establishing his performing career and reputation as the exceptional left-handed pianist, he needed to secure a composer who could help him achieve his goal. And Britten, a leading young composer with a considerable international reputation and whose music was particularly well received in America, seemed to be the best candidate.

² I am grateful to the curator of the Paul Wittgenstein Archive for this information.

Britten, who had heard Wittgenstein play Strauss's *Parergon* on the radio in 1929 and Ravel's Concerto at a live performance at the ISCM Festival in Florence in 1934,³ was not entirely sure at first if he should accept the pianist's invitation to compose a work for him, and his lifelong companion Peter Pears told the reason why. After their first meeting with Wittgenstein, Pears wrote to Elizabeth Mayer to say that Wittgenstein 'was rather stupid, couldn't understand Ben's music (!) & Ben nearly got terribly cross, but just managed to contain himself'.⁴ In the meantime, Britten's publisher Hans Heinsheimer had called Wittgenstein to clarify his intentions and reported to the composer that the pianist

apologises if he made the impression of being a little too persistent and he really thinks that your music would be the right thing for him. He highly appreciates your offer to show him parts of the work before the deal is completed. After thinking the whole matter over a little bit more, and after this conversation this morning with Wittgenstein, I think I should encourage you to try it.⁵

A few days later, on 8 July, Wittgenstein posted Britten a letter to invite him over to his flat for an Austrian supper and a musical chat, and Britten accepted. On 12 July Britten brought with him some sketches of the proposed concerto to Wittgenstein's home, and the two musicians clearly had a good evening

³ Britten wrote in his diary on 14 February 1929 that 'in the afternoon after a lie down I listen to the wireless, a concert, orchestra & Paul Wittenstein [*sic*] (I think that's his name, the left-handed pianist). Quite good, tho' I didn't like the programme very much'. See Mitchell and Reed, ed. *Letters from a Life*, 828. For the original diary entry, see John Evans, ed. *Journeying boy: the diaries of the young Benjamin Britten 1928–1938* (London: Faber and Faber, 2010), 17.

⁴ Peter Pears to Elizabeth Mayer (Letter 271 [4 July 1940]), in Mitchell and Reed, ed. *Letters from a Life*, 826.

⁵ Hans Heinsheimer to Benjamin Britten (2 July 1940), quoted in note 1 to Letter 272 in Mitchell and Reed, ed. *Letters from a Life*, 828.

because, after this private dinner Britten not only cleared away his frustrations and hesitations derived from their first encounter, he even immediately, to use his own words, ‘pulled off the deal with Wittgenstein’.⁶

Among all the composers who had written for Wittgenstein, Britten was the first and only one who wrote a preface to the composition in which he explained the reasons why he composed for the pianist. He wrote, ‘I was attracted from the start by the problems involved in writing a work for this particular medium [piano left-hand], especially as I was well acquainted with and extremely enthusiastic about Mr. Wittgenstein’s skill in overcoming what appear to be insuperable difficulties...’⁷ Britten evidently saw this as a compositional challenge with which he could expand and enhance his compositional skills by exploring the possibilities and limits of the left hand. Britten did not explain in his preface the other reason that allured him to accept Wittgenstein’s offer, but he did so in a letter to his sister in which he said, ‘he [Wittgenstein] pays gold so I’ll do it’.⁸ It is for certain that Wittgenstein and Britten had signed a commission contract,⁹ but since its location is unknown and its terms and conditions have never been revealed, it is not known how much exactly Wittgenstein paid Britten for the commission. The only two surviving materials that include information about commission fee, including Britten’s Long Island Home writing paper and a letter from Wittgenstein,

⁶ Benjamin Britten to Elizabeth and William Mayer (Letter 276, 29 July 1940), in Mitchell and Reed, ed. *Letters from a Life*, 834.

⁷ Benjamin Britten, ‘Preface’ to *Diversions On A Theme*, Op. 21 (1941). New York: Boosey & Hawkes (1941)

⁸ Benjamin Britten to Beth Welford (Letter 275, 26 July 1940), in Mitchell and Reed, ed. *Letters from a Life*, 831.

⁹ Britten-Pears Foundation, Benjamin Britten Letters, 2Hc3.12 (34) (Letter, 21 January 1942). In the letter Wittgenstein wrote ‘enclosed I am sending you my cheque for the amount of 50D[ollar], which is due to you according to our contract’.

disclose that Britten received at least USD \$180 from Wittgenstein.¹⁰ Undoubtedly, Britten found the commission fee attractive, but when he signed the contract he probably did not foresee himself to be forced to battle against Wittgenstein over his (or Wittgenstein's, or their) musical composition, before he would receive the first instalment of the commission fee.

¹⁰ Ibid. and quoted in note 2 to Letter 348 (4 November 1941) in Mitchell and Reed, ed. *Letters from a Life*, 994. Britten received the his commission fee in two instalments. He first received USD\$130.00 on 26 April 1941 and then USD\$50.00 on 21 January 1942. Clare Hammond wrote in her dissertation that Britten received USD700 commission fee from Wittgenstein, and this information was taken from So Young Kim-Park, *Paul Wittgenstein und die für ihn komponierten Klavierkonzerte für die linke Hand*. Aachen: Shaker (1999), 71. For Hammond's discussion of Britten's commission fee, see Clare Hammond, 'To Conceal or Reveal: left-hand pianism with particular reference to Ravel's *Concerto pour la main gauche* and Britten's *Diversions*. D.M.A. diss., City University, London, 2012, 147.

The *Diversions* Sources

The *Diversions*, Op. 21, the eventual product of the collaboration between Wittgenstein and Britten, is the only commission of Wittgenstein's that exists in two versions. There are altogether thirteen *Diversions* sources that have survived and are available for research purposes, and they are currently located in Hong Kong and the United Kingdom. The Paul Wittgenstein Music Library and Archive in Hong Kong (*HK-pwa*) houses only one set of photographic reproductions of instrumental parts of the first version, while the Britten-Pears Foundation in Aldeburgh (*GB-Alb*) contains a great variety of holographs and printed materials. Most of these sources are undated, but the musical content in them provide some ideas as to their approximate date of creation. Table 4.1 lists the surviving sources of the *Diversions* according to their conjectured, reconstructed chronological order:

Source no.	Title	Location	Reference no.	Source type	Date	No. of folio(s)/page(s)/part(s)	Paper manufacturer-catalogue no.	Dimensions	Ink type	Plate no.
S1	Sketch	<i>GB-Alb</i>	5B4 ID: 2-9501142	Holograph	nd [circa Jul 1940]	1 page	G. Schirmer (Inc.) New York-Style No. 12	16.9 x 26.1cm	Pencil	None
S2	Discarded material (set 1)	<i>GB-Alb</i>	BBM/diversions/1/4	Holograph	nd [circa Aug 1940]	4 folios [1r–4v]	Parchment Brand-No. 19 & No. 13	27.3 x 33.3cm	Pencil	None
S3	Discarded material (set 2)	<i>GB-Alb</i>	BBM/diversions/1/5	Holograph	nd [circa Jul–Oct 1940]	1 folio [1r]	Parchment Brand-No. 19	27.3 x 34.4cm	Pencil	None
S4	Britten's composition draft	<i>GB-Alb</i>	BBM/diversions/1/2	Holograph	24 Aug 1940	18 folios [1r–18v]	Parchment Brand-No. 19	27.3 x 34.4 cm	Pencil	None
S5	Photographic two-piano score of the first version	<i>GB-Alb</i>	BBM/diversions/1/3	Holograph [facsimile; original lost; see Ls1 in Table 4.3; ¹¹ with Paul Wittgenstein's annotations and additional drafts]	nd [circa Jul–Oct 1940]	20 folios [1r–20v] and 1 extra folio	Parchment Brand-No. 14	27 x 33.5cm	Black ink, pencil and red crayon	None
S6	Fair copy of the solo piano instrumental part	<i>GB-Alb</i>	BBM/diversions/1/6	Holograph [copied by Peter Pears]	[circa 1940–41]; 'Revised 1954'	9 folios [1r–9v]	Parchment Brand-No.14	27 x 33.5cm	Blue and black ink	None
S7	Photographic instrumental parts of the first version	<i>HK-pwa</i>	PWMS-BB-000001	Copyist's parts [facsimile; original lost; see Ls3 and [Ls4] in Table 4.3]	nd [circa 1940–41; Used 1950]	71 parts including 4 parts for reduced orchestra	Maestro No. 105-12 plain	28 x 34.5cm	Black ink, pencil	None

Table 4.1 Surviving sources of the *Diversions* (to be continued)

¹¹ 'Ls1' is the abbreviation for 'Lost source 1' and so and so forth; Table 4.3 contains a list of possibly lost sources of the *Diversions*.

Source no.	Title	Location	Reference no.	Source type	Date	No. of folios/pages/parts	Paper manufacturer-catalogue no.	Dimensions	Ink type	Plate no.
S8	Full score of the first version/Editor's proof	<i>GB-Alb</i>	BBM/diversions/ 2/1	Facsimile [from a lost autograph original; see Ls2 in Table 4.3]	nd [circa 1941; copyrighted 1941; revised 1950]	43 folios [1r–43r]	None	24 x 31.1cm	Pencil, red and blue crayon	None
S9	Full score of the first version/Editor's proof	<i>GB-Alb</i>	BBM/diversions/ 2/3	Facsimile [from a lost autograph original; see Ls2 in Table 4.3]	nd [circa 1941; copyrighted 1941; revised 1953–54]	43 folios [1r–43r]	None	24 x 31.1cm	Pencil, red and blue crayon	None
S10	Full score of the revised version	<i>GB-Alb</i>	BBM/diversions/ 2/2	Printed score [from S8 & S9 or a conjectured missing fair copy with Britten's final corrections; see [Ls5] in Table 4.3]	printed 1955; copyrighted 1955	118 pages	None	24.2 x 34.7cm	Pencil	B. & H. 17539
S11	Full score of the revised version	<i>GB-Alb</i>	BBM/diversions/ 2/4	Printed score [from S8 & S9 or a conjectured missing fair copy with Britten's final corrections; see [Ls5] in Table 4.3]	printed 1955; copyrighted 1955	118 pages	None	24.2 x 34.7cm	Pencil, red, blue, purple and green crayon	B. & H. 17549
S12	Two-piano reduction score of the revised version	<i>GB-Alb</i>	7C4.2 ID: 2-9900453	Printed score	printed 1955; copyrighted 1955	55 pages	None	31cm	None	B. & H. 17562
S13	Study Score of the revised version	<i>GB-Alb</i>	11Aa4 ID: 2-1000333	Printed score	printed 1988; copyrighted 1988	118 pages	None	26cm	None	B. & H. 17539

Table 4.1 (cont'd) Surviving sources of the *Diversion*

I have personally consulted most of the sources in their physical form except for S1, S2, S3, S4 and S6.

- For S1, I based my interpretation on the digital copy scanned and emailed to me by Dr. Nicholas Clark, the current librarian of the Britten-Pears Foundation, along with the archival information he provided.
- For S2, S3, S4 and S6, these are considered by the *GB-Alb* as very fragile materials so that I was only allowed to consult their microfilms in the reading room.
- Most of the source titles listed in Table 4.1 above are taken directly from the online catalogue of the *GB-Alb*, except for S7, which is located in the *HK-pwa* and has its own designated title, and S8, S9, S10 and S11. S8 and S9 which were originally titled as ‘Editor’s proof’ and I took the liberty to add ‘full score of the first version’ to their titles. This is because S8 and S9 have three functions: initially they were made as facsimiles of the full score of the first version in 1941, but in the 1950s they became working scores in which Britten marked his corrections at different stages, which in turn served as the editor’s proof(s) for the definitive revised version of 1955. S10 and S11 were originally named as ‘Dyeline full score’ and ‘post-publication revisions’ respectively, and I standardised them both as ‘full score of the revised version’. The title change for S11 is particularly significant

because the annotations found in the score were not post-publication revisions but Britten's own conducting markings.

- In the online catalogue of the *GB-Alb*, all sources are referred to as 'manuscript'. In order to give a more precise description of their source types, I differentiate them by four different terms:
 - 1) Holograph: sources that are written in the hand of the Composer;
 - 2) Copyist's parts: instrumental parts written out by a copyist;
 - 3) Facsimile: photographic copies of a manuscript;
 - 4) Printed score: dyeline printings.
- The descriptions of the gathering structure of the holographs in the online catalogue of *GB-Alb* are very misleading. The search result for S2, the discarded material (BBM/diversions/1/4), for example, states that it has four pages [1r–4v]. However, the physical source material shows that it has four folios, meaning a total of eight pages. Although foliations are given in the online catalogue, they were not transferred onto the actual sources. Rather, Roman and/or Arabic numerals were entered into the manuscripts by Rosamund Strode to show their pagination.¹² In order to avoid confusion, I have used 'folio' to describe the gathering structure of the holographs and facsimiles, and 'page' to represent the number of pages in the printed scores in Table 4.1 above.

In the actual discussions that follow, page numbers will be used in the

¹² Rosamund Strode was Britten's assistant and after the composer's death she became the first archivist and keeper of manuscripts for the Britten-Pears Library. I am grateful to Dr Clark for this information.

prose with foliations given in square brackets for holographs. For printed materials, only page numbers will be used.

Physical description of the Diversions sources

S1 – Sketch

Written in pencil on a piece of 12-staved, portrait-oriented manuscript paper marked ‘8’ in Britten’s Schirmer (American) Sketchbook, S1 is the earliest source of the *Diversions* on record, which at the same time was the draft that Britten brought with him to Wittgenstein’s home on 12 July 1940. It contains brief sketches to nine movements of the *Concert Variations*, the early version of the *Diversions* (Fig. 4.1). These include the ‘Theme’, ‘Recitative’, ‘Romance’, ‘Rubato’, ‘Nocturne’, ‘Badinerie’, ‘Toccata I’, ‘Adagio’ and the ‘Tarantella’, and their order of appearance on the manuscript paper is shown in Table 4.2 below:

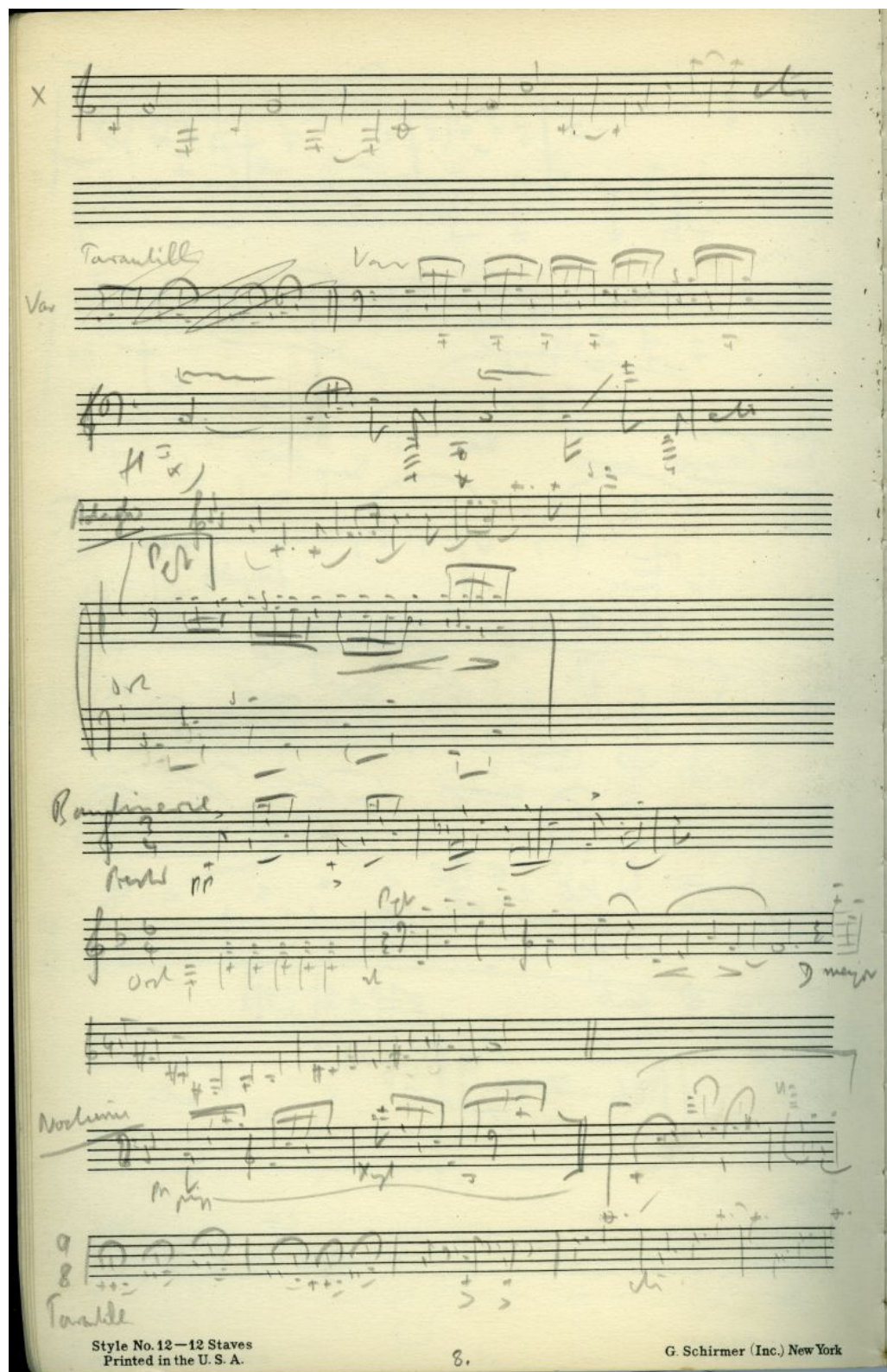


Fig. 4.1

Britten's earliest sketches for the *Concert Variations* in his American (Schirmer) Sketchbook (S1). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.

System(s)	Movement	Britten's specification of movement	Instrumentation	Length
1	Theme	Unnamed, marked with 'X'	Unspecified	5 bars and 1 beat
2	Blank	None	None	None
3	First sketch: Tarantella (Finale)	Named, marked with 'Var'	Unspecified	2 bars
	Second sketch: Toccata I (Variation IXA)	Unnamed, marked with 'Var'	Unspecified	1 bar and 1 beat
4	Recitative (Variation I)	Unnamed	Unspecified	2 bars
5	Adagio (Variation X)	Named	Unspecified	3 bars and 1 beat
6–7	Rubato (Variation IV)	Unnamed	Piano and Orchestra	1 bar
8	Badinerie (Variation VII)	Named	Piano	4 bars and 1 beat
9–10	Romance (Variation II)	Unnamed	Orchestra and Piano	8 bars
11	Nocturne (Variation VI)	Named	Piano	2 bars
11–12	Tarantella (Finale)	Named	Unspecified	8 bars

Table 4.2 Description of the sketches in Britten's American (Schirmer) Sketchbook

Among all the movements shown in S1, the 'Tarantella' is the only one that has two sketches. Britten first drafted two bars for the 'Tarantella' in System 3, but crossed it out later and wrote another sketch in Systems 11–12. He started writing in System 12 first, and when he ran out of space he moved up to the right end of System 11 and continued writing there. The sketches for the four following movements, including the 'Adagio', 'Badinerie', 'Nocturne' and the 'Tarantella', are easy to classify because they bear a title. The unnamed ones, on the other hand, can also be identified easily because, as with the titled ones, their content are largely retained in later sources. The only sketch that received substantial corrections later is the one for the 'Badinerie'. In S1, Britten inscribed 3/4 as the time signature but wrote the snippet in 3/8 meter. This

metrical ambiguity was soon clarified in the composition draft of the *Concert Variations* (S4), where 3/4 was kept as the time signature and the note values were corrected to match its meter.

Despite the absence of sketches for movements such as the ‘March’, ‘Chorale’, ‘Ritmico’ and the ‘Toccata II’, the skeleton of the *Concert Variations* has been formed in S1. This is because, instead of discarding these sketches or carrying out massive alterations to them, Britten kept all the sketches within the actual composition and developed them further. This seems to suggest Britten was already quite sure about what he wanted to compose for Wittgenstein from the earliest stage, and he was confident about his musical creativity that he did not need to abandon or rewrite his initial musical ideas. Wittgenstein, on the other hand, would have liked these sketches and approved them to be used in the commissioned work.

S2 – Discarded material (set 1)

Without a date of composition, S2 is discarded material from the *Diversions*. It is made up of three separate untitled draft sketches leaves with minor crossings out in Britten’s hand in pencil, which was intended for a number of different movements. The first is a single bifolio (fols. 1r–2v) and a note of identification ‘Sketch for Pft L.H. & orchestra (predecessor for Diversions) [B.B.]’ has been written at the top right corner on fol. 1r by Strode (Fig. 4.2a). The other two leaves look as though they were originally a single bifolio, but the fold in the paper has worn away and they are now two separate leaves (fols. 3r–4v). These manuscripts are from the Elizabeth Mayer Collection and

contain alphabetical numberings A1, A2, B1 and B2 in the bottom right corner that were also added by Strobe.

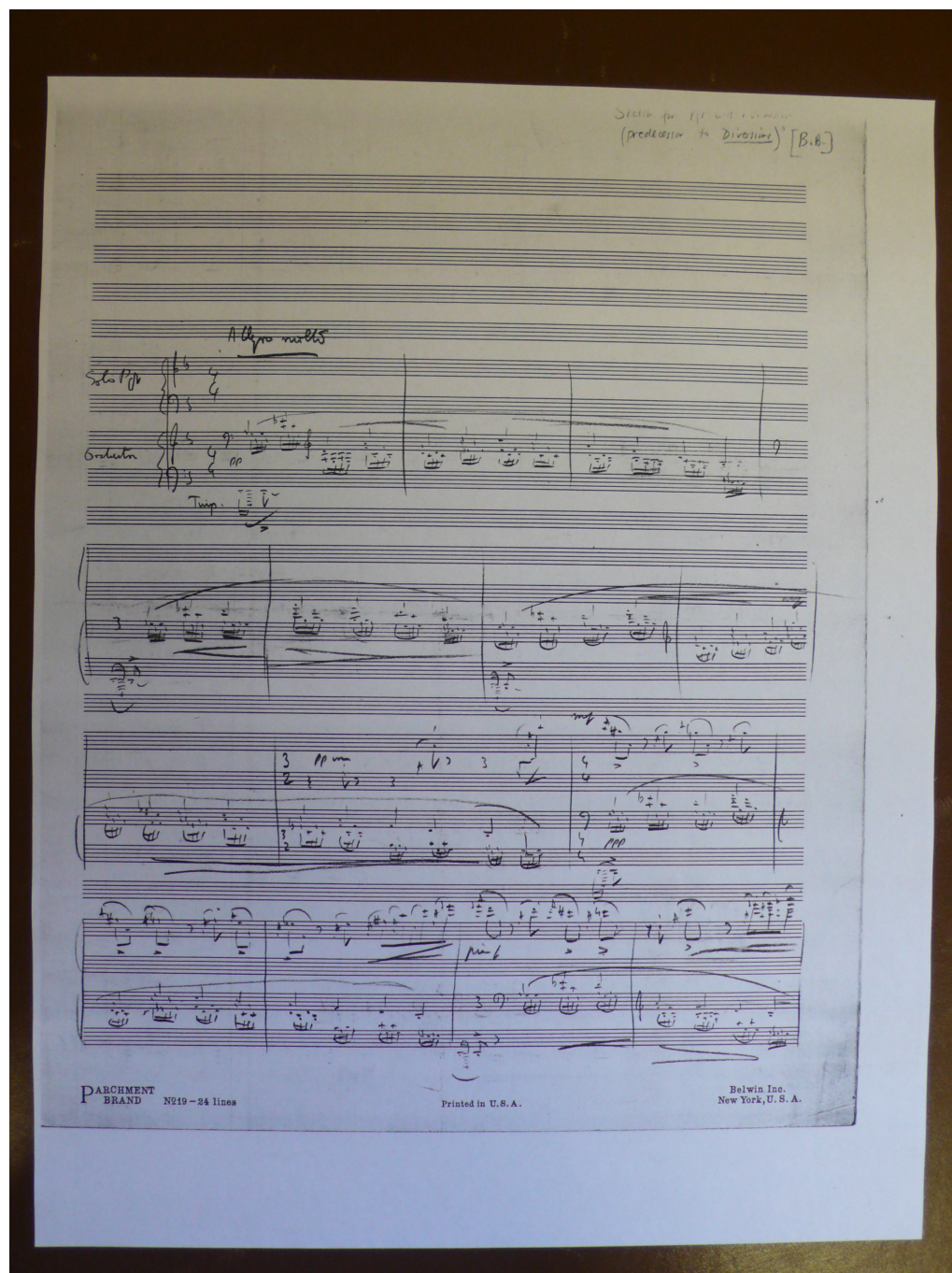


Fig. 4.2a Untitled sketch for the *Allegro molto* in 4/4 time on fol. 1r (S2). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.

Some of the sketches are identifiable and match with their successors, but a few of them cannot be identified. Fols. 1 and 2 are sketches of a variation in common time marked *Allegro molto*, which was left unfinished. The solo piano part contains some virtuosic writing such as successive octaves, fast running scale and broken-chord patterns, as well as rapid repeated notes. Among these patterns, only the repeated notes on fol. 2v show a slight connection to the opening of the final ‘Tarantella’ in the definitive work, however, this variation as a whole did not make its way into the final version. In contrast to fols. 1 and 2, fols. 3 and 4 contain music that is more recognisable. The rehearsal mark ‘44’ written above the first bar of the first system on fol. 3r unmistakably suggests this is an earlier version of the ending. After the current ending of the ‘Tarantella’, the piece goes on with a section marked *Presto* that functions as a two-part coda. In the first part, the solo piano plays incessant broken-chord figurations in 18/8 time with the orchestra playing octaves and a pedal point on C as accompaniment in 3/2 time. In the second half, which is written on fol. 3v and marked ‘Tempo I’ in common time for both the solo piano and the orchestra, the former plays block chords that alternate between high and low registers of the keyboard, while the orchestra continues to play a pedal point, which is built on C octaves this time. Towards the end of the coda, the orchestra brings in the clarinet passage from the ‘Theme’, followed by the solo piano’s two answering ideas constructed on fifths: first ascending from F# to G and then descending from D to C. Lastly, the solo piano and the orchestra combine to finish off the piece with a *fortissimo* C-major chord (Figs. 4.2b–d).

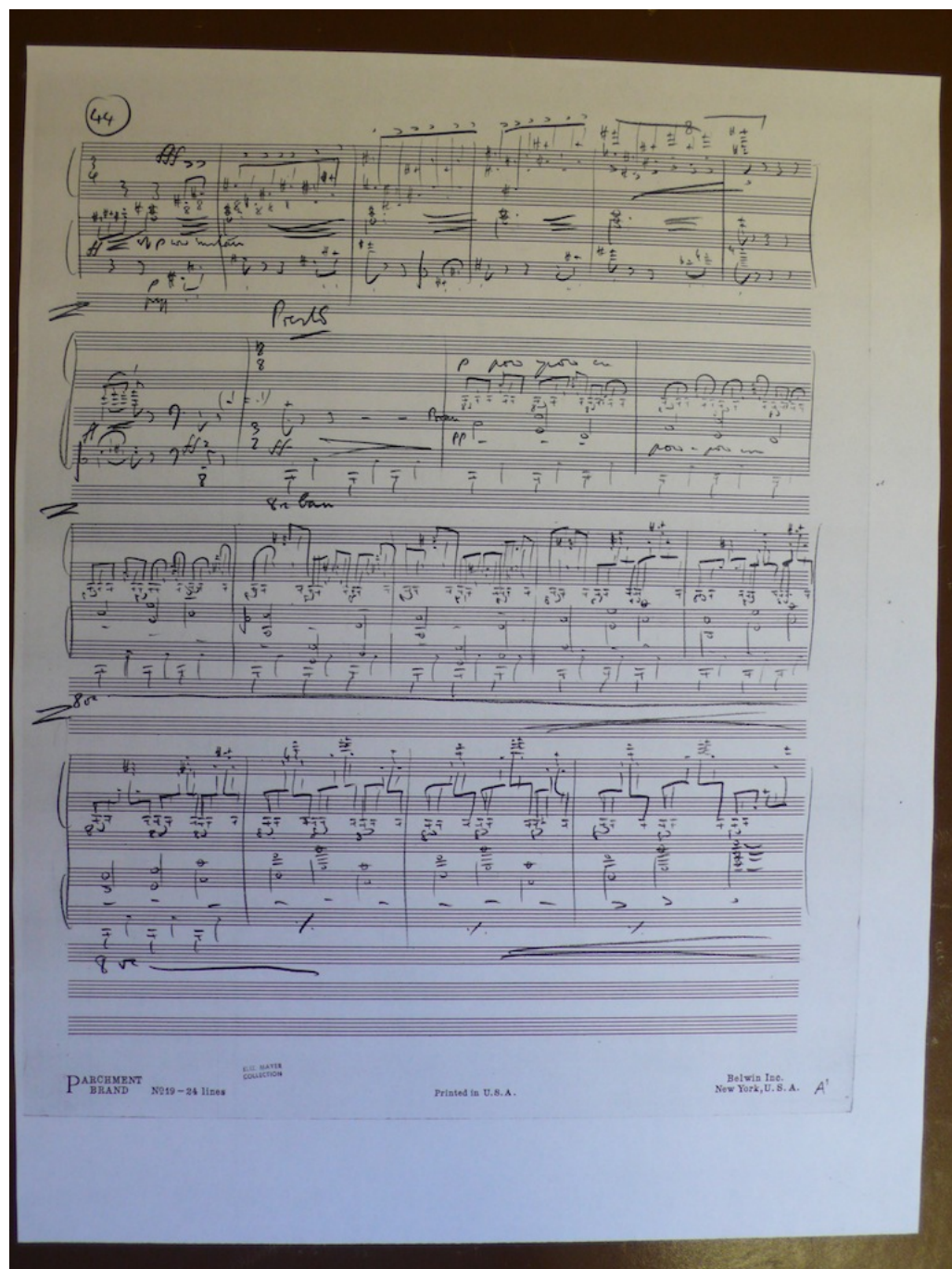


Fig. 4.2b

Britten's sketch for the coda '*Presto*' following rehearsal mark 44 on fol. 3r (S2). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.

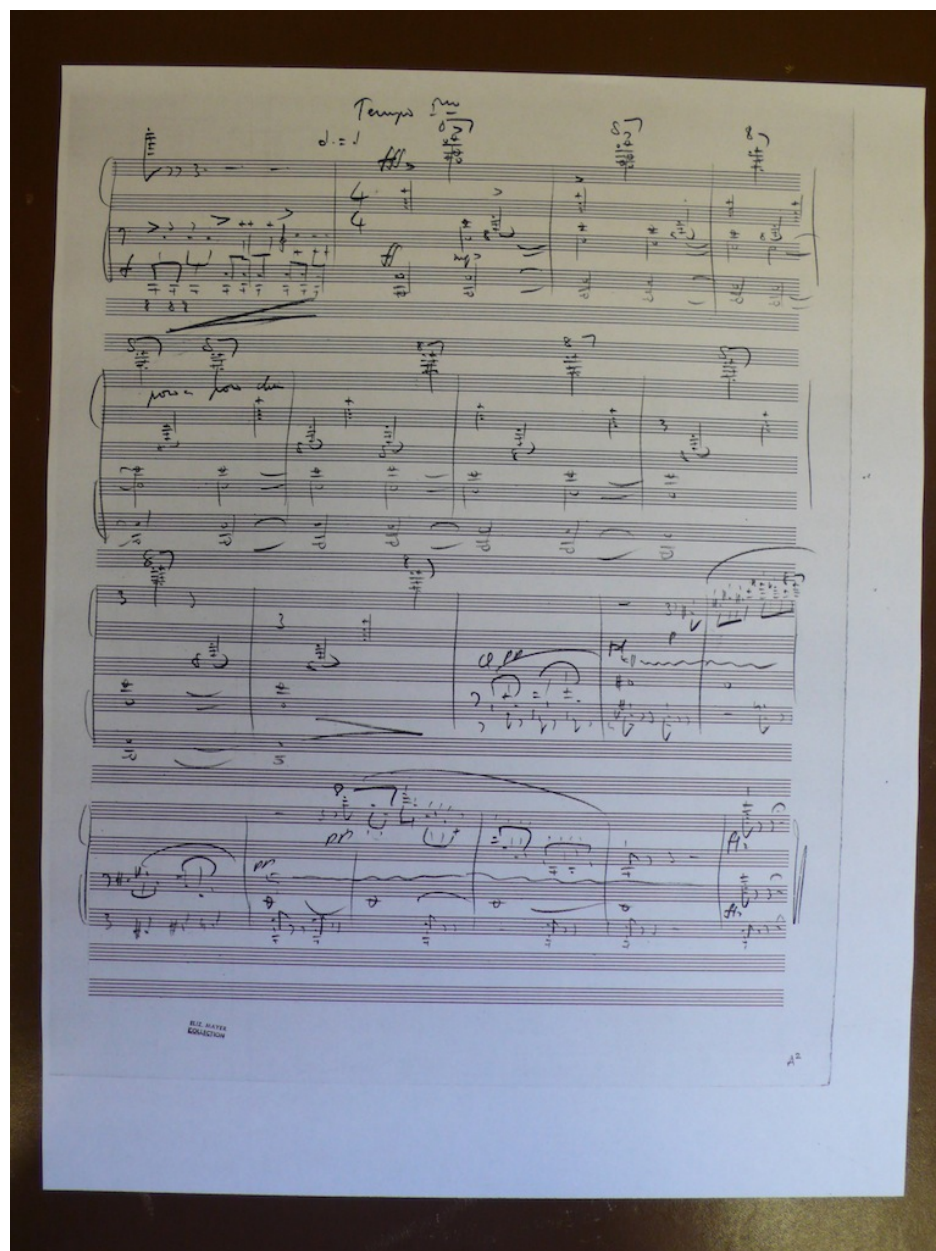


Fig. 4.2c

Britten's sketch for the ending of the coda 'Presto' on fol. 3v (S2).
Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.

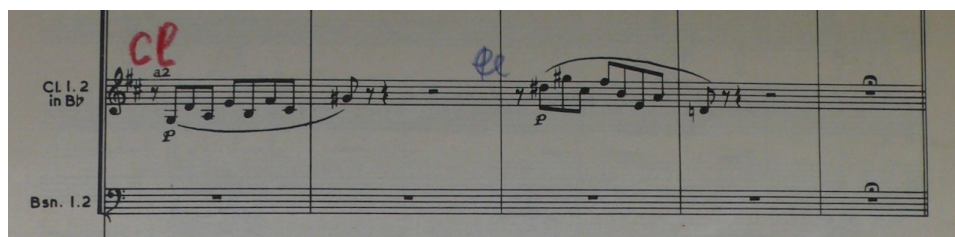


Fig. 4.2d Clarinet theme at the end of the ‘Theme’, page 5 of the full score of the revised version of the *Diversions* (S11). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. (C) COPYRIGHT 1955 BY HAWKES & SON (LONDON) LTD. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF HAWKES & SON (LONDON) LTD. All rights reserved.

The musical contents on fol. 4 are very similar to those on fol. 3, thus suggesting this is possibly another attempt at the coda for the *Concert Variations* (Figs. 4.2e and 4.2f). Compared to its counterpart on fol. 3, this version is even more sketchy and incomplete. It lacks the tempo marking ‘*presto*’, and all repetitions were not written out but indicated by oblique strokes with dots. This fragmentary style of notation on fol. 4 suggests it might be an early version of the one on fol. 3. The most obvious difference between the two versions can be found towards the end of the coda. On fol. 3v, the clarinet theme is played first by the orchestra and then answered by the solo piano. On fol. 4v, however, the clarinet theme is now transferred to the solo piano part with the answering phrases removed. Both versions of the coda evidently suggest that Britten wanted to recapitulate the clarinet theme from the ‘Theme’ just before the piece ends, yet probably thought the clarinet theme failed to keep up with the continuing energy of the final variation, the ‘Tarantella’, so in the end he decided to discard the coda and keep the bravura passages running up until the end and finish the work with a *fortissimo* C-major chord.



Fig. 4.2e

The beginning of Britten's other sketch for the coda on fol. 4r (S2).
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Fig. 4.2f

The ending of Britten's other sketch for the coda on fol. 4v (S2).
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S3 – Discarded material (set 2)

S3 is also discarded material from the *Diversions*. It is a single leaf on which Britten wrote a short draft for Variation IXb, the ‘Toccata II’ in pencil. The alphabetical numbering C1 in the bottom right corner was added by Strode. This draft is rather fragmentary and sketchy, and it shows only the opening of the ‘Toccata II’ and is left unfinished. At first, Britten wrote on alternate systems and the first three systems use only the treble clef, in which single-line patterns are notated. Starting from the middle of the third system, Britten added in a bass clef and marked it as a grand staff, clearly showing the entrance of the solo piano. Britten did not specify if the opening was intended for the orchestra or the solo piano; but it is obvious that the solo piano was originally included in the ‘Toccata II’, which is now an orchestral interlude in the definitive work.

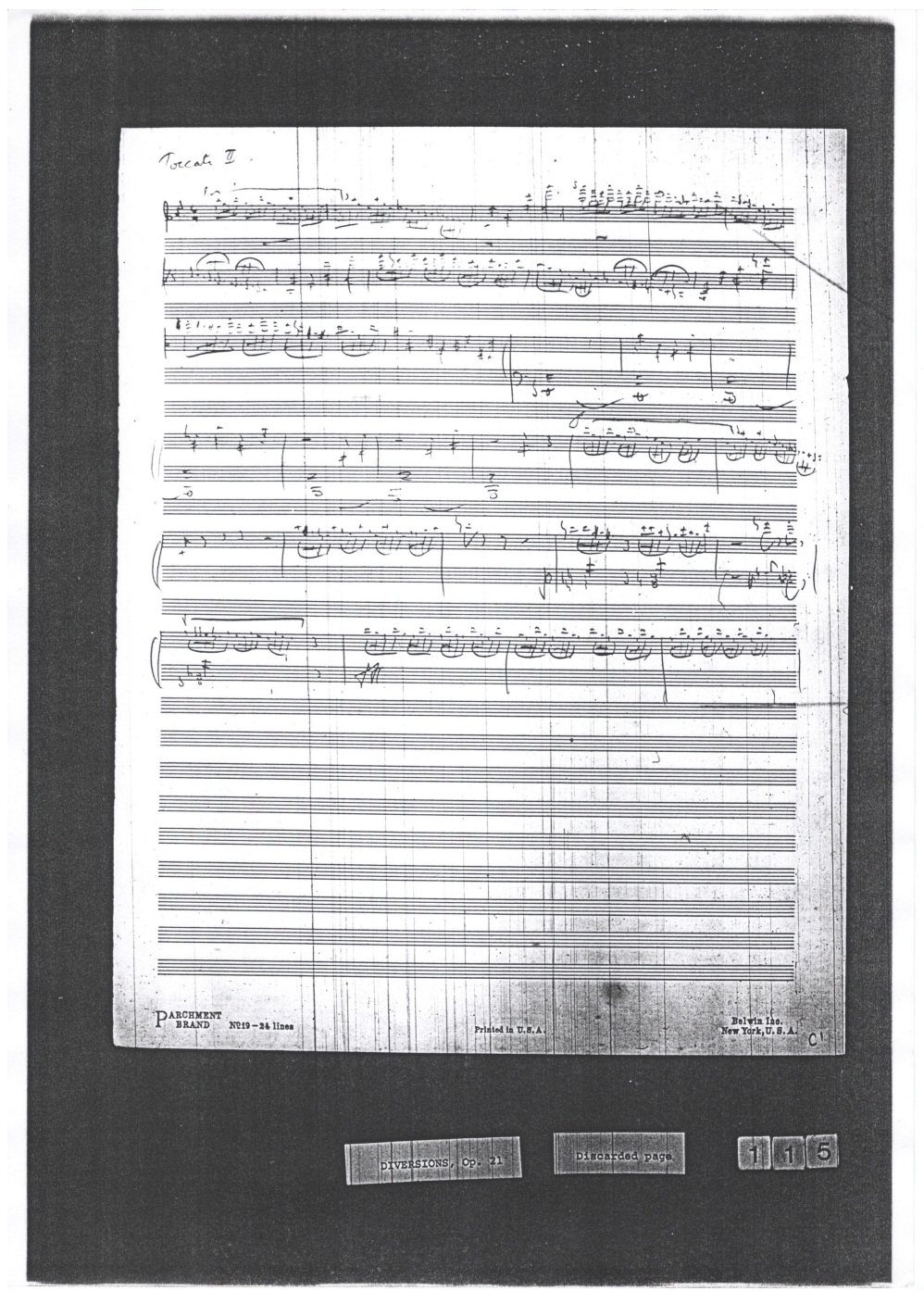


Fig. 4.3

Discarded sketch of the 'Toccata II' (S3). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.

S4 – Composition draft

S4 is Britten's composition draft of the first version of the *Diversions*, which was then called the *Concert Variations*. It is drafted in the format of a two-piano score, in which the solo piano part is written above the accompaniment which represents the first stage of the elaboration of the orchestral score. It has eighteen folios in total, with one folio being used as the title and contents page [fol. 1] and seventeen folios containing actual music [fol. 2–17]. All of these folios were unbound and originally unnumbered. The current numerals (both Roman and Arabic) seen on the score were added by Strode. Originally, there were some tapes holding the first and the last pages of the score together, but the tapes are very worn now. The whole document is written on a single type of portrait-oriented manuscript paper named 'Parchment Brand No. 19–24 lines' manufactured by Belwin Inc. in New York. All notations, including minor crossings out and rehearsal marks, are written in pencil.

The title of the composition, 'Concert Variations', the opus number, 'Op. 21' and Britten's signature are seen on the title page [fol. 1r]. The composer's signature is seen again following the end of the piece on page 33 [fol. 18r], this time with the date of completion, 'August 24th 1940', and the place of composition, 'Owls Head, Maine'. Of all the *Diversions* sources, S4 is the only one that Britten dated, which is at the same time the only source that uses recycled papers. Folio 1, which forms the title page and contents page, contain discarded materials from the *Diversions*. The composition title 'Concert Variations' and Britten's initials 'B.B.' are written in the centre of the title page on fol. 1r against some very vague and light music notations that have

been erased, and are surrounded by clearer and darker music notations that were crossed out (Fig. 4.4a). The contents page on fol. 1v shares exactly the same layout, with a complete list of variation movements and their titles as well as the approximate duration of the piece placed in the centre of the page (Fig. 4.4b). The most interesting fact about these two pages is that the music notated here constituted the latter part of an earlier version of Variation I, the 'Recitative', whose beginning can be traced in the third, fourth and last systems on page 2 [fol. 2v] of the composition draft, which has also been crossed out (Fig. 4.4c). The trill on A at the end of the last bar in the last system on page 2 [fol. 2v] is tied over to the first bar in the first system on the title page, showing clearly that the front cover came after page 2 [fol. 2v]. The two arrows in the right margin next to the last system pointing to the right side on the title page in turn signals yet another continuation from the title page to the contents page, on which the ending of the 'Recitative' can be seen in the last system. This reveals Britten's compositional process: first, he began work on the 'Recitative' on page 2 [fol. 2v] and continued on pages 3 and 4. After he completed the variation, however, he was unsatisfied with the outcome and therefore crossed out the three systems on page 2 [fol. 2v] and discarded the original pages 3 and 4, and re-composed the current 'Recitative' of shorter length on a new sheet of paper (the current pages 3 and 4 [fol. 3]). A possible reason for Britten to recycle the discarded pages 3 and 4 was that he ran out of manuscript paper as he completed the composition draft. On [12] August 1940, Britten wrote to Elizabeth Mayer the following: 'Il y a une crise over M.S. paper – in other words I've run out!..... there should be quite alot [*sic*] of 24 lines (parchment brand No. 19–24 lines) – could you send me about 2 quires of

that... Just finished the Wittgenstein piece & am pretty bucked'.¹³ Apparently, Britten did not wait until Mayer sent him some new manuscript paper to make a title page and a contents page for the composition draft, which was intended for his own use only.

¹³ Benjamin Britten to Elizabeth Mayer, (Letter 279, [12] August 1940), in Mitchell and Reed, ed. *Letters from a Life*, 839.

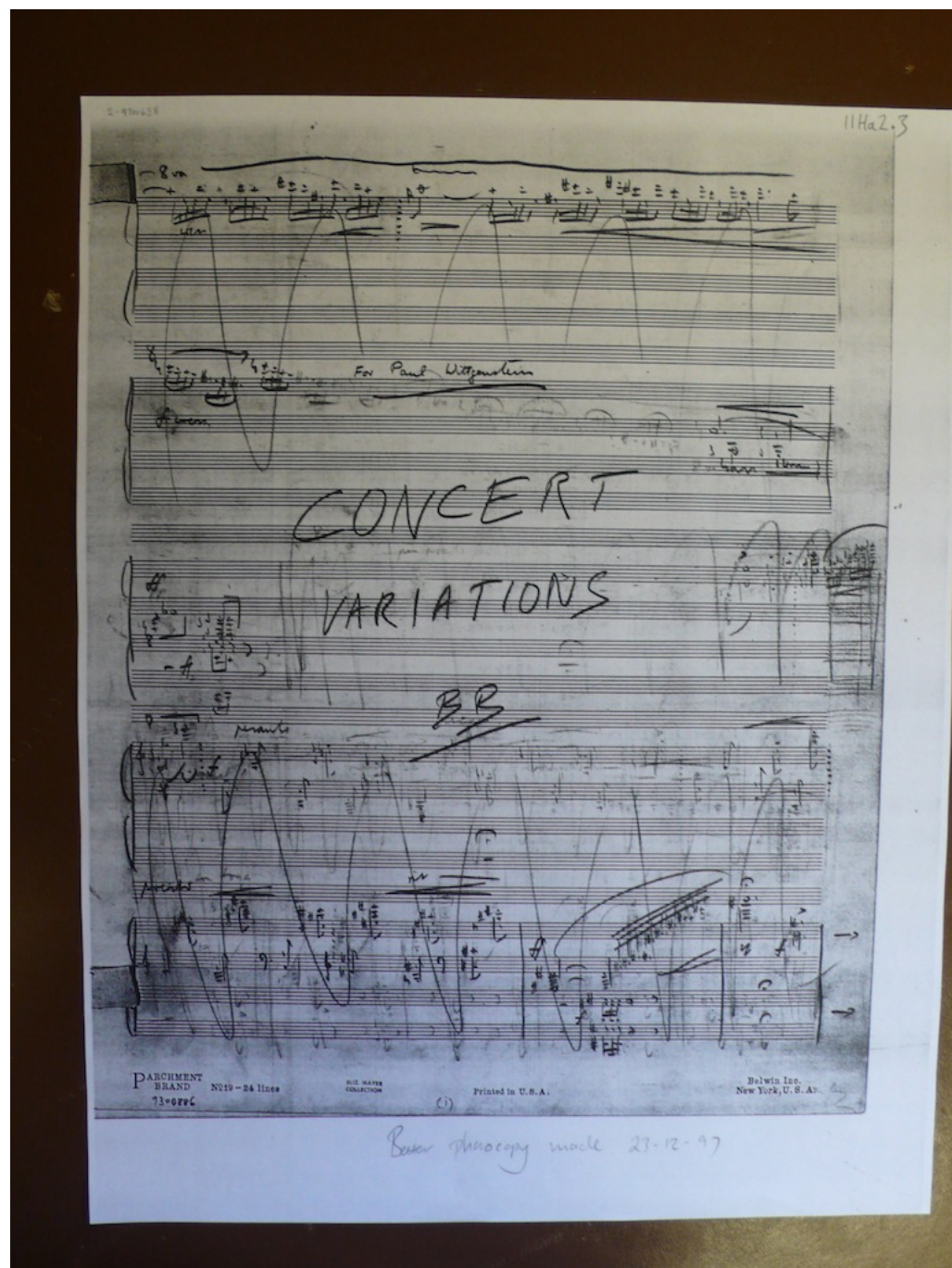


Fig. 4.4a

Title page [fol. 1r] of the composition draft of the *Concert Variations* (S4). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.



Fig. 4.4b

Contents page [fol. 1v] of the composition draft of the *Concert Variations* (S4). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.



Fig. 4.4c

Page 2 [fol. 2v] of the composition draft of the *Concert Variations* (S4). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.

The title page and the contents page are not the only folio that contains discarded sketches of the *Diversions*. The last page of the score, page 34 on fol. 18v, shows yet another attempt of the beginning of the 'Recitative' in Britten's hand, and he struck through it with pencil to signify that the music notated there was not intended as part of the score (Fig. 4.4d). The descending pattern in fifths in the second system on this page is based on the same idea taken from fol. 3v, only with a change in note value from quavers to semiquavers. But in both the *Concert Variations* and the definitive *Diversions*, this is replaced by a pattern built on descending fourths (Figs. 4.4e and 4.4f). This alteration may have arisen because, alternating fourths are technically easier to play than the fifths, as the pianist does not have to stretch too much of his left hand while playing. As a result, he might readily be able to play this passage with both velocity (as marked on the score) and pitch accuracy.

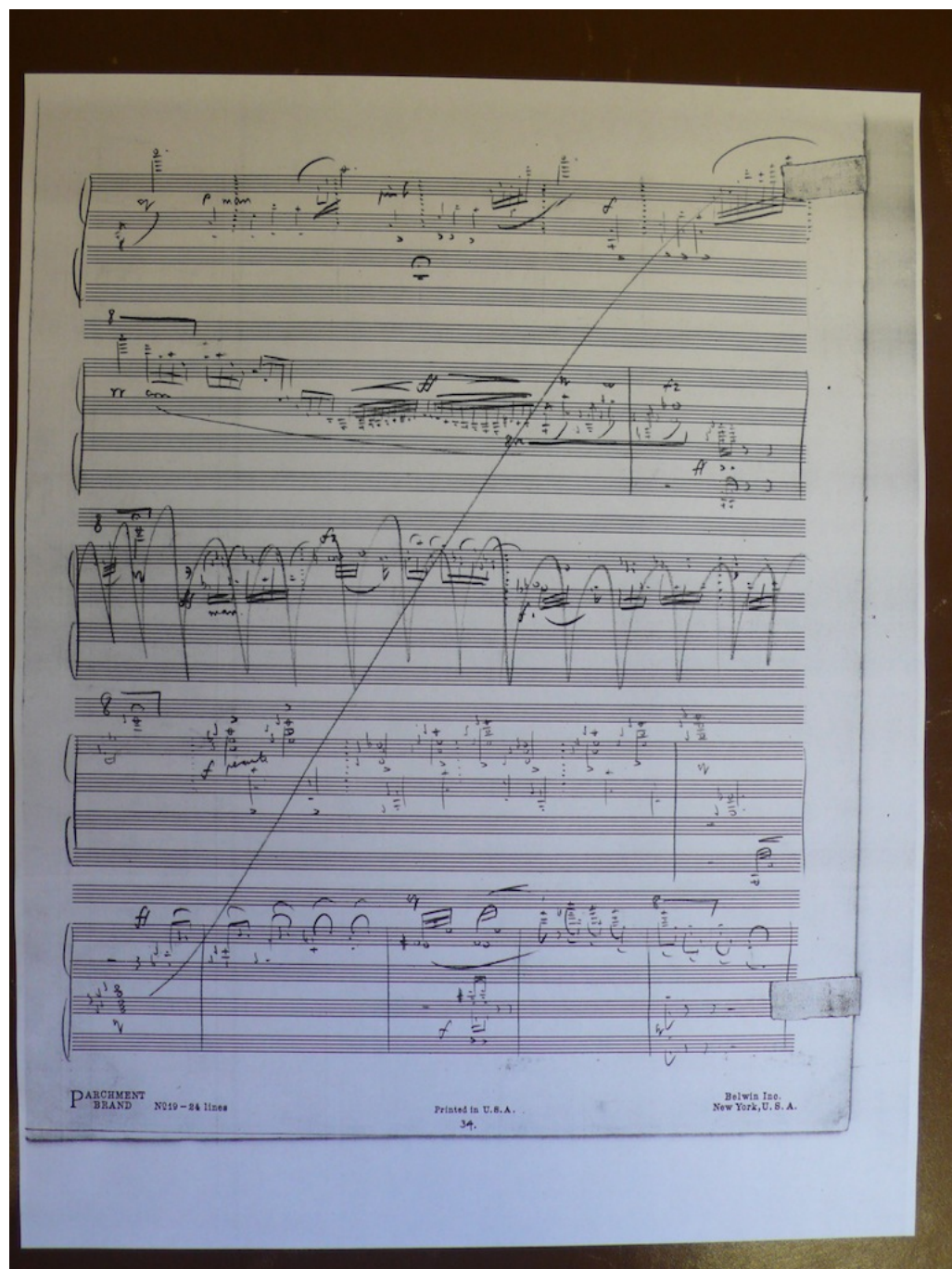


Fig. 4.4d

Britten's initial attempt of the beginning of the 'Recitative' on page 34 [fol. 18v] in the composition draft of the *Concert Variations* (S4). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.

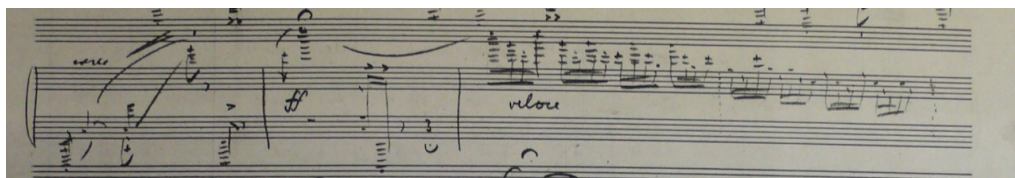


Fig. 4.4e Descending fourths starting in bar 40 in the ‘Recitative’ on page 3 [fol. 3r] in the composition draft of the *Concert Variations* (S4). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.



Fig. 4.4f Descending fourths starting in bar 34 in the ‘Recitative’ on page 6 in the full score of the revised version of the *Diversions* (S11). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation, and (C) COPYRIGHT 1955 BY HAWKES & SON (LONDON) LTD. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF HAWKES & SON (LONDON) LTD. All rights reserved.

S5 – Photographic two-piano score of the first version

S5 is the photographic score of the ‘beautiful copy’ of the first version of the *Diversions* that Britten sent to Wittgenstein in September 1940.¹⁴ Wittgenstein was stuck in Cuba at that time and did not know when his return date to the

¹⁴ Benjamin Britten to Ralph Hawkes, (Letter 286, 2 September 1940), in Mitchell and Reed, ed. *Letters from a Life*, 854–5. The ‘beautiful copy’ is the fair copy of the two-piano score of the first version (Ls1) Britten wrote out in Aug–Sep 1940, which could have been sent to Wittgenstein’s home in New York while the pianist was away in Cuba or kept by Britten, is now considered lost. Since Ls1 is unavailable for consultation, S5 will be used to represent both itself and Ls1 in the entire Chapter 4. For more details on Britten’s fair copy of the two-piano score of the first version (Ls1), see my discussion in ‘The Lost Sources of the *Diversions*’ in the latter part of this section.

United States would be. As he was eager to study Britten's work, he wrote a letter to Britten on 31 August 1940, urging the composer to send him the score as a photostatic copy:

As I still don't know for how long I shall have to stay in Cuba, and you know I don't like to postpone the study of your work, I thought the best thing would be, as Dr. Heinsheimer suggested, to have a photostatic copy made of my part (at my expense of course) and have this photostatic copy sent immediately to my Cuban address...¹⁵

As with S4, S5 is also a two-piano score but the music is notated in black ink. It is made up of two gatherings of nine unbound bifolios: the first gathering has six bifolios (pages 1–24 [fols. 2–13]) and the second gathering has three bifolios (pages 25–36 [fols. 14–19]). All of these are contained within a separate cover which is also a bifolio itself [fols. 1 and 20], and the entire document is written on a single type of portrait-oriented manuscript paper named 'Parchment Brand No. 14–20 lines' produced by Belwin Inc. in New York. At the end of the score there is one extra, individual bifolio on which Wittgenstein wrote his additional sketches for the *Diversions*. This bifolio is ruled with twelve staves on each of the four pages and its manuscript brand name is unknown.

The *recto* of the cover is the title page [fol. 1r], on which the following information is written: 'Concert Variations | For Paul Wittgenstein | Op. 21 | Benjamin Britten' (Fig. 4.5a). The *verso* of the cover is the contents page [fol. 1v] and it lists the movement titles, the duration of the work, an instruction

¹⁵ Britten-Pears Foundation, Benjamin Britten Letters, 2Hc3.12 (34) (Unpublished autograph letter, 31 August 1940).

‘NOTE: If a shorter version of the work is required omit EITHER variation VIII (Ritmico) | OR Variation V (Chorale) AND VII (Badinere), and a handful of scribbles by Wittgenstein (Fig. 4.5b).

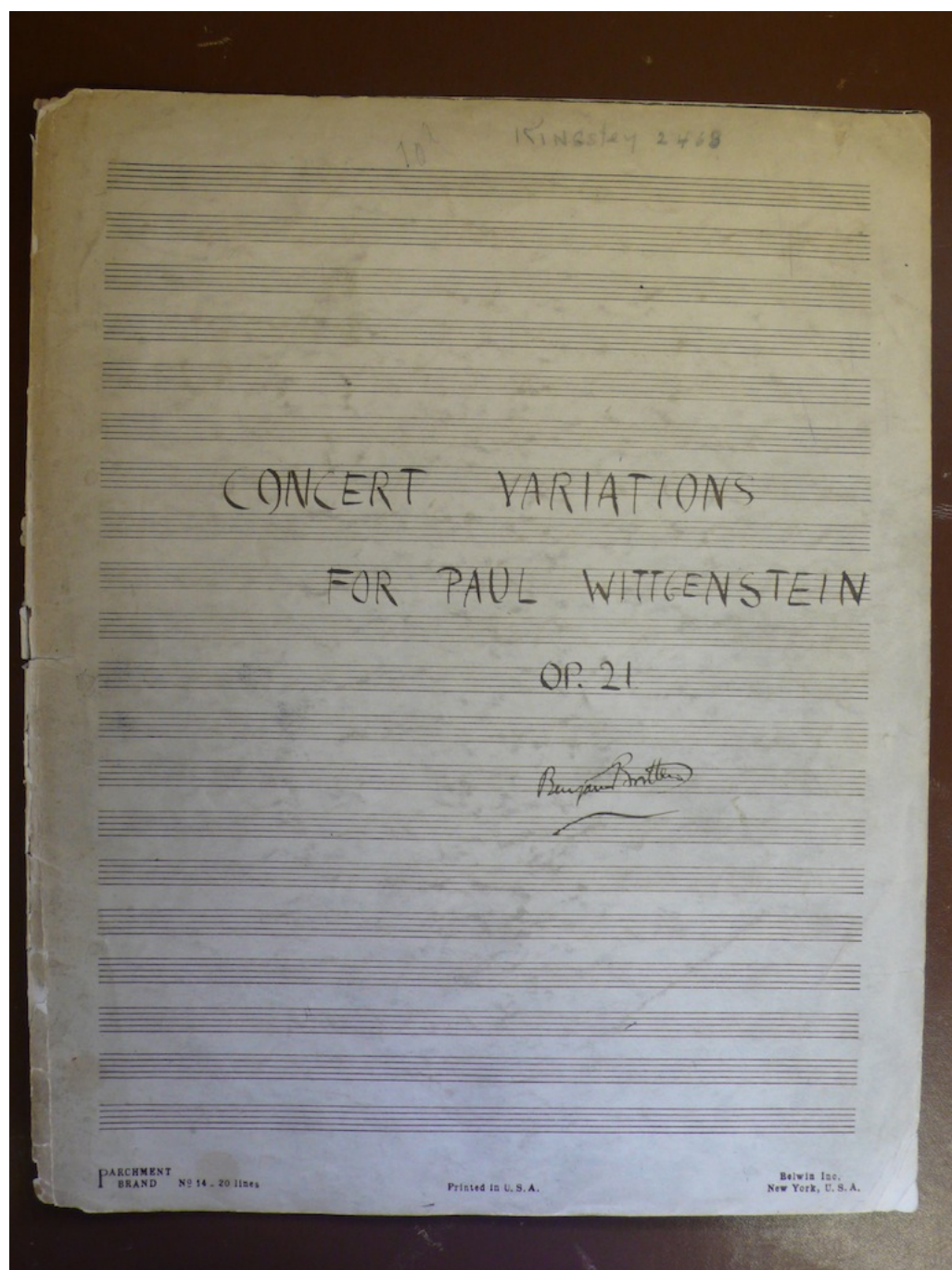


Fig. 4.5a Title page [fol. 1r] of the photographic score of the *Concert Variations* (S5). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.

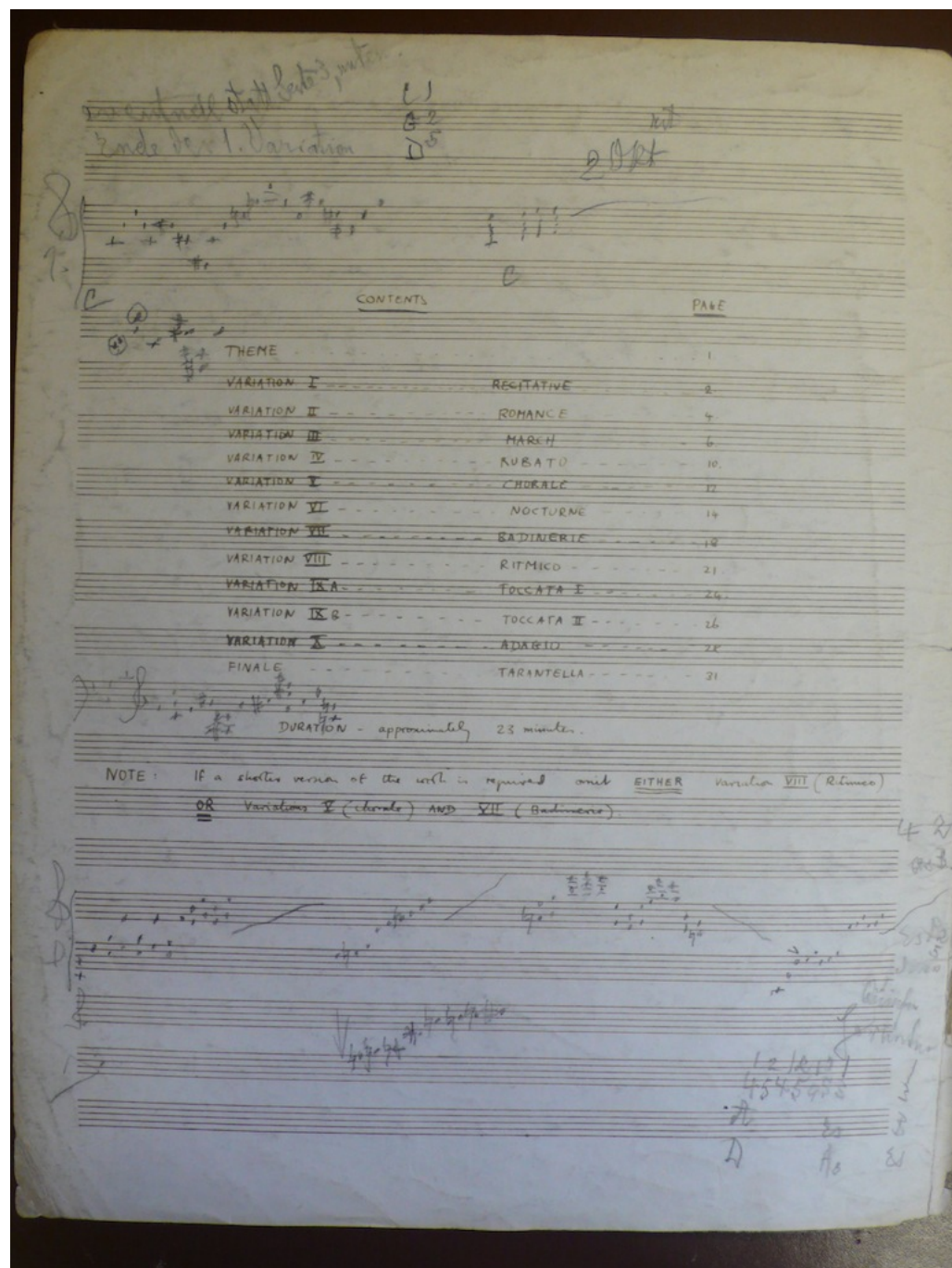


Figure 4.5b

Contents page [fol. 1v] of the photographic score of the *Concert Variations* (S5). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.

On page 1 [fol. 2r] of the score Britten wrote his full name together with the opus number in the top right corner, with the composition title and dedication given in block letters in the centre at the top of the page (Fig. 4.5c). Compared to S4, Britten's handwriting in S5 is noticeably more neat and tidy; the passages that were left incomplete in S4 have now been fully realised and no traces of cross-outs and re-writes can be found. As the score that Wittgenstein studied and used for practice, S5 contains a substantial amount of the pianist's characteristic annotations. These include written performing instructions in German, fingerings, pedal markings, dynamic and articulation markings, deletions, cuts, additions and inserts. The most important above all, are the additional sketches that Wittgenstein wrote out on the extra bifolio (pages 15–18), the contents page [fol. 1v] and the inside back cover [fol. 20r].¹⁶ These extra musical sketches, which Wittgenstein would forcefully include in Britten's score without getting the composer's prior approval, will be referred to as the 'Additional Draft' and examined in the section named 'Paul Wittgenstein's Re-composition of the *Diversions*' in the latter part of this chapter. While it is certain that Wittgenstein owned and used S5, it is unknown how it made its way to the *Gb-Alb*. One possible explanation for this was that Wittgenstein left S5 to Britten so that the composer could incorporate his annotations in the full score of the first version that Britten would prepare in due course.

¹⁶ The catalogue published by Sotheby's for the auction held on 22 May 2003 in London states that there are 'five extra autograph pages by Wittgenstein', but it does not mention the sketches on the contents page. Wittgenstein added page numbers to the extra bifolio as being pages 15–18, but he did not number the inside back cover.

S6 – Solo piano instrumental part

S6 is a fair copy of the solo piano part largely written out by Peter Pears using blue and black ink. It has a cover (fol. 1) and 8 folios on which music is notated (fols. 2–9), and the whole instrumental part is written on a single type of manuscript paper by the name of ‘Parchment Brand No. 14’. This solo piano part is undated, unsigned, non-annotated and unnumbered, and the current page numbers in the bottom centre on each of the folios were added by Strode. All musical notations were clearly and neatly written out in full, except for repetitive patterns that were represented in the conventional way by single oblique strokes with dots. The *Diversions* has 44 rehearsal numbers in total, however, S6 only includes the last seven numbers, ‘38–44’, and they can be found on pages 15 and 16 (fol. 9).

The cover of S6 is a photographic copy of the title and contents page of the photographic two-piano score (S5), and is detached from the rest of the instrumental part. The *recto* of the cover is the title page (fol. 1r), and it contains a paste-over on which ‘Diversions On A THEME’ is written, which covers up the original title ‘Concert Variations’ (Fig. 4.6a). The *verso* of the cover is the contents page (fol. 1v), which looks exactly the same as the photographic score and does not contain any additional information. An inscription, ‘revised 1954’, is clearly written in black ink at the top right corner on the cover page. This date gives an impression that S6 was the revised solo piano part created in 1954, however, it was a solo piano part based on the first version of the *Diversions* and was perhaps produced in the early 1940s. This is conjectured from, first and foremost, the movement titles used in S6: Variation

IV is called ‘Rubato’, Variation V is named ‘Chorale’ and Variation VIII is titled ‘Ritmico’, and these were the titles used in the first version of the *Diversions*. Secondly, the notations in S6 correspond to those in the first version but not the revised version. Thirdly, Pears often wrote out fair copy parts of Britten’s scores and this practice took place mostly in the early phase of their careers in the 1940s, and from the early 1950s Britten started to engage other copyists in Aldeburgh for copying his works.¹⁷ Lastly, since the entire part was written out on American manuscript paper, it is very likely that S6 was in fact produced in the early 1940s when Britten and Pears were still in the United States rather than in 1954 when both of them had already long since moved back to England.

¹⁷ I am grateful to Dr Clark for this information.

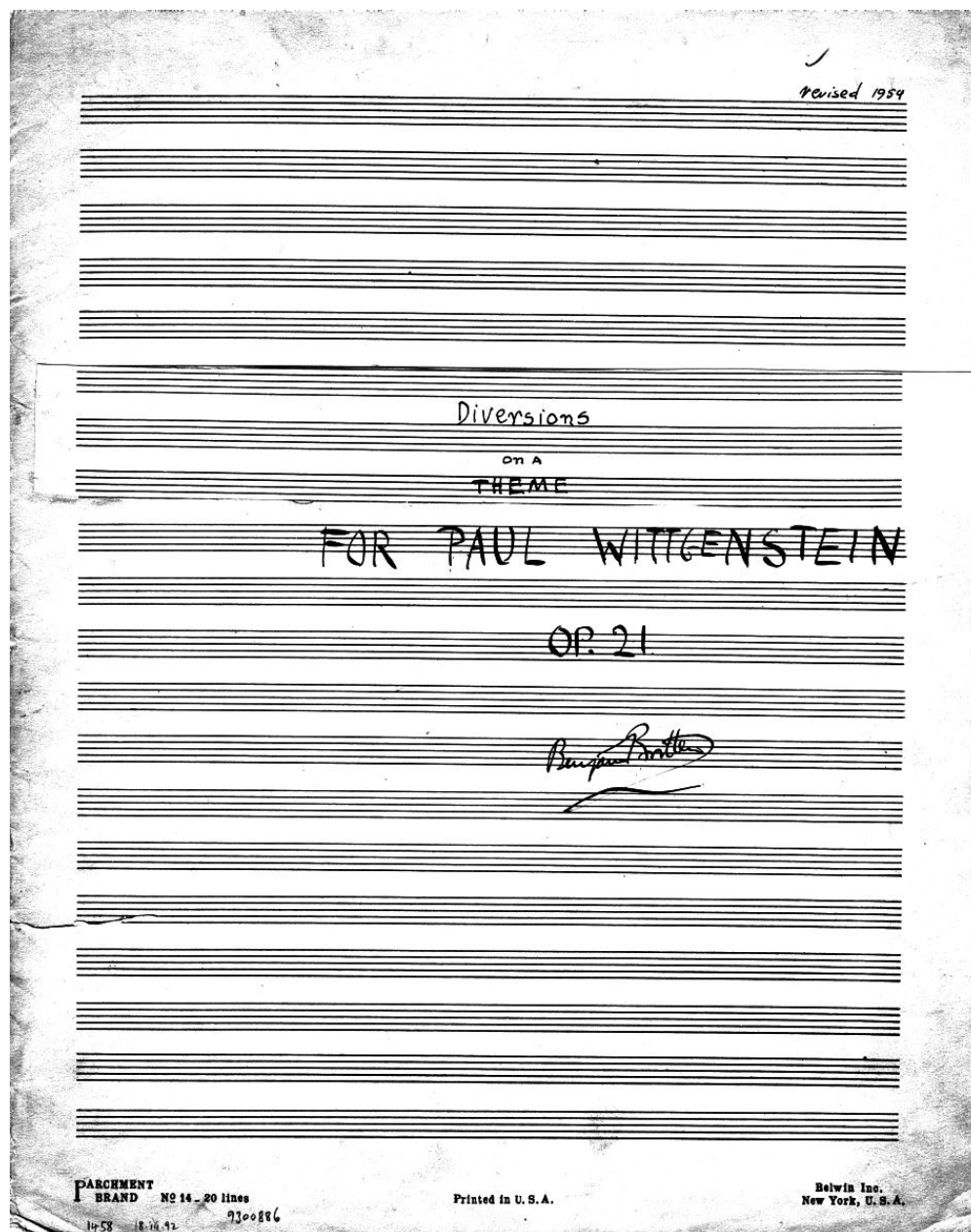


Fig. 4.6a Title page [fol. 1r] of the solo piano instrumental part of the *Diversions* (S6). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.

Comparing the notations in S6 with the solo piano part in Britten's composition draft (S4), photographic two-piano score (S5) and the facsimile of the autograph full score of the first version copy 2 with Britten's annotations and corrections (S9), it is apparent that S6 was modeled after S5. It is clear that S5 and S6 contain exactly the same musical text and performing instructions,

and the way they were notated was identical. For example, in both S5 and S6 the time signature of the ‘Recitative’ was written out in numbers (2/2) and a minim was given in brackets next to the tempo marking ‘*L’istesso tempo (Maestoso)*’ (Figs. 4.6b and 4.6c). In S4 and S9, on the other hand, the time signature was represented by a symbol and no minim note was given as part of the tempo marking. At rehearsal number 13 in the ‘Rubato’ in S5, Wittgenstein added a sharp sign to the note G in the last beat and wrote ‘*gis*’ [G-sharp] above it (Fig. 4.6d). In S6, the pitch was notated as G without a sharp sign, too (Fig. 4.6e). However, in both S4 and S9, a sharp sign was clearly written before the note G. Two bars later in the same Variation, the bar was divided into two systems in S5 (see also Fig. 4.6d). Pears, who possibly did not notice such division during the copying process, added a bar-line in the middle of the bar and crossed it out afterwards (see also Fig. 4.6e). The most convincing evidence that proves that S6 was modeled after S5 can be found in Variation IXA, the ‘Toccata I’. In S5, Britten put all the bottom notes of the octaves in brackets, indicating that Wittgenstein could choose to either play or leave out the bottom notes (Fig. 4.6f). However, in both S4 and S9, he did not write these bottom notes in brackets.¹⁸ Apparently, Wittgenstein chose to omit the bottom notes and even crossed them out, and Pears adopted Wittgenstein’s alteration and copied only the upper notes of the octaves in his fair copy part (Fig. 4.6g). The reason why S6 was produced remains unknown today. It was possible that Britten wanted to write out a fair copy of the solo piano part for future reference after having discussed and agreed with Wittgenstein on note

¹⁸ Britten would eventually cross out the bottom notes of the octaves in the ‘Toccata I’, too. A study of the changes he made to the solo piano part will be given in the next section of this chapter titled ‘The Compositional Journey of the *Diversions*’.

deletions in the 'Toccata I', but since he may well have been short of time to do so, Pears helped him accomplish this task.



Fig. 4.6b Beginning of the 'Recitative' [fol. 2v] in the photographic two-piano score (S5). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.



Fig. 4.6c Beginning of the 'Recitative' [fol. 2r] in the solo piano instrumental part (S6). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.



Fig. 4.6d Rehearsal number 13 in the 'Rubato' [fol. 7r] in the photographic two-piano score (S5). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.

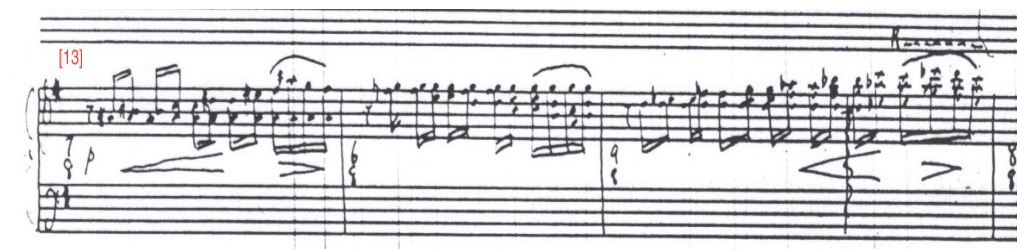


Fig. 4.6e Rehearsal number 13 in the 'Rubato' [fol. 4v] in the solo piano instrumental part (S6). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.

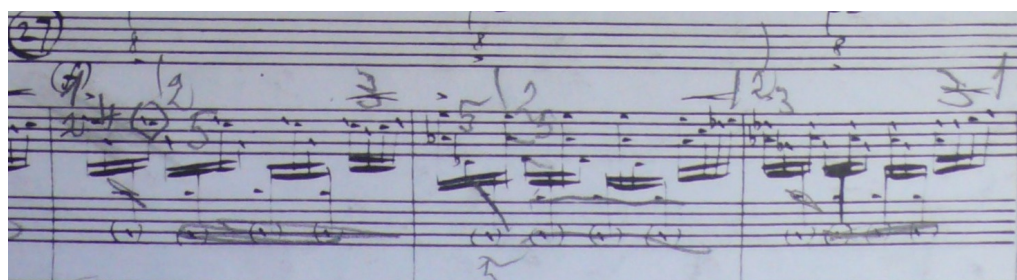


Fig. 4.6f Rehearsal number 27 in the 'Toccata I' [fol. 13v] in the photographic two-piano score (S5). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.

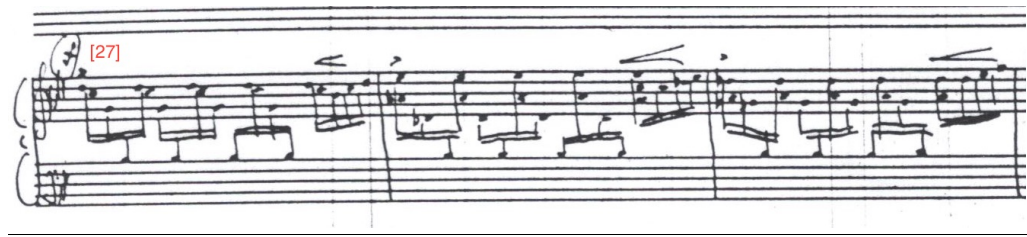


Fig. 4.6g Rehearsal number 27 in the 'Toccata I' [fol. 6r] in the solo piano instrumental part (S6). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.

S7 – Photographic instrumental parts of the first version

S7 is the photographic reproductions of a complete set of instrumental parts of the first version of the *Diversions*. It is the one and only *Diversions* source that Wittgenstein kept with him, which is at the same time the only surviving copy of the instrumental parts of the first version.¹⁹ Reproduced by a firm called Independent Music Publisher in New York using a single type of manuscript paper named Maestro No. 105, these photographic instrumental parts are presumably made from the original copyist's instrumental parts of the first version (Ls3) produced and copyrighted by Boosey & Hawkes, which are now considered lost. However, since no copyright statement can be found in any of these parts, the assumption that S7 was a direct reproduction from Ls3 became questionable. One of the possible explanations for this would be that S7 was made before the originals were copyrighted by Boosey & Hawkes. The other possibility could have been that S7 was actually made from another source,

¹⁹ Presumably Wittgenstein also kept his own manuscript copy of the two-piano score of the first version, manuscript copy of the full score of the first version and original copyist's instrumental parts. It is possible for Britten to have made two copies of each of the sources mentioned above (both Schmidt and Walker did so, for example) so that both he and Wittgenstein could keep a set. Or, it is also possible that Britten only produced once copy of each of these sources. Either way, all of these sources are now considered lost. For more details on the lost sources of the *Diversions*, see my discussion under the subtitle 'The Lost Sources of the *Diversions*' in the latter part of this section.

which were scribal parts copied from Ls3 by another copyist appointed by Wittgenstein ([Ls4]).²⁰

S7 has a total of 71 parts, four of which are extra parts for the reduced orchestra.²¹ All notations were written in black ink, and the annotations of the performers were indicated in pencil, black ink, and blue and red crayons. Some of the performers' annotations correspond to Wittgenstein's additions and cuts indicated in S5. It is unknown whether this set of instrumental parts was used for the American premiere in 1942, but the inscriptions found in the parts for cello, oboe II and horn III confirm that they were used for the first British performance of the *Diversions* on 14 October 1950. In the space below the last system on page 6 of the cello part, the cellist marked 'B M O Oct 13 | 50' in back ink, suggesting that Wittgenstein and the Bournemouth Municipal Orchestra had a rehearsal on 13 October, the day before the British premiere (Fig. 4.7a). The oboist, on the other hand, wrote 'Sat' in the top left corner on page 1 in his part to mark the day of the first performance, which took place on a Saturday (Fig. 4.7b). The horn III part has the most comprehensive performance information of all. Written by the horn player in black ink at the

²⁰ Wittgenstein had a habit of making (many) extra solo piano parts / two-piano scores / instrumental parts of his commissions for his own use as the *HK-pwa* has a collection of these additional materials, which I have personally consulted when I worked as research assistant at the *HK-pwa*, and therefore I think my second hypothesis may be possible. In order to differentiate this scribal set of parts that might or might not have existed from the other lost sources that have surely existed at some point, its source identifier 'Ls4' will be put in square brackets, hence [Ls4].

²¹ The set of parts is made up as follows: 10 violin I, 8 violin II, 7 viola, 6 cello and 5 double bass; single parts for each of the following woodwind instruments: flutes I and II (piccolo), oboes I and II (cor anglais), clarinet I in B-flat, clarinet II in B-flat and E-flat, alto saxophone, bassoons I and II, and the double bassoon; 1 part for each of the following brass instruments: horns I, II, III and IV in F, trumpets I and II in C, trombones (tenor) I, II and III, and the tuba. 1 part for each of the following percussion instruments: timpani, and a group of percussion instruments including bass drum, cymbals, snare drum, xylophone, gong, glockenspiel; and 1 part for the harp. For the reduced orchestra, there is 1 part for each of the following instruments: horn III in F, trombones I, II and III.

bottom on page 3, the inscription '1st Perf. (Eng) | Bournemouth | Oct. '50' convincingly reveals that these parts were indeed used at the British premiere of the *Diversions* (Fig. 4.7c).

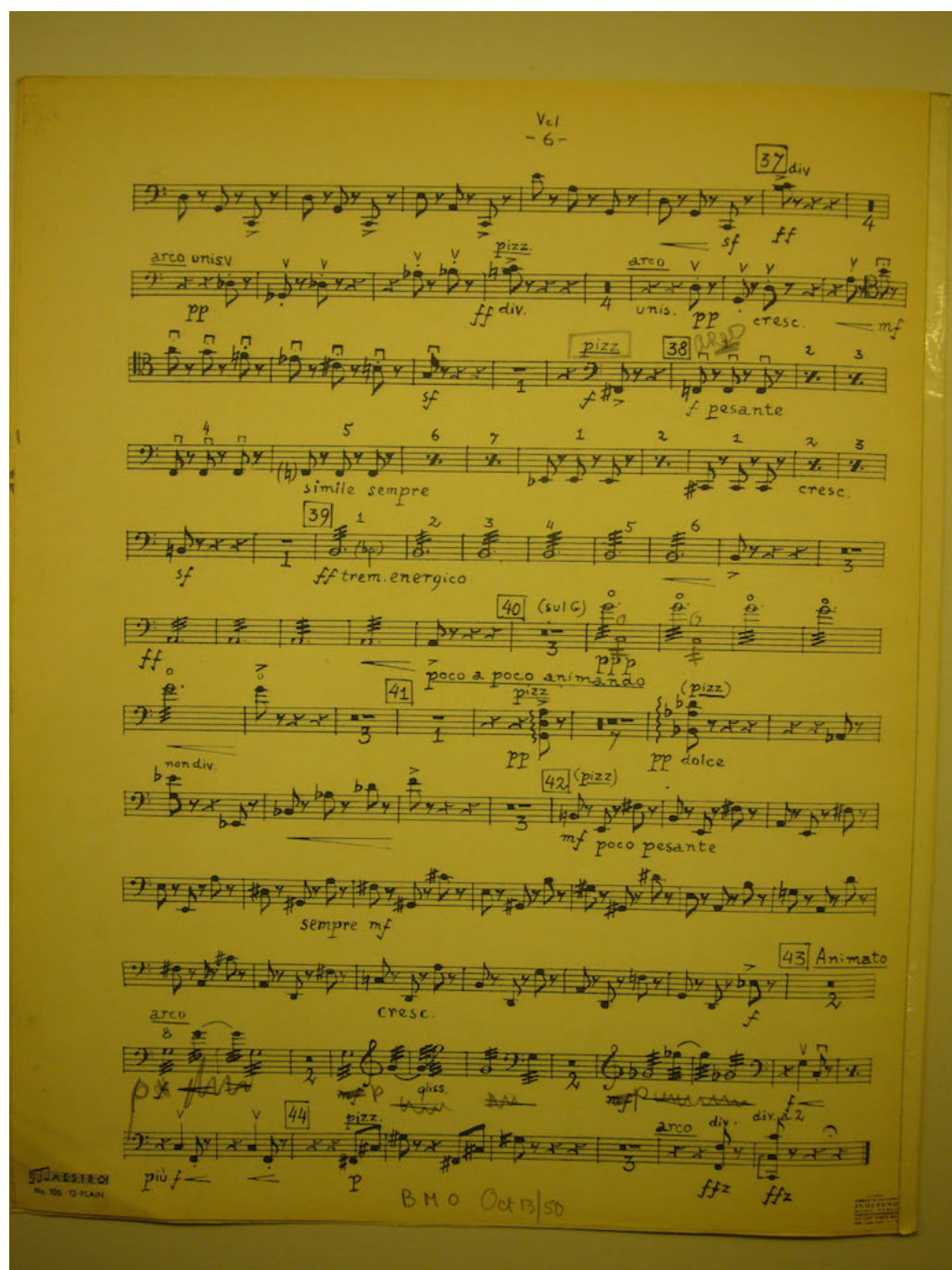


Fig. 4.7a

Page 6 [fol. 3v] of the Cello part of the photographic reproduction of the instrumental parts of the first version of the *Diversions* (S7). Reproduced with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

4 sat

Oboe II
(English Horn)
For Piano (left hand) & Orchestra

Diversions on a Theme

Benjamin Britten

Theme
Allegro maestoso (in C)
Engl. Hn. Bsn. mp f

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Fig. 4.7b

Page 1 [fol. 1r] of the Oboe II part of the photographic reproduction of the instrumental parts of the first version of the *Diversions* (S7). Reproduced with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

Horn III
-3-

Fl. $\sharp d$

mf sonore

34

35

ff

dim

pp

c. sord. Var. XI. Tarantella, Presto nontropo ma con fuoco

p

36

37

Trmb. II

Hn. II

(c. sord.)

(c. sord.)

ff

sf

38

39

c. sord.

ff sost.

40

41 poco a poco

sf

open

42 open solo

mf

mf espr.

43 Animato

mf cresc.

f

mf

44

sf

fff

1st part (end)

2nd part (end)

Fig. 4.7c

Page 3 [fol. 23] of the Horn III part of the photographic reproduction of the instrumental parts of the first version of the *Diversions* (S7). Reproduced with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

S8 and S9 – Full score of the first version / editor's proof (copies 1 & 2)

S8 and S9 are two differently annotated facsimiles of the autograph full score of the first version of the *Diversions*, published and copyrighted by Boosey & Hawkes in New York in 1941.²² Both of them have 43 folios, of which folios 1 and 2 are the front cover [fol. 1r],²³ the title page [fol. 2r] and the contents page [fol. 2v]; and the actual music is written on folios 3r–43r (81 pages of music in total, as the *verso* of the last folio is left blank, [fols. 3–43r]). The front cover of S8 is stamped with a ‘Boosey & Hawkes RENTAL DEPARTMENT’ stamp while the front cover of S9 is stamped with ‘Boosey & Hawkes Hire Library’ and ‘Property of Boosey & Hawkes’ stamps. S8 contains annotations and minor corrections by Britten and an unknown person in pencil, red and blue crayon. S9, on the other hand, contains a substantial number of corrections and changes marked by Britten in pencil, and red and blue crayons, and indicated by paste-overs. In the top right hand corner on the front cover of S9, the words ‘Master Copy’ were struck through but are still legible. The existence of the term ‘Master Copy’ has a particular importance because it suggests a possibility that S9 was intended at once as the master copy that represented Britten’s final thoughts on the revised version of the *Diversions*. Yet, Britten’s strikethrough of the words implies that S9 was possibly replaced by another score to become the new and final master copy, and this official ‘Master Copy’, which could have been another facsimile score or even an official fair

²² Presumably S8 and S9 were made from the same source—Britten’s fair copy of the autograph full score of the first version (Ls2), which is now considered lost. For more details of the lost sources of the *Diversions*, see my discussion under the subtitle ‘The Lost Sources of the *Diversions*’ in the latter part of this section.

²³ The inside front cover on folio 1v is blank and thus it is excluded from the discussion.

copy Britten made for the printing process of the revised *Diversions*, is not traceable and therefore considered lost.²⁴

As mentioned earlier in this section, both S8 and S9 were used as working scores and would eventually become the editor's proof in the printing process for the revised full score, as the different corrections found in them were all transferred into the revised version. The different number and scale of corrections and cross-references found in S8 and S9 suggested that Britten probably used S8 when he started to make initial stages to the *Diversions* as early as in 1950 (when the British premiere was given) and used S9 when he seriously revised the work in 1953–4 (with a view to its publication in 1955). For example, on page 42 [fol. 23v] in S8, Britten crossed out the quaver rest on the first beat in the solo piano part in bar 401 of the 'Ritmico' and moved the whole phrase a quaver beat forward (Fig. 4.8a). At the same location in S9, which is also on page 42 [fol. 23v], Britten did not re-write his corrections but simply crossed out the notations and wrote 'see MS' above the bar (Fig. 4.8b). Two more similar examples can be found at rehearsal number 25 and the other one at rehearsal number 26 in the solo piano part in S9, and their corrected versions can be found in S8 as well.

Besides serving as a working score and an editor's proof, S8 probably had two more functions. Firstly, the conducting markings in S8 clearly showed it was used as a conductor's score and, assuming these annotations were entered into the score around the same time as Britten's corrections, it was possible that it was

²⁴ For more details, see my discussion under the subtitle 'The Lost Sources of the *Diversions*' in the latter part of this section.

the score used by Harvey for the Bournemouth performance in 1950 and the foreign handwriting was his. Secondly, S8 could well have been the score Britten sent to Wittgenstein in September 1950, a mere three weeks before the British premiere, to which the pianist responded vigorously.²⁵ My conjecture is based on the fact that although the changes made to the solo piano part in S8 were not substantial and extensive, the change of piano entrance at bar 401, for example, might really have confused and upset Wittgenstein as he was known for needing to spend a long period of time studying and practicing a piece regardless of its level of difficulty.

²⁵ Wittgenstein sent a letter of complaint to Britten on 23 September 1950, in which he criticised Britten for making changes to both the orchestration and the solo piano part without informing him in advance. A detailed discussion of this letter, the corrections Britten made to the score, and the battle between the composer and the pianist will be presented in the next section.



Fig. 4.8a²⁶

Bars 397–410 in the ‘Ritmico’ section on page 42 [fol. 23v] in the facsimile of the autograph full score of the first version of the *Diversions* copy 1 (S8). Reproduced with permission from the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation and COPYRIGHT 1941 BY HAWKES & SON INC. (NEW YORK) LTD. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF HAWKES & SON (LONDON) LTD. All rights reserved.

²⁶ None of the *Diversions* sources has bar numbers and the bar number(s) in red were added by me in the reproductions of the source image(s).

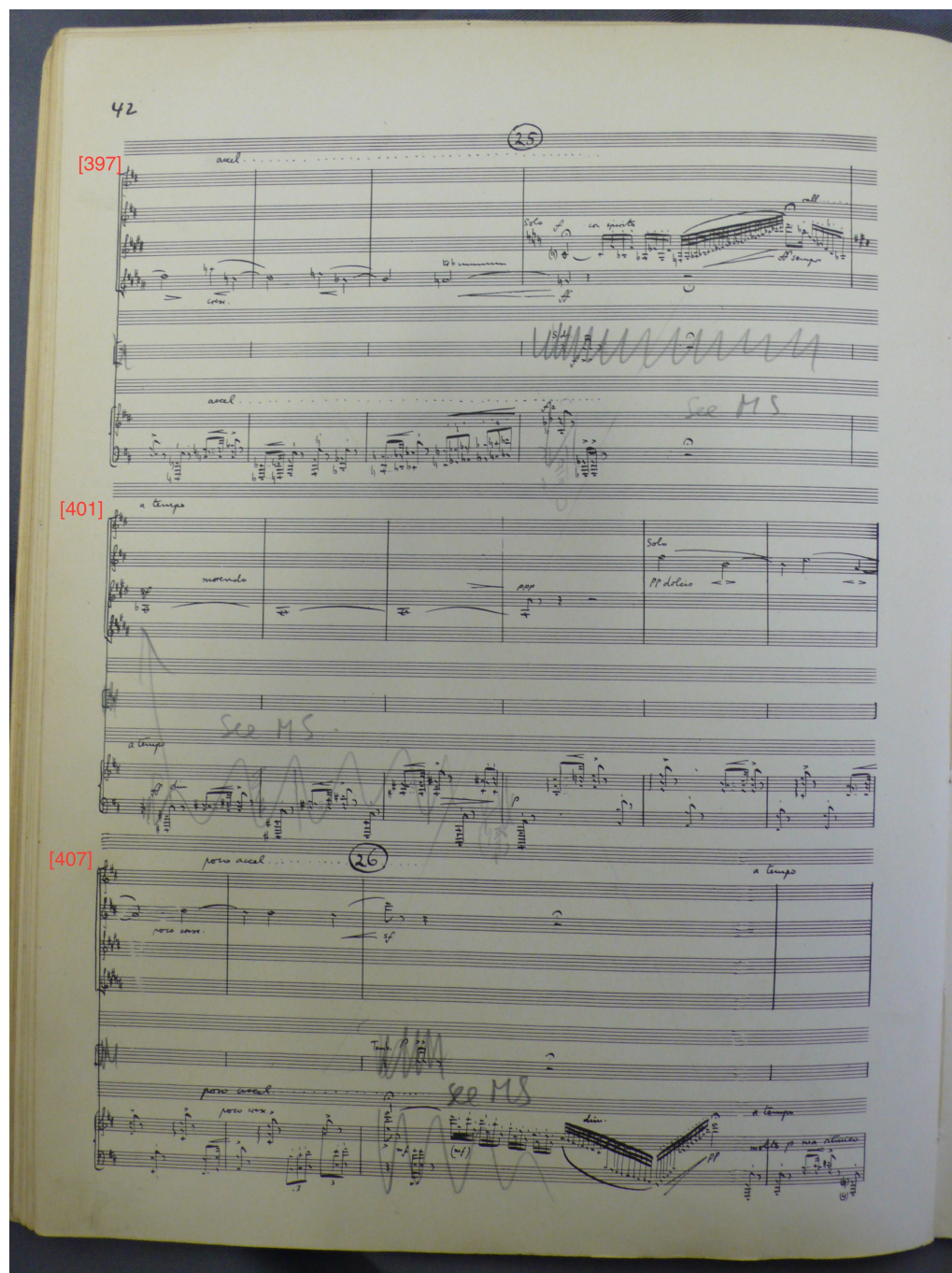


Fig. 4.8b

Bars 397–410 in the ‘Ritmico’ section on page 42 [fol. 23v] in the facsimile of the autograph full score of the first version of the *Diversions* copy 2 (S9). Reproduced with permission from the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation and COPYRIGHT 1941 BY HAWKES & SON INC. (NEW YORK) LTD. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF HAWKES & SON (LONDON) LTD. All rights reserved.

S10 and S11 – Full score of the revised version (copies 1 & 2)

S10 and S11 are two differently annotated printed copies of the full score of the revised version of the *Diversions* published and copyrighted by Hawkes & Son (London) Ltd. in 1955, with the plate/catalogue number ‘B. & H. 17359’. They both have a front cover that is stamped with ‘Boosey & Hawkes Hire Library’ stamp, a title page, a contents page and 118 pages of music. S10 is probably a conducting score owned (temporarily) and used by Norman Del Mar because he wrote his initials ‘NRDM’ in the top left hand corner on the front cover and signed his name in full at the top of the title page. His inscription, ‘Revised Version (1950) | * orig.[inal] title “DIVERSIONS ON A THEME”’ seen in the bottom part of the title page suggests that Del Mar was referring to the 1950 version (British premiere in Bournemouth) as the ‘Revised Version (1950)’ on Britten’s authority. Looking at his pencil annotations and conducting markings in S10, it seems that Del Mar was comparing his score (S10) with the one that includes massive changes and corrections marked by Britten, that is the facsimile of the autograph full score of the first version (S9). Although S10 is a score that incorporated the alterations found in both copies of the facsimile of the autograph full score of the first version (S8 and S9), it does contain a few new corrections that were not included in either of them. One of the examples is the tempo marking for ‘Variation II–Romance’, which caught Del Mar’s attention and prompted him to make a note of it. It is shown as ‘*Allegretto mosso* (♩ = 156)’ in S10, but ‘*Allegretto*’ in S8 and ‘*Allegretto* (♩ = 152)’ in S9, with (♩) being added in pencil first and then struck through in blue ink and replaced by ‘(♩ = 152)’ in blue ink (Figs. 4.9a–c). This final version of the tempo marking for the ‘Romance’

in S10 consolidates my hypothesis of the possible existence of one or more working scores besides S8 and S9 and/or a new ‘Master Copy’ as discussed above. S11, on the other hand, is likely to be the conducting score used by Britten himself as it contains extensive annotations in his hand in pencil, and red, blue, purple and green crayons. Besides these conducting markings, no further corrections or changes can be found in S11.

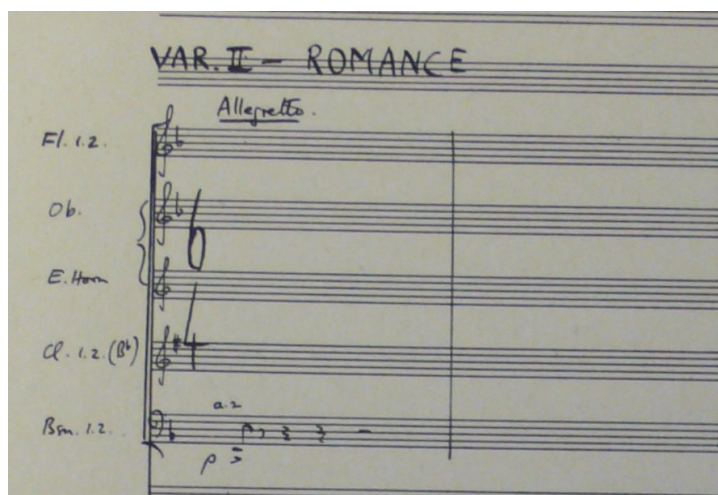


Fig. 4.9a Tempo marking for ‘Variation II–Romance’ on page 7 [fol. 6r] in the facsimile of the autograph full score of the first version, copy 1 (S8). Reproduced with permission from the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation and COPYRIGHT 1941 BY HAWKES & SON INC. (NEW YORK) LTD. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF HAWKES & SON (LONDON) LTD. All rights reserved.



Fig. 4.9b Tempo marking for 'Variation II-Romance' on page 7 [fol. 6r] in the facsimile of the autograph full score of the first version, copy 2 (S9). Reproduced with permission from the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation and COPYRIGHT 1941 BY HAWKES & SON INC. (NEW YORK) LTD. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF HAWKES & SON (LONDON) LTD. All rights reserved.

Allegretto mosso (♩ = 156)

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Violoncello

Double Bass

fp

pizz.

p

* *mosso added in rev.*

B. & H. 17539

Fig. 4.9b Tempo marking for 'Variation II-Romance' on page 7 in the printed full score of the revised version, copy 1 (S10). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation, and COPYRIGHT 1955 BY HAWKES & SON (LONDON) LTD. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF HAWKES & SON (LONDON) LTD

S12 and S13 – Two-piano reduction score and Study score

S12 and S13 are both printed copies of the revised version of the *Diversions*. S12 is a two-piano reduction score published by Boosey & Hawkes in 1955 in England with the plate/catalogue number ‘B. H. 17562’. It has a white and green paper cover, a title page, an instrumentation page and 55 pages of music. This two-piano reduction score is an important element in the *Diversions* literature because it is the first text of the *Diversions* printed in this form, which was made when Britten recorded the *Diversions* with Julius Katchen and the London Symphony Orchestra in 1954 and finally published in 1955, together with the printed full score of the revised version that was made available for hire only (S10/S11). S13 is a study score of the full score of the revised version of the *Diversions* edited by Colin Matthews and published for sale for the first time by Boosey & Hawkes in the United Kingdom in 1988, nearly fifty years after the completion of the work. It has the plate/catalogue number ‘B. & H. 17539’ and is one of the scores in the Hawkes Pocket Series (HPS 1146). It has a brown paper cover, a title page, and an editorial preface by Matthews, an instrumentation page and 88 pages of music.

The lost sources of the Diversions

The thirteen sources listed and discussed above do not constitute the whole picture of the compositional history of the *Diversions*, and there could have been four more sources that are now considered lost. Table 4.3 gives a list of the possibly lost sources of the *Diversions*:

Lost source no.	Source title	Source type	Conjectured date	Remarks
Ls1	Britten's original fair copy of the two-piano score	Holograph	Aug–Sep 1940	See S5 in Table 4.1
Ls2	Autograph full score of the first version	Holograph	circa 1940–41	See S8 & S9 in Table 4.1
Ls3	Original instrumental parts of the first version	Copyist's parts	circa 1940–41	See S6 in Table 4.1
[Ls4]	[Scribal copy instrumental parts made from Ls3]	Scribal copyist's parts	circa 1940–41	See S7 in Table 4.1
[Ls5]	[Autograph fair copy of the full score of the revised version]	Holograph	circa 1953–4	See S10 & S11 in Table 4.1

Table 4.3 The possibly lost sources of the *Diversions*²⁷

The first four lost sources, including Ls1, Ls2 and Ls3 and [Ls4] as listed in Table 4.3 above, were related to both Wittgenstein and Britten because they should have been part of the commissioning arrangements between the two musicians. The last source in the list, [Ls5], on the other hand, was related to Britten's revision of the *Diversions* and so it only concerned Britten and Boosey & Hawkes (London) Ltd but not Wittgenstein. Here below is a description of the four possibly lost sources of the *Diversions*, which is by necessity conjectural:

A description of the possibly lost sources of the Diversions

Ls1 – Britten's original fair copy of the two-piano score of the first version

Ls1 is the original fair copy of the two-piano score of the first version of the *Diversions* (which was then called the '*Concert Variations*') that Britten prepared for Wittgenstein in September 1940 when the pianist was away in

²⁷ I have personally checked the collections at the Paul Wittgenstein Archive in Hong Kong and made enquires to the Britten-Pears Foundation and the BBC Written Archives in England, as well as the London and New York branches of Boosey & Hawkes on the lost materials. However, none of these organisations has a clue as to the locations of these lost sources.

Cuba. This original fair copy must have existed but it is unknown whether Britten kept the score with him or gave it to Wittgenstein. In his letter dated 31 August 1940, Wittgenstein wrote to Britten that ‘... in case this photostatic copy [the current photographic reproduction of the two-piano score of the first version (S5)] would arrive here in Cuba, when I already would be on my way to the United States—a case which I don’t dare to hope! – even in that case, no harm would be done, and I would find the *original* [my emphasis] of my part on my arrival in New York’.²⁸ No further information or follow-up letters can be found to prove whether or not if Wittgenstein received the original fair copy when he returned to New York, but my hypothesis is this: Britten probably did not send the original fair copy to Wittgenstein’s New York address because he knew that he was away in Cuba and no one would have been there to sign for the score. So, it was possible that Britten kept the original fair copy with him and gave it to Wittgenstein when they met again to discuss about the changes he wanted to make, and Wittgenstein lost it. Or, Britten never gave the original fair copy to Wittgenstein especially since the pianist had made substantial changes to the work (as shown in S5), that the original fair copy would have become useless, and Britten lost it.

Ls2 – Autograph full score of the first version

Ls2 is the autograph full score of the first version of the *Diversions* that Britten should have prepared for and given to Wittgenstein as required by the commission contract he signed, as were the cases with Strauss and Ravel. As with Britten’s original fair copy of the two-piano score of the first version

²⁸ Britten-Pears Foundation, Benjamin Britten Letters, 2He3.12 (34) (Unpublished autograph letter, 31 August 1940).

(Ls1), however, Ls2 is also not housed at the *Gb-Alb* or the *HK-pwa* and no evidence can be found to trace its whereabouts and/or suggest whether it was kept by Britten or Wittgenstein before it was lost. Ls2 must have existed at some point during the compositional journey of the *Diversions*, most possibly in 1941, and presumably it was the original text from which the two facsimile full scores (S8 and S9) were made. If this assumption is right, then, the two surviving facsimile copies (S8 and S9) must have been made before Wittgenstein received the original (if he actually did), otherwise they should be full of Wittgenstein's typical annotations.

Ls3 and [Ls4] – Original copyist's instrumental parts of the first version and [scribal copy instrumental parts of the first version]

Ls3 is a set of original copyist's instrumental parts of the first version of the *Diversions* that Britten should have given to Wittgenstein together with the original autograph full score of the first version of the work (Ls2). However, all Wittgenstein had in his library was the photographic reproductions of a complete set of instrumental parts of the first version (S7) that was made by a firm called Independent Music Publisher in New York. As mentioned earlier, whether Ls3 was the source from which S7 was photographed is questionable and cannot be answered; yet it is certain that Ls3 must have been made after Ls2 was completed, and it was possible that their corresponding photographic reproductions (if S7 was part of the collections) were made at the same time. There is no actual evidence to prove whether [Ls4] actually existed and if it was the source from which S7 was made. Yet, the assumption of its

existence was conjectured from Wittgenstein's habit of producing many of scribal parts of his commissions.

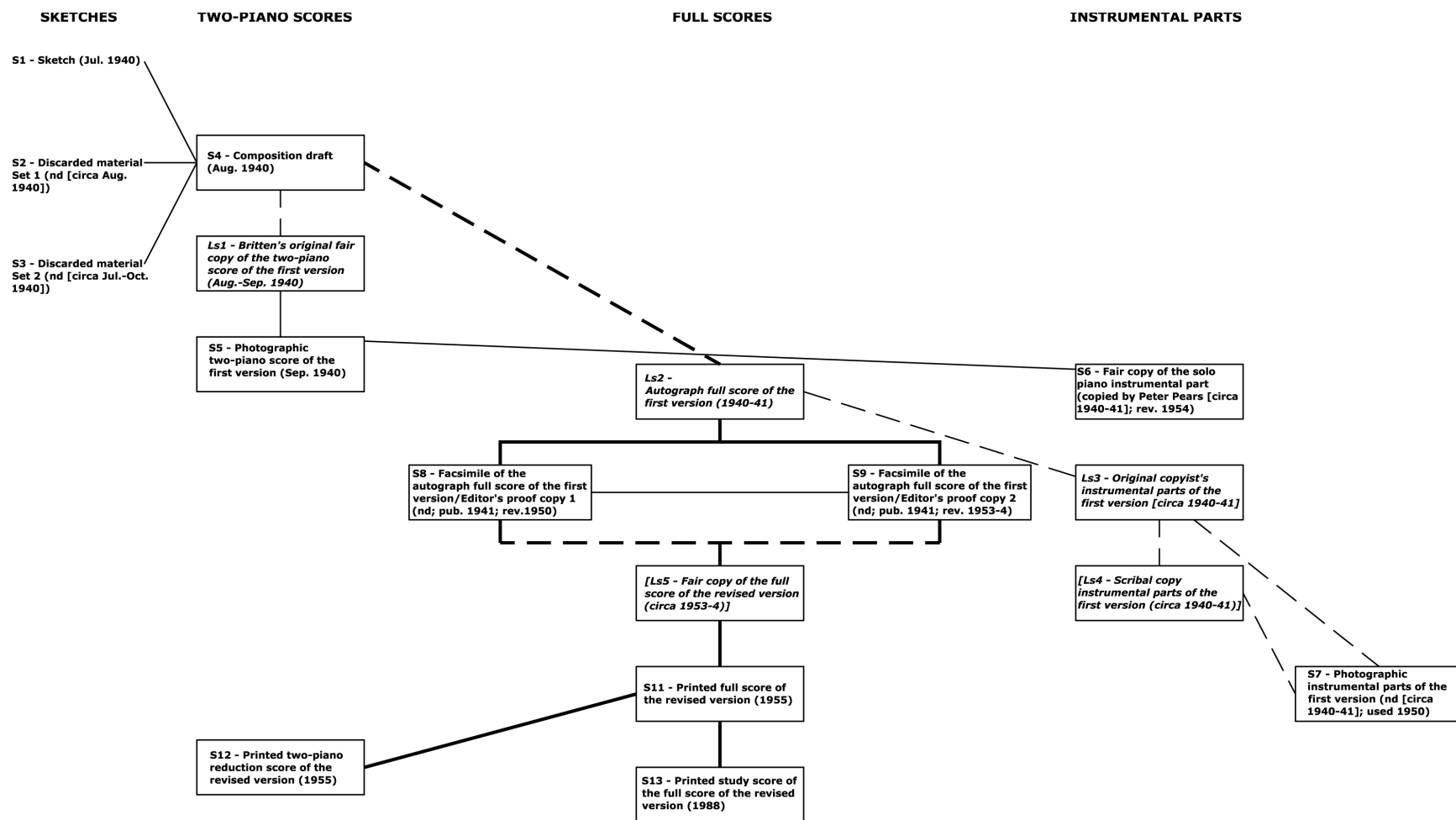
[Ls5 – Autograph fair copy of the full score of the revised version]

[Ls5] is presumably the autograph fair copy of the full score of the revised version that Britten made in 1953–4 for the printing process of the publication in 1955. This is conjectured from, as the discussions in the previous subsection show, the differences found between the two printed full scores of the revised version (S10 and S11) and the two facsimiles of the autograph full score of the first version (S8 and S9), especially S9 the old 'Master Copy', that there could have been another score that included all of Britten's final corrections and [Ls5] could have been the official 'Master Copy'. There is no proof to prove the existence of [Ls4], but if it had actually existed, it was either Britten or his publisher who lost it.

The interrelationships between the *Diversions* sources

The discussions of both the surviving and the possibly lost sources of the *Diversions* sources above provided the necessary background information to understand the evolution of the *Diversions* sources as well as the interrelationships between them, and these are illustrated in the stemmatic chart (Fig. 4.10) below:²⁹

²⁹ The printed full score of the revised version of 1955 (S10), which was annotated with Del Mar's conducting marks, is excluded from this stemmatic chart because it had no influence on any other sources and did not contribute to the evolution of the *Diversions*.



Note: Sources of the complete *Diversions* are shown in frames. Sources that are believed to have existed but are now considered as lost are shown in italics and are connected by dotted lines. Sources that might or might not have existed are now considered as lost are shown in italics and put in square brackets, and are connected also by dotted lines. Conjectured dates of composition are given in square brackets. A solid line descending, directly or obliquely, indicates the influence of one source on another. The broad lines link the sources that contributed to the definitive versions of the *Diversions*.

Fig. 4.10

Stemmatic chart of the evolution of and the interrelationships between both the surviving and possibly lost *Diversions* sources

The stemmatic chart in Fig. 4.10 above is laid out in this order: 1) the ‘source format’ at the top from left to right: Sketches → Two-piano scores → Full scores → Instrumental parts; and 2) the ‘conjectured and reconstructed chronological order of appearance of the sources’ from top to bottom, except for the printed two-piano score of the revised version (S12) that needs a reverse from the right to the left in the direction of reading. This layout leads the reader to see how all the *Diversions* sources were connected and how they evolved from each other (wherever there is a link) in a conjectured, reconstructed chronological order that maps out the compositional history of the *Diversions* that will be examined thoroughly in the next section of this chapter. The broad line in particular, which is either as solid or dotted and split up into two when two differently annotated copies of the same version exist, shows the main evolution of the sources that contributed to the definitive version of the *Diversions*. While the evolution of most of the *Diversions* sources is clear and straightforward, the link between Britten’s composition draft (S4) and the lost autograph full score of the first version (Ls2), as represented by the dotted broad line, needs an explanation. As the next section will show, the solo piano part in Ls2 (as represented by its two facsimile scores, i.e. S8 and S9) corresponds to the solo piano part in S4 but not the photographic two-piano score (S5). This is quite interesting, because S5 was a refined score of S4 (albeit the refinements were small), that it is reasonable to assume the solo piano part in Ls2 would have been based on S5, instead of S4. The hypothesis for this is that the fair copy of the two-piano score that Britten prepared for Wittgenstein (Ls1) was not with him when he wrote out the autograph full score, so that he used his own composition draft (S4) as the basis.

Justification of the selection of the Diversions sources

This present study aims to explore Wittgenstein and Britten's conception of composing a work for piano left-hand and orchestra, as well as investigating their interactions during the compositional process of the *Diversions* and examining their influences on the making of the work. As such, this chapter will base its discussion on source materials that contain notations and/or annotations by both Wittgenstein and Britten that clearly detail the compositional process of the *Diversions*, including Britten's composition draft (S4), the photographic two-piano score used and annotated by Wittgenstein (S5), the two facsimiles of the autograph full score of the first version copies 1 & 2 (S8 and S9) and the printed full score of the revised version copy 2 used by Britten as a conductor's score (S11).

The Composition Journey of the *Diversions*

From sketching out a few incipits for the ‘proposed concerto’ in July 1940 through completing its first version in 1941 to eventually publishing a revised version in 1955, the composition journey of the *Diversions* lasted for a total of fifteen years and involved a total of seventeen sources (both surviving and possibly lost ones). Britten kept on polishing his score throughout this lengthy composition process, therefore, the scores that he produced at various stages inevitably differ from each other. Table 4.4 below presents a list of all the pitch differences found in the solo piano part in Britten’s composition draft (S4), the photographic two-piano score of the first version (S5),³⁰ the two facsimiles of the autograph full score of the first version (S8/S9), and the two printed full scores of the revised version (S10/S11):³¹

³⁰ As discussed in the section above, Britten wrote out a fair copy of the two-piano score of the first version for Wittgenstein in 1940, from which S5 was made. Britten did not write anything in S5, but since his original fair copy (Ls1) is now lost and unavailable for consultation, S5 will be used to represent both itself and Ls1.

³¹ The pitches listed here in Table 4.4 are taken from either Britten’s original notations in S4 and S5 or the printed text in S8/S9 and S10/S11 and they do not represent the autograph annotations marked by Britten during the revision process. Therefore, the pitches in S8 and S9 are identical, which is also the case for S10 and S11. The reason why only the pitch differences found in the solo piano part are included in this discussion because they (especially those found between S5 and S8/S9) were related to Wittgenstein’s study and/or interpretation of the solo piano part.

Movement	Bar	Notation	S4	S5	S8/S9	S10/S11
Variation I	38 (33)	Lower voice in the 2 nd half of the 1 st beat	E–G	Missing	Same as S4	Same as S4
	39 (34)	Acciaccatura to the 1 st note	C	Missing	Same as S5	Same as S5
	51 (45)	3 rd note in the 3 rd group of semiquavers	D	D \sharp	Same as S4	Same as S4
Variation II	63 (57)	Acciaccatura to the last note and the last note	C	C \sharp	Same as S4	Same as S4
	67 (61)	1 st octave	C	C \sharp	Same as S5	Same as S5
	73 (67)	Last chord	E–A	E \flat –A \flat	Same as S5	Same as S5
	75 (69)	3 rd octave	E	E \flat	Same as S5	Same as S5
	78 (72)	7 th note	B \flat	Same as S4	B	Same as S4
	80 (74)	9 th note	E \flat	Same as S4	E	Same as S4
Variation III	119–120 (113–14)	1 st and 5 th notes	G and A	Same as S4	Same as S4	G \sharp and A \sharp
	150 (144)	Last chord	C \sharp –E–A \sharp	Same as S4	C \sharp –E–A \sharp	Same as S4
Variation IV	186 (180)	Last chord	C–A–F \sharp	Same as S4	C–A \sharp –F \sharp	Same as S4
	190 (184)	2 nd last chord	A \sharp –G \sharp	A \sharp –G	Same as S4	Same as S4
	194 (188)	3 rd last chord	C–G \sharp	Same as S4	C–G \sharp	Same as S4
Variation VI	251 (245)	1 st and 4 th notes	D \sharp	Same as S4	D	Same as S4
Variation VII	313 (305)	Last note	C	C \sharp	Same as S4	Same as S5
Variation IXb	473[10] (464[10])	Last seven notes after 8 ^{va} sign	B–A \flat –G \flat –F–E–D \flat –C	B–A–G–F–E–D–C	Same as S4	Same as S4
	473[13] (464[13])	Chord in the lower voice	A–D \flat	A \flat –D \flat	Same as S5	Same as S5

Table 4.4 Pitch differences found in the solo piano part in S4, S5, S8/S9 and S10/S11

Most of the pitch differences are either copying mistakes or spelling differences owing to the various uses of cautionary accidentals. But at several

places the pitches are notably different. In bar 73 for example,³² the last chord is shown as E and A in the composition draft (S4) but E \flat and A \flat are seen in the other sources. Since accidentals only affect the notes in the same octave, a flat sign should be added to flatten the E and A in S4 as they are placed an octave below their predecessors. In bar 473[13] in the Cadenza, the dyad, A–D \flat , is used in S4. However, it has been changed to A \flat and D \flat in S5, and this notation has then been transferred onto S9 and retained in bar 464[13] in S11. It is clear that the note A was a mistake Britten made in S4 but he caught it and then corrected it when he wrote out the two-piano score for Wittgenstein.

Besides correcting copying mistakes and/or clarifying ambiguous pitches throughout the long composition journey, Britten also kept refining the tempo and metronome markings in the *Diversions*, and the changes are listed in Table 4.5 below.³³

³² As mentioned above all *Diversions* sources do not have bar numbers. So I have added them to the examples reproduced in this study for ease of reference. Since the total number of bars in S10/S11 is different from the earlier sources due to the cuts made by Britten, the new bar numbers in S10/S11 are given in brackets for reference in Tables 4.4, 4.6 and 4.7 only. In the actual prose, the bar numbers are provided in accordance to the source(s) they associate with. Also, as some of the long piano solos are divided into smaller bars with dashed bar lines, these dashed bars are not counted as real bars, and their bar numbers are given in square brackets.

³³ Tempo and metronome markings that are underlined in Table 4.5 represent Britten's corrections. All others are reproduced either as written or printed in the sources.

Movement	S4	S5	S8	S9	S10/S11
Theme	<i>Maestoso</i> (♩)	<i>Maestoso</i> (♩)	<i>Allegro Maestoso</i>	<i>Allegro Maestoso</i>	<i>Maestoso</i> (♩ = 50)
Variation I	<i>L'istesso tempo</i>	<i>L'istesso tempo</i> (♩) (<i>Maestoso</i>) (♩)	<i>L'istesso tempo</i> (♩) (<i>Maestoso</i>)	<i>L'istesso tempo</i> (<i>Maestoso</i>)	<i>L'istesso tempo</i> (<i>Maestoso</i>) (♩)
Variation II	<i>Allegretto</i> (♩.)	<i>Allegretto</i> (♩.)	<i>Allegretto</i>	<i>Allegretto</i> (♩ = 152)	<i>Allegretto mosso</i> (♩ = 156)
Variation III	<i>Allo [sic; Allegro] con brio</i> (♩)	<i>Allegro con brio</i> (♩)	<i>Allegro con brio</i>	<i>Allegro con brio</i>	<i>Allegro con brio</i> (♩ = 144)
Variation IV	<i>Andante amabile</i>	<i>Andante</i>	<i>Andante</i>	<i>Andante</i> (♩ = 108)	<i>Allegretto</i> (♩ = 108)
Variation V	<i>Andante solennemente</i>	<i>Andante solennemente</i> (♩)	<i>Andante solennemente</i>	<i>Andante solennemente</i> (♩ = 60)	<i>Andante solennemente</i> (♩ = 56)
Variation VI	<i>Andante piacevole</i> (♩.)	<i>Andante piacevole</i> (♩.)	<i>Andante piacevole</i>	<i>Andante piacevole</i>	<i>Andante piacevole</i> (♩. = 52)
Variation VII	<i>Grave</i> (♩); <i>vivacissimo</i> (♩.)	<i>Grave</i> (♩); <i>vivacissimo</i> (♩.)	<i>Grave</i> (♩); <i>vivacissimo</i> (♩.)	<i>Grave</i> (♩ = 46); <i>vivacissimo</i> (♩. = 88)	<i>Grave</i> (♩ = 46); <i>vivacissimo</i> (♩. = 96)
Variation VIII	<i>Molto moderato</i>	<i>Molto moderato</i>	<i>Molto moderato</i>	<i>Molto moderato</i>	<i>Molto moderato</i> (♩ = 100)
Variation IXa	<i>Allegro ma on troppo</i> (♩)	<i>Allegro ma non troppo</i> (♩)	<i>Allegro ma non troppo</i> (♩)	<i>Allegro ma non troppo</i> (♩ = 112)	<i>Allegro</i> (♩ = 128)
Variation IXb	<i>L'istesso tempo</i> (♩)	<i>L'istesso tempo</i> (♩)	<i>L'istesso tempo</i> (♩)	<i>L'istesso tempo</i>	<i>L'istesso tempo</i> (♩)
Variation X	<i>Un poco Adagio</i> (♩)	<i>un poco Adagio</i> (♩)	<i>un poco Adagio</i>	<i>un poco Adagio</i> (♩ = 50)	<i>Adagio</i> (♩ = 42)
Variation XI	<i>Presto non troppo ma con fuoco</i> (♩.); At Rehearsal 41: <i>poco a poco animando</i> At Rehearsal 43: <i>Molto Animato</i>	<i>Presto non troppo ma con fuoco</i> (♩.); At Rehearsal 41: <i>poco a poco animando</i> At Rehearsal 43: <i>Molto Animato</i>	<i>Presto non troppo ma con fuoco</i> At Rehearsal 41: <i>poco a poco animando</i> At Rehearsal 43: <i>Animato</i>	<i>Presto non troppo ma con fuoco</i> (♩. = 160); At Rehearsal 41: <i>poco a poco animando</i> At Rehearsal 43: <i>Animato</i>	<i>Presto con fuoco</i> (♩. = 172) At Rehearsal 41: none At Rehearsal 43: <i>Con anima</i>

Table 4.5 (Cont'd)

Tempo and metronome markings in S4, S5, S8, S9 and S10/S11

Most of the tempo markings remain the same in all sources, with only a few that has been changed. At first, Britten did not write any metronome markings in his composition draft (S4) and the photographic two-piano score (S5), and added them in the facsimile autograph full score of the first version copy 2 (S9) only when he made substantial corrections to the *Diversions* in 1953–4. The metronome markings in the two printed full scores of the revised version (S10/S11) are different from those in S9, and this suggests Britten made some further changes before the score went to print. In the revised version, the slower movements such as Variations V and VII (‘Grave’) were to be played even slower while the faster movements such as Variations II, VII (‘vivacissimo’), IXa and XI, were to be played at a much faster speed. Britten’s decision to increase the speed in these faster variations not only allowed him to achieve greater contrasts between the slow and fast movements, but also and more importantly heightened both the musical intensity and technical difficulty of the work.

Britten seriously revised the *Diversions* twice during its extended composition process, and each revision work was done for a different purpose. Presumably, he first made some initial changes to the *Diversions* in 1950 for the British premiere in Bournemouth on 14 October, and in 1953–4 when Wittgenstein’s exclusive rights were about to expire,³⁴ Britten made substantial corrections to the work to prepare for the recording and publication of the revised version in

³⁴ Since the commission contract signed between Wittgenstein and Britten cannot be found, it is unknown when Wittgenstein’s exclusive rights actually expired. The hypothesis might be that Wittgenstein’s exclusive rights to performance and publication of the *Diversions* lasted for a maximum of fourteen and fifteen years respectively, otherwise Britten could not have been able to record the *Diversions* with Julius Katchen in 1954 and publish a revised version in 1955.

1954 and 1955, respectively. As a music patron who considered the pieces he commissioned as his properties and that only he had the absolute authority to command the composers to make changes to suit his needs and musical preferences, Wittgenstein was certainly unhappy about Britten's making corrections to 'his' *Diversions*. After receiving a full score with proposed changes from Boosey & Hawkes around three weeks before the Bournemouth performance was due, Wittgenstein reacted furiously and fired off a letter of complaint to Britten on 23 September saying,

some days ago I was rung up by an employee of Boosey & Hawkes and was told that you had made some changes not only in the scoring of the "Diversions" but even in the solopart [*sic*]... Today I got the score, and I saw that ... you actually had made changes. But I hope you will agree with me when I say: whatever change you want to make in that score, and first of all of course in the solopart, it is I who would have to be notified at first, not B. & H. It is I for whom the work was written, it was I who has [*sic*] studied your work; if you are now making any changes in the solopart, it is I who has to learn them, not the publisher... Changes in the solopart for the next English performance are out of question! Changes made immediately before the concert lead to disaster! The better a piece is studied, the more involuntarily [*sic*; involuntarily] the fingers are doing their work. If I tried to make changes now, during the performance my fingers would automatically try to play the old passages against my head which tries to lead them another way; or I would not know which passage to play, would get mixed up between the different versions of the "Diversions".³⁵

³⁵ Britten-Pears Foundation, Benjamin Britten Letters, 2Hc3.12 (34) (Unpublished letter, 23 September 1950). The Toccata Wittgenstein referred to is 'Variation IXa–Toccata I'. Obvious spelling mistakes found in Wittgenstein's autograph letters with no particular importance have been corrected to standard spelling. In many of the letters Wittgenstein sent to Britten, he always mentioned the date on which he received a letter from Britten. However, none of Britten's replies can be found (as they are not included in the Wittgenstein collection housed in the *HK-pwa*) except for two that happened to be located at the *Gb-Alb*. The first one is Britten's reply about setting the date/time for his private meeting with Wittgenstein at the pianist's home in New York, which was written on the *verso* of the letter Wittgenstein sent him on 8 July 1940. The other one is Britten's reply to Wittgenstein's request in renewing his

It is understandable for Wittgenstein to have suffered a panic attack and felt disrespected, as he was given the revised score at such short notice before the British premiere and Britten did not ask for his consent before making changes to the solo piano part. As already discussed in the section above, the facsimile of the autograph full score of the first version copy 1 (S8) was presumably used by Britten to mark his initial changes in 1950, which was then sent to Wittgenstein. The changes Britten made to the solo piano part in S8 are given in Table 4.6 below.³⁶ Britten's original notations in his composition draft (S4) and the photographic two-piano score (S5), the further corrections he marked in the other facsimile autograph full score (S9) and the finalised notations in the two printed full scores of the revised version (S10/S11) are also provided here for comparison purposes as well as mapping out the transformation process of the solo piano part of the *Diversions* in its composition journey. Furthermore, Britten's deletions of bars with or without notations, although some of these took place in orchestral passages where the solo piano part was silent, are also incorporated into this table because they too had affected Wittgenstein's playing of his part.

performing rights, which he wrote on the *verso* of the telegram Wittgenstein sent him. There is a date stamp on this telegram, however it is now too blurred and vague that the date is completely illegible. For more details, see Britten-Pears Foundation, Benjamin Britten Letters, 2Hc3.12 (34) (Unpublished letters, 8 July 1940 and the undated telegram)

³⁶ There is only one layer in S4 and S5, and S10 and S11, and it represents Britten's original notations in S4 and (as photographed in) S5, and the printed text in S10 and S11. These notations are given in the table without a layer identifier. On the contrary, S8 has two layers and S9 has four. In these two sources, the notations in the first layer are Britten's originals (as photographed), and all other notations are corrections marked by Britten at different stages. Layer identifiers used in Table 4.6: L1 = first layer; L2 = second layer; L3 = third layer and L4 = fourth layer.

Movement	Bar(s)	S4	S5	S8	S9	S10/S11
Theme	1–4	Empty bars without rests	Same as S4	L1: same as S4 L2: all crossed out in pencil	L1: same as S8 L2: same as S8	Removed as indicated in S8 and S9
	32	With notations in the orchestral part	Same as S4	L1: same as S4 L2: crossed out in pencil	L1: same as S8 L2: same as S8	Removed as indicated in S8 and S9
Variation I	39–40 (34)	Two individual bars clearly marked by a bar line	Same as S4	L1: same as S4 L2: none	L1: same as S8 L2: the single note C in the bass clef was tied over to the next beat; the bar line between bars 39 and 40 was removed and the two bars became one; the crotchet rest with a fermata on the last beat in bar 39 became a whole bar rest with a fermata	Revised notation as indicated in S9
	42 [2–3] (36 [2–3])	No notation in the bass clef	Same as S4	L1: same as S4 L2: two circles added in pencil in the bass clef	L1: Same as S8 L2: one chord added in the bass clef in pencil	Revised notation as indicated in S9

Table 4.6 Notational differences in the solo piano part in S4, S5, S8, S9 and S10/S11 (to be continued)

Movement	Bar(s)	S4	S5	S8	S9	S10/S11
Variation VIII	392 (386), 400 (394)	One quaver triad followed by two semiquaver octaves	Same as S4	L1: same as S4 L2: pencil corrections: Upper voice: One semibreve triad Lower voice: one quaver rest followed by one double-dotted minim	L1: same as S8 L2: 'see M.S.' written in pencil	Revised notation as indicated in S8
	401–4 (395–8)	One quaver rest in the first half of the first beat; the phrase starts in the second half of the first beat (syncopation)	Same as S4	L1: same as S4 L2: pencil corrections: quaver rest in the first half of the first beat removed; the whole phrase is brought forward to start on the downbeat	L1: same as S8 L2: 'See M.S.' written in pencil	Revised notation as indicated in S8
	409 (403)	One quaver triad followed by two semiquaver octaves in	Same as S4	L1: Same as S4 L2: pencil corrections: Upper voice: One minim triad Lower voice: one quaver rest followed by one dotted crotchet octave	L1: same as S8 L2: 'See M.S.' written in pencil	Revised notation as indicated in S8

Table 4.6 Notational differences in the solo piano part in S4, S5, S8, S9 and S10/S11 (to be continued)

Movement	Bar(s)	S4	S5	S8	S9	S10/S11
Variation IXa	419–37, 440 (413–30, 432)	All semiquavers notated without brackets	Same as S4	L1: same as S4 L2: none	L1: same as S8 L2: pencil corrections: the last three notes of each bar marked with brackets	Revised notation as indicated in S9
	422–3 (416–7)	Notated with single B \flat	Same as S4	L1: notated with B \flat octaves L2: none	L1: same as S8 L2: pencil corrections: bottom note being crossed out	Revised notation as indicated in S9
	424–38 (418–29)	All B \flat octaves notated without brackets	The bottom note of all B \flat octaves were given in brackets	L1: same as S4 L2: none	L1: same as S8 L2: pencil corrections: bottom note of all B \flat octaves were crossed out until bar 435; change to treble clef in bar 436 and all B \flat octaves were crossed out, single note B \flat and B \sharp notated in bars 436–7 respectively	Revised notation as indicated in S9
	428 and 433	With notations	Same as S4	L1: same as S4 L2: both bars crossed out in pencil	L1: same as S8 L2: same as S8	Removed as indicated in S8 and S9

Table 4.6 Notational differences in the solo piano part in S4, S5, S8, S9 and S10/S11 (to be continued)

Movement	Bar(s)	S4	S5	S8	S9	S10/S11
Variation IXa	442	Notated with ascending semiquavers	Same as S4	L1: same as S4 L2: none	L1: same as S8 L2: whole bar crossed out in pencil	Removed as indicated in L2 in S9
	443 (434)	Notated with a dyad, F and B,	Same as S4	L1: same as S4 L2: none	L1: same as S8 L2: pencil corrections: a revised version of the original notation in bar 442 marked 'C' was written in the upper part of the page. An arrow was drawn to bar 443 marked 'C'	Revised notation marked 'C' as indicated in L2 in S9
Variation IXb	444 (435)	Not notated	Same as S4	L1: same as S4 L2: none	L1: same as S8 L2: none	One B, octave added on the first beat of the bar
Variation IXb: Cadenza	473 [14] (464 [14])	Notated with five sextuplets and four triplets	Same as S4	L1: same as S4 L2: pencil corrections: the 5 th sextuplet was crossed out	L1: same as S8 L2: blue pencil corrections: the 5 th sextuplet and the last two triplets were crossed out	Four sextuplets and four triplets (the triplet groups that were crossed out in S9 are retained here)

Table 4.6 Notational differences in the solo piano part in S4, S5, S8, S9 and S10/S11 (to be continued)

Movement	Bar(s)	S4	S5	S8	S9	S10/S11
Variation XI	529–32	With notations	Same as S4	<p>L1: same as S4</p> <p>L2: pencil corrections: Bar 529: circled and marked as ‘I’ Bars 530 and 532: crossed out Bar 531: circled and marked as ‘II’</p>	<p>L1: same as S8</p> <p>L2: pencil corrections: Bars 530 and 532: crossed out</p> <p>L3: blue pencil corrections: Bars 530 and 532: crossed out Bar 531: original notations crossed out</p> <p>L4: black ink corrections: Bar 531: new notations written above the bar</p>	Revised notations as indicated in L3 and L4 in S9
	596 and 598	With notations in the orchestral part	Same as S4	<p>L1: same as S4</p> <p>L2: whole bar crossed out in pencil</p>	<p>L1: same as S8</p> <p>L2: same as S8</p> <p>L3: whole bar crossed out in blue pencil</p>	Removed as indicated in L2 in S8 and L2/L3 in S9

Table 4.6 Notational differences in the solo piano part in S4, S5, S8, S9 and S10/S11 (to be continued)

Movement	Bar(s)	S4	S5	S8	S9	S10/S11
Variation XI	601–4 (589–91)	With notation	Same as S4	L1: same as S4 L2: bar 604 crossed out in pencil	L1: same as S8 L2: pencil corrections: notations in bars 602–3 being crossed out; new notations written above the bars L3: blue pencil corrections: bar 603 crossed out and the F \sharp in bar 603 was moved to bar 604	Revised notation as indicated in L2 and L3 in S9
	610 (596)	Only the second and third note in the first beat is slurred	Same as S4	L1: same as S4 L2: none	L1: same as S8 L2: blue pencil corrections: a slur is added to group the second and third beat together	Revised notation as indicated in S9
	611 (597)	With notation	Same as S4	L1: same as S4 L2: none	L1: same as S8 L2: blue pencil corrections: modified notation based on the pattern used in bars 609–10	Revised notation as indicated in S9

Table 4.6 Notational differences in the solo piano part in S4, S5, S8, S9 and S10/S11 (to be continued)

Movement	Bar(s)	S4	S5	S8	S9	S10/S11
Variation XI	612	Notated with single F	Same as S4	L1: same as S4 L2: whole bar crossed out in pencil	L1: same as S4 L2: same as S8	Removed as indicated in L2 in S8 and S9
	613	Without notation	Same as S4	L1: same as S4 L2: single F added in pencil	L1: same as S8 L2: same as S8 L3: whole bar crossed out in blue pencil	Removed as indicated in L3 in S9
	615	With notations in the orchestral part	Same as S4	L1: same as S4 L2: none	L1: same as S8 L2: whole bar crossed out in pencil	Removed as indicated in L2 in S9
	617	With notations in the orchestral part	Same as S4	L1: same as S4 L2: whole bar crossed out in pencil	L1: same as S8 L2: none	Removed as indicated in L2 in S8

Table 4.6 (Cont'd) Notational differences in the solo piano part in S4, S5, S8, S9 and S10/S11

As Table 4.6 above shows, the changes that Britten made to the solo piano part in S8 in 1950 were not too radical. The most ‘substantial’ correction can be found in bars 401–3 in Variation III, where Britten removed the quaver rest at the beginning of bar 401 to bring the phrase a quaver beat forward so that it would start on the downbeat (Figs. 4.11a–c). Technically, this correction was practical as it should have been easier for Wittgenstein to enter on the downbeat of bar 401 following the descending arpeggio played by the clarinet with a *rallentando*. What prompted Wittgenstein to say he would mix up the old version with the new was probably Britten’s deletion of music notation and bars. In bar 473 [14] in the ‘Cadenza’ in Variation IXb, Britten shortened the phrase by crossing the 5th sextuplet group (Fig. 4.12) and, as listed in Table 4.6 above, Britten crossed out a number of bars in the Theme, and Variations IXa and XI. Although it should not be too difficult for Wittgenstein to play one less sextuplet, he probably disliked Britten for cutting down his ‘show time’ in the ‘Cadenza’. The occasional removal of bars, on the contrary, might really have confused Wittgenstein in terms of counting his entrances.

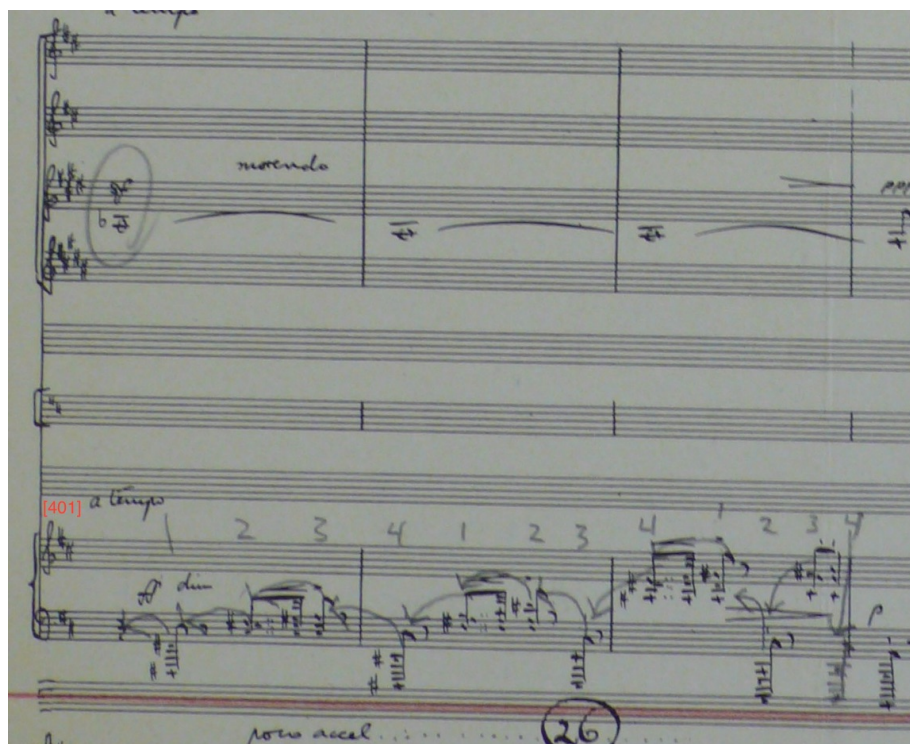


Fig. 4.11a

Bars 401–4 in Variation III on page 42 [fol. 23v] in the facsimile of the autograph full score of the first version of the *Diversions* copy 1 (S8). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation and COPYRIGHT 1941 BY HAWKES & SON INC. (NEW YORK) LTD. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF HAWKES & SON (LONDON) LTD. All rights reserved.

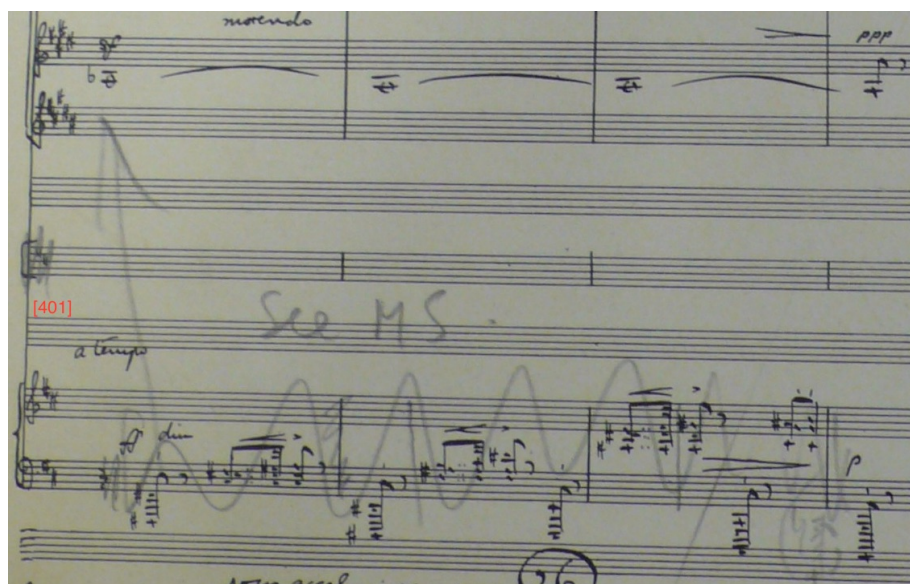


Fig. 4.11b

Bars 401–4 in Variation III on page 42 [fol. 23v] in the facsimile of the autograph full score of the first version of the *Diversions* copy 2 (S9). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation and COPYRIGHT 1941 BY HAWKES & SON INC. (NEW YORK) LTD. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF HAWKES & SON (LONDON) LTD. All rights reserved.



Fig. 4.11c Bars 395–8 in Variation III on page 62 in the printed full score of the revised version of the *Diversions* copy 2 (S11). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. COPYRIGHT 1955 BY HAWKES & SON (LONDON) LTD. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF HAWKES & SON (LONDON) LTD



Fig. 4.12 Bars 473 [14] in Variation IXb on page 54 [fol. 29v] in the facsimile full score of the first version of the *Diversions* copy 1 (S8). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation and COPYRIGHT 1941 BY HAWKES & SON INC. (NEW YORK) LTD. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF HAWKES & SON (LONDON) LTD. All rights reserved.

In comparison to the initial changes Britten made to the solo piano part in 1950, the corrections he carried out in 1953–4, as his annotations in the facsimile of the autograph full score of the revised version copy 2 (S9) listed in Table 4.6 above show, were far more substantial. The most drastic change can be found in bars 440–43 in Variation IXa. Britten removed bar 442 from

Variation IXa and replaced it with a new notation marked 'C' that includes ascending thirds and octaves that lead up to the B_♭ octave in bar 444 (435), which marks both the end of Variation IXa and the beginning of Variation IXb (Figs. 4.13a and 4.13b). Compared to the original notation using only single notes, the new notation here is more powerful and it provides a more fitting transition to the exciting orchestral interlude. The amendment Britten made to bars 424–38 in Variation IXa was particularly significant. In his composition draft (S4), he notated all the B_♭ octaves without brackets. In the photographic two-piano score (S5), he put the bottom note of all the B_♭ octaves in brackets, which were then crossed out by Wittgenstein (Fig. 4.14a). Although Britten did not take Wittgenstein's suggestions in 1950, but having profited from the experience of the Bournemouth performance (which probably consolidated the experience he had of the American premiere in 1942), Britten incorporated Wittgenstein's corrections into his score (S9) and allowed them to be printed in the revised version (Figs. 4.14b and 4.14c).

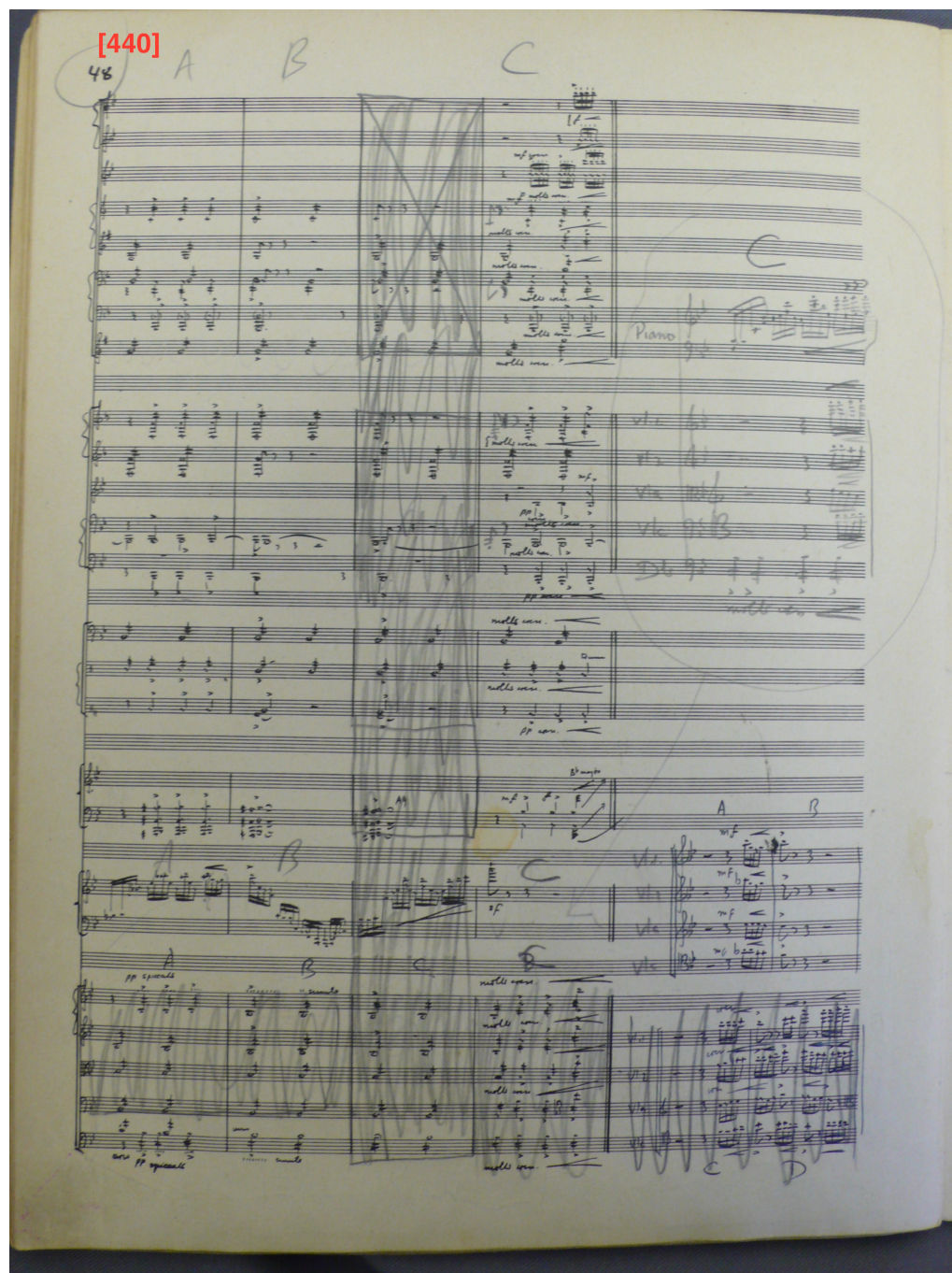


Fig. 4.13a Bars 440–3 in Variation IXa on page 48 [fol. 26v] in the facsimile of the autograph full score of the first version of the *Diversions* copy 2 (S9). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation and COPYRIGHT 1941 BY HAWKES & SON INC. (NEW YORK) LTD. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF HAWKES & SON (LONDON) LTD. All rights reserved.



Fig. 4.13b Bars 432–4 in Variation IXa on page 7 in the printed score of the revised version of the *Diversions* copy 2 (S11) Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. COPYRIGHT 1955 BY HAWKES & SON (LONDON) LTD. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF HAWKES & SON (LONDON) LTD

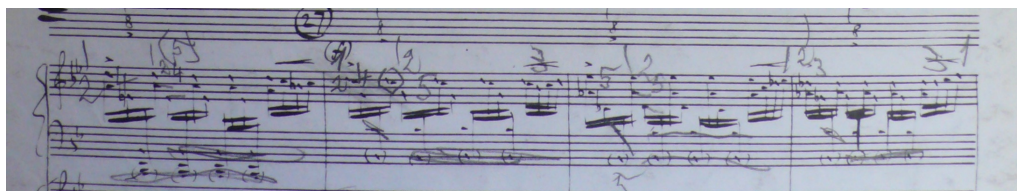


Fig. 4.14a Bars 428–31 in Variation IXa on page 24 [fol. 14v] in the photographic two-piano score of the *Diversions* (S5). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation.

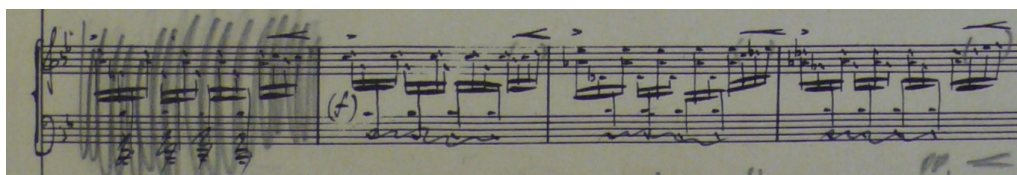


Fig. 4.14b Bars 428–31 in Variation IXa on page 46 [fol. 25v] in the facsimile of the autograph full score of the first version of the *Diversions* copy 2 (S9). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation and COPYRIGHT 1941 BY HAWKES & SON INC. (NEW YORK) LTD. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF HAWKES & SON (LONDON) LTD. All rights reserved.

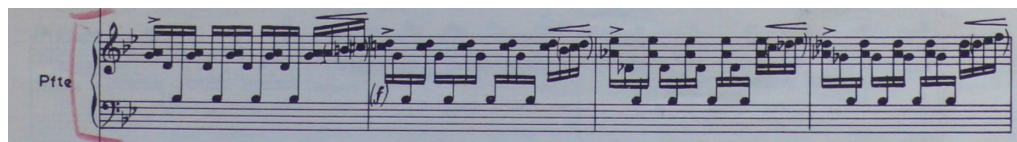


Fig. 4.14c Bars 421–24 in Variation IXa on page 67 in the printed score of the revised version of the *Diversions* copy 2 (S11) Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. COPYRIGHT 1955 BY HAWKES & SON (LONDON) LTD. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF HAWKES & SON (LONDON) LTD

When Wittgenstein wrote his letter of complaint to Britten on 23 September, he also blamed the composer for altering the scoring in the *Diversions* and gave the following order: ‘whatever you do, for God’s sake don’t make the orchestra heavier as it already is, especially in the Toccata [Variation IXa]! Children should be seen and not heard, but a soloist wants to be heard and not (only) seen!’³⁷ This was actually not the first time Wittgenstein voiced his discontent about Britten’s scoring, and their battle over it had been severe back in 1941. On 31 July Wittgenstein angrily wrote to the composer:

Although I intended to postpone our battle till you come back to New York, I might as well tell you in advance ... where I indeed think that your work is far too heavily scored. Generally speaking: Modern composers don’t seem to feel well, if they don’t let a theme be said [by] at least two or three instruments at the same time... page 20 and 21 [Variation III: March]: What’s the use of my playing octaves if the whole orchestra, strings (in octaves!) high woodwind and brass make a deafening noise? (That also the two bars on page 19 [Variation III: March] can’t be heard, the human ear not being able to hear a cricket chirping between two roars of a lion...page 79 and 80 [Variation XI: Tarantella]: Just these last brilliant passages for the piano are made entirely inaudible by strings and high woodwind. In these passages the piano can’t even be heard as a “color”. I can bang with all my

³⁷ Britten-Pears Foundation, Benjamin Britten Letters, 2He3.12 (34) (Unpublished letter, 23 September 1950).

strength, I wouldn't so much as be suspected to play, let alone be heard! ... no human strength on the piano can be a match for 4 horns, 4 trumpets, 3 trombones and a double woodwind, all making noise at the same time, that the public doesn't know.³⁸

Whether Britten addressed Wittgenstein's complaints in 1941 or not is a question that remains unanswered, but Table 4.7 below shows that Britten did not take the pianist's criticism into account when he revised the score in 1950 and 1953–4.³⁹

Movement	Bar(s)	Instrument(s)	S8 (used 1950)	S9 (used 1953–4)	S10/S11 (1955)
Theme	1, 4, 8, 1, 16 and 19 (4, 8, 12, and 15)	Percussion II (bass drum)	L1: original notations L2: none	L1: same as S8 L2: last two beats: 1 crotchet followed by 1 crotchet rest	1 minim with a trill
	16 (12)	Double bassoon	L1: original notations L2: none	L1: same as S8 L2: pencil corrections: last two beats: 1 crotchet followed by 1 crotchet rest	1 minim

Table 4.7 Changes Britten made to the scoring of the *Diversions* in 1950 (S8) and 1953–4 (S9) and the definitive notations in the printed full score of the revised version (1955) (to be continued)

³⁸ Britten-Pears Foundation, Benjamin Britten Letters, 2Hc3.12 (34) (Unpublished letter, 31 July 1941). Wittgenstein must have made a complaint to Britten about his scoring earlier than 31 July because on 23 July Britten wrote a letter to Ralph Hawkes in which he said, 'I'm having a slight altercation with Herr von Wittgenstein over my scoring – if there is anything I know about it is scoring & so I'm fighting back. The man really is an old sour puss'. Benjamin Britten to Ralph Hawkes, (Letter 326, 23 July 1941), in Mitchell and Reed, ed. *Letters from A Life*, 956. Pears also wrote to Elizabeth Mayer on 23 August 1941, 'Wittgenstein is being stupid and recalcitrant about the scoring of the *Diversions*... It means a series of tactful but firm letters from Ben'. Peter Pears to Elizabeth Mayer, (quoted in note 6 to Letter 326; Letter 326, 23 July 1941), in Mitchell and Reed, ed. *Letters from A Life*, 957.

³⁹ Both S8 and S9 have two layers. In these two sources, the notations in the first layer are Britten's originals (as photographed), and all other notations are corrections marked by Britten at a later stage. Layer identifiers used in Table 4.7: L1 = first layer and L2 = second layer.

Movement	Bar(s)	Instrument(s)	S8 (used 1950)	S9 (used 1953–4)	S10/S11 (1955)
Theme	19 (15)	Woodwinds and horns	L1: original notations L2: none	L1: same as S8 L2: pencil corrections: last two beats: 1 crotchet followed by 1 crotchet rest	1 minim
Variation VIII	381–415 (375– 409)	Percussion I	L1: original notations L2: notations crossed out in pencil	L1: same as S9 L2: whole part crossed out	Whole part removed as indicated in S9
Variation IXa	418–33 (412– 25)	Cello	L1: original notations: empty bars up to bar 428; in bars 429–33, single note B notated in each of the bar as the downbeat L2: three semiquavers (C, D and E \flat) were added in the last beat of bar 418 as a pick-up to the single note F in bar 419 in pencil.	L1: same as S8 L2: new melodic line added in pencil using the same pick-up as added in S8	Revised notation as indicated in L2 in S9.
	421–33 (415– 25)	Viola	L1: original notations: empty bars L2: none	L1: same as S8 L2: new melodic line added in pencil	Revised notation as indicated in L2 in S9.

Table 4.7 Changes Britten made to the scoring of the *Diversions* in 1950 (S8) and 1953–4 (S9) and the definitive notations in the printed full score of the revised version (1955) (to be continued)

Movement	Bar(s)	Instrument(s)	S8 (used 1950)	S9 (used 1953–4)	S10/S11 (1955)
Variation IXa	425–33 (419–25)	Violin II	L1: original notations: empty bars L2: none	L1: same as S8 L2: new melodic line added in pencil	Revised notation as indicated in L2 in S9.
	429–33 (422–5)	Violin I	L1: original notations: empty bars L2: none	L1: same as S8 L2: new melodic line added in pencil	Revised notation as indicated in L2 in S9.
	434–9 (426–31)	All strings	L1: original notations L2: none	L1: same as S8 L2: replaced by a paste-over of rewrites	Revised notation as indicated in L2 in S9.
	440–3 (432–44)	All strings	L1: original notations L2: none	L1: same as S8 L2: Original notation crossed out; rewrites given in the space after double-bar line with indication of their order of appearance	Revised notation as indicated in L2 in S9
Variation X	522–8 (513–19)	Horn I and II	L1: original notations L2: none	L1: same as S8 L2: notations crossed out in pencil	Whole part removed as indicated in L2 in S9
Variation XI	561–2, 569–70 (550–1, 558–9)	Double bass	L1: original notations: empty bars L2: none	L1: same as S8 L2: new notations added in pencil	Revised notation as indicated in L2 in S9
	562, 570 (551, 559)	Cello	L1: original notations: empty bars L2: none	L1: same as S8 L2: new notations added in pencil	Revised notation as indicated in L2 in S9

Table 4.7 Changes Britten made to the scoring of the *Diversions* in 1950 (S8) and 1953–4 (S9) and the definitive notations in the printed full score of the revised version (1955) (to be continued)

Movement	Bar(s)	Instrument(s)	S8 (used 1950)	S9 (used 1953–4)	S10/S11 (1955)
Variation XI	563–4 (552–3)	Xylophone	L1: original notations: empty bars L2: none	L1: same as S8 L2: new notations added in pencil	Revised notation as indicated in L2 in S9
	569–73 (558–62)	Whole woodwind section	L1: original notations: with notations in the double bassoon in bars 569–70 and flute II and oboe in bars 572–3 L2: none	L1: same as S8 L2: new notations added in black ink	Revised notation as indicated in L2 in S9
	569–72 (558–61)	Whole brass section	L1: original notations L2: none	L1: same as S8 L2: whole section crossed out in pencil	Whole section removed as indicated in L2 in S9
	579–80 (568–9)	Clarinet I and II, bassoon I and II	L1: original notations L2: none	L1: same as S8 L2: ‘see MS for ww, perc. & strings’ written at the top of the page in pencil	Slightly revised notations
	579–80 (568–9)	All brass	L1: original notations L2: none	L1: same as S8 L2: whole section crossed out	Whole section removed as indicated in L2 in S9
	579–80 (568–9)	Percussion II	L1: original notations L2: none	L1: same as S8 L2: notations for side drum crossed out in pencil	Side drum removed as indicated in L2 in S9; replaced by xylophone in bar 569

Table 4.7

Changes Britten made to the scoring of the *Diversions* in 1950 (S8) and 1953–4 (S9) and the definitive notations in the printed full score of the revised version (1955) (to be continued)

Movement	Bar(s)	Instrument(s)	S8 (used 1950)	S9 (used 1953–4)	S10/S11 (1955)
Variation XI	579–80 (568–9)	Cello	L1: original notations L2: none	L1: same as S8 L2: notations crossed out in pencil	Revised notations, same as bassoon I
	579–80 (568–9)	Double bass	L1: original notations L2: none	L1: same as S8 L2: notations crossed out in pencil	Revised notations, similar to those of double bassoon
	580–1 (569–70)	Flute I and II	L1: original notations: empty bars L2: none	L1: same as S8 L2: same as S8	With new notations
	606–8 (592–4)	Percussion II	L1: original notations L2: none	L1: same as S8 L2: notes and rests were rearranged	Revised notations as indicated in L2 in S9
	657–8 (641–2)	Trombone I and II	L1: original notations: no performing instructions L2: none	L1: same as S8 L2: ‘ <i>senza sord.</i> ’ Added in pencil in bar 657 (641)	New performing instruction in bar 641 as indicated in L2 in S9
	668–72 (652–6)	Trumpet I and II	L1: original notations	L1: same as S8 L2: original notations in Trumpet II in bars 668 and 670 were crossed out; those in bars 669 and 671 were modified; notation in bar 672 was crossed out and replaced by new notation written above the bar in pencil	Revised notations as indicated in L2 in S9

Table 4.7

Changes Britten made to the scoring of the *Diversions* in 1950 (S8) and 1953–4 (S9) and the definitive notations in the printed full score of the revised version (1955) (to be continued)

Movement	Bar(s)	Instrument(s)	S8 (used 1950)	S9 (used 1953–4)	S10/S11 (1955)
Variation XI	674–5 (658–9)	Violin I, Violin II, Viola and Cello	L1: original notations L2: none	L1: same as S8 L2: notations in violin II and viola crossed out in pencil; new notations added in violin I and cello in pencil	Revised notations as indicated in L2 in S9
	675–7 (659– 61)	Percussion II	L1: original notations L2: none	L1: same as S8 L2: notations in the part for glockenspiel and xylophone in bars 676–7 were crossed out in pencil; new notation added in the part for xylophone in bar 675	Revised notations as indicated in L2 in S9

Table 4.7 (Cont'd)

Changes Britten made to the scoring of the *Diversions* in 1950 (S8) and 1953–4 (S9) and the definitive notations in the printed full score of the revised version (1955) (to be continued)

If the facsimile of the autograph full score of the first version copy 1 (S8) was really the score with corrections that Wittgenstein received from Britten via Boosey & Hawkes, his reaction was over-exaggerated because Britten had only made two small revisions in the scoring. The first correction Britten made can be found in Variation VIII, in which the whole percussion part was crossed out. If Wittgenstein was worried about being overshadowed by the orchestra, he should have welcomed Britten's deletion of a percussion part from the work rather than blaming the composer for doing so. The second change Britten made to the scoring might arguably affect Wittgenstein because it involved music addition. In bar 418 in Variation IXa, the double bass was originally the

only member of the strings section who played a *pizzicato* note on the downbeat. As the annotations marked in S8 shows, Britten added in the cello part three semiquaver notes in the last beat of bar 418 as a pick-up to the single note F in bar 419. Although this correction was indeed an addition, it probably could not have outshined Wittgenstein's playing (Fig. 4.15).

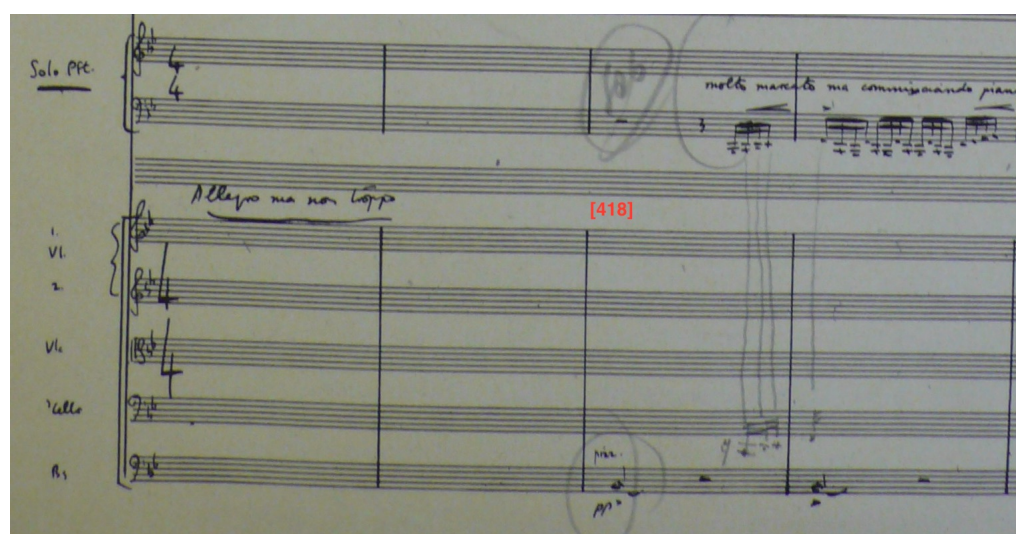


Fig. 4.15 Bars 418–19 in Variation IXa on page 44 [fol. 24v] in the facsimile of the autograph full score of the first version of the *Diversions* copy 1 (S8). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation and COPYRIGHT 1941 BY HAWKES & SON INC. (NEW YORK) LTD. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF HAWKES & SON (LONDON) LTD. All rights reserved.

The corrections marked in the other facsimile score (S9) show that Britten made more significant revisions in the scoring of the *Diversions* in 1953–4 when he prepared for its publication the following year. Most of these revised notations were printed in the full score of the revised version (S10/S11), but as Table 4.7 shows in some places the notations in the printed full score are different from those in S9. This once again further consolidated the assumption

that there might really have been a fair copy of the revised full score in which Britten finalised his thoughts on the *Diversions*.

One of the most substantial changes made to the scoring can be found in Variation IXa. In bars 418–33 in the strings section Britten retained the incipit he added in the cello part in S8 and developed it into a recurring pattern. He then repeated the same procedure in the viola, violin II and finally violin I (Fig 4.16a). Then, in bars 434–9, he replaced the original *tremolo* passage in the strings section with a paste-over on which new notations with greater melodic interests were written (Figs. 4.16b and 4.16c). Wittgenstein always complained about the ‘heavy scoring’ in the last variation, the ‘Tarantella’, especially in bars 657–8, 661–3 and 667–8 where he had to play against the entire orchestra. When Britten carried out his second revision work, he did make changes to the scoring in the ‘Tarantella’ in places other than those requested by Wittgenstein. For example, he crossed out the whole brass section in bars 569–72 and added in some new notations in the woodwinds. The removal of the brass section would of course tune down the volume produced by the orchestra so that the single-line figuration in the solo piano part may have a chance to be heard (Figs. 4.17a and 4.17b).

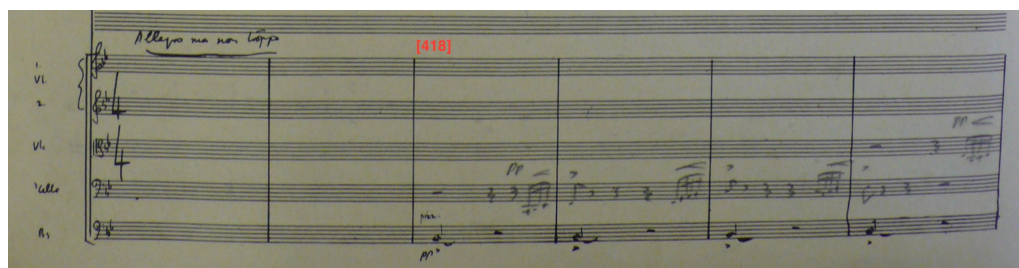


Fig. 4.16a Bars 418–21 in Variation IXa on page 44 [fol. 24v] in the facsimile of the autograph full score of the first version of the *Diversions* copy 2 (S9) (to be continued) Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation and COPYRIGHT 1941 BY HAWKES & SON INC. (NEW YORK) LTD. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF HAWKES & SON (LONDON) LTD. All rights reserved.

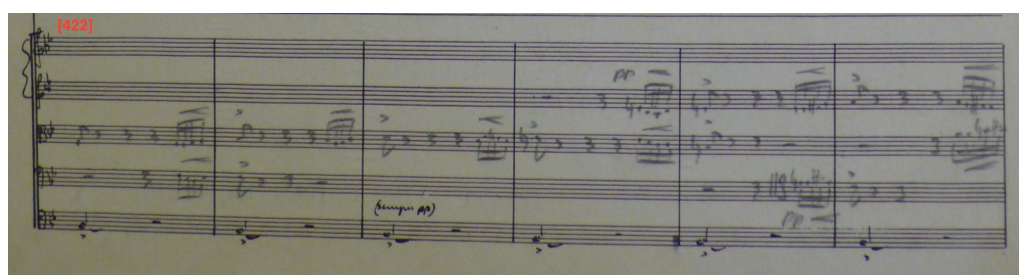


Fig. 4.16a (cont'd) Bars 422–7 in Variation IXa on page 45 [fol. 25r] in the facsimile of the autograph full score of the first version of the *Diversions* copy 2 (S9) (to be continued) Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation and COPYRIGHT 1941 BY HAWKES & SON INC. (NEW YORK) LTD. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF HAWKES & SON (LONDON) LTD. All rights reserved.

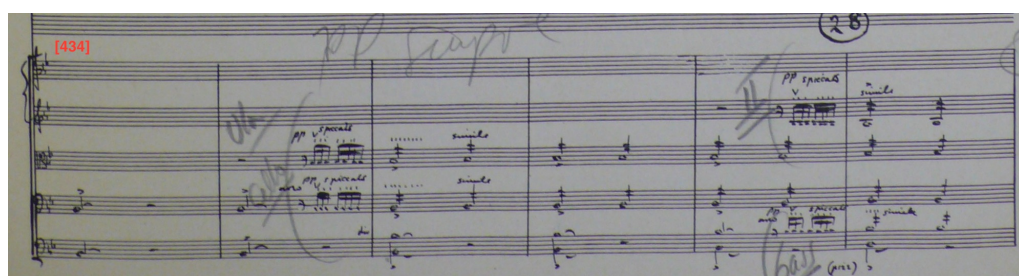


Fig. 4.16b Bars 434–9 in Variation IXa on page 47 [fol. 26r] in the facsimile of the autograph full score of the first version of the *Diversions* copy 1 (S8). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation and COPYRIGHT 1941 BY HAWKES & SON INC. (NEW YORK) LTD. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF HAWKES & SON (LONDON) LTD. All rights reserved.

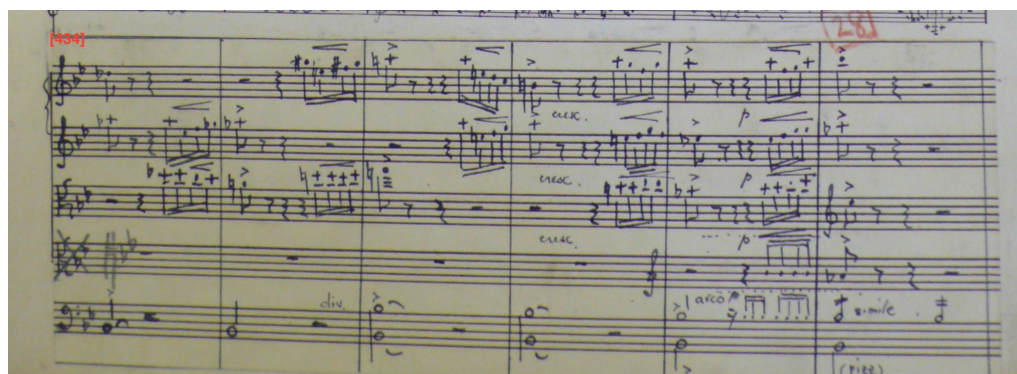


Fig. 4.16c

Bars 434–9 in Variation IXa on page 47 [fol. 26r] in the facsimile of the autograph full score of the first version of the *Diversions* copy 2 (S9). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation and COPYRIGHT 1941 BY HAWKES & SON INC. (NEW YORK) LTD. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF HAWKES & SON (LONDON) LTD. All rights reserved.

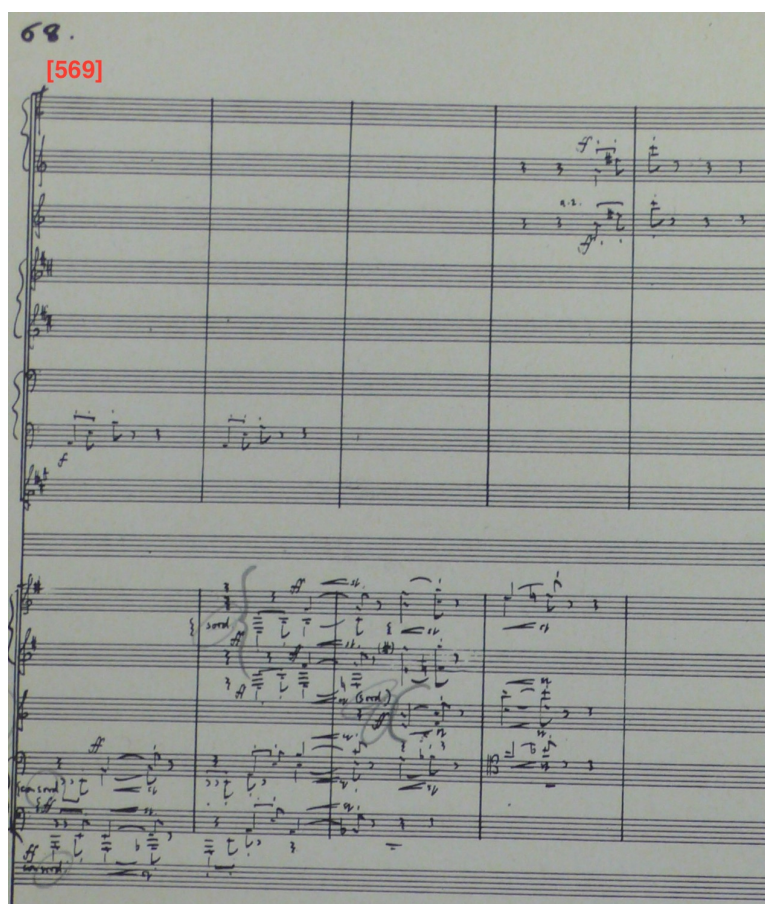


Fig. 4.17a

Bars 569–73 in Variation XI on page 68 [fol. 36v] in the facsimile of the autograph full score of the first version of the *Diversions* copy 1 (S8). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation and COPYRIGHT 1941 BY HAWKES & SON INC. (NEW YORK) LTD. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF HAWKES & SON (LONDON) LTD. All rights reserved.

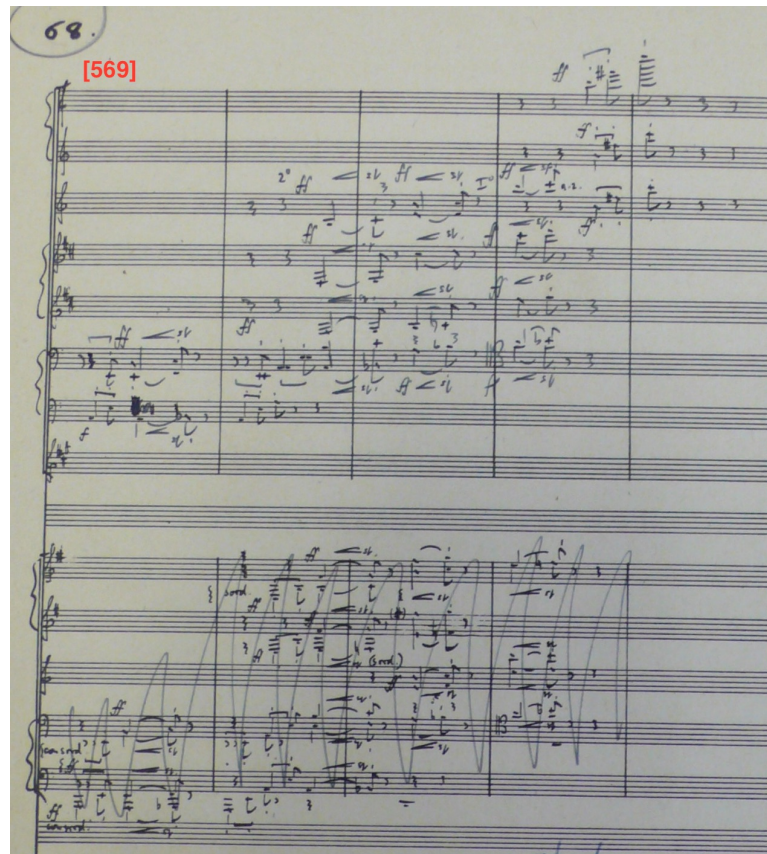


Fig. 4.17b Bars 569–73 in Variation XI on page 68 [fol. 36v] in the facsimile of the autograph full score of the first version of the *Diversions* copy 2 (S9). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation and COPYRIGHT 1941 BY HAWKES & SON INC. (NEW YORK) LTD. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF HAWKES & SON (LONDON) LTD. All rights reserved.

Although the corrections Britten made to the *Diversions* in 1953–4 were more extensive than those he carried out in 1950, the number and scale of the revisions he undertook the second time did not transform the work into a new piece. This seems to suggest that Britten, besides wanting to refine his score based on the experiences he got from both the American and the British premieres, the genuine reason for him to make further changes in the *Diversions* in 1953–4 was to re-create and subsequently publish the *Diversions* on his authority in 1955. Apart from the corrections discussed above, Britten also made several non-musical changes to *Diversions*, including the

composition title, front matter and movement titles. These changes are given in Table 4.8 below:

Information	First version (1941) S8/S9	Revised version (1955) S10/S11
Composition title on the front cover	Diversions on a Theme Opus 21 For Pianoforte Solo and Orchestra	Diversions for Piano (Left Hand) and Orchestra Op. 21
Composition title on the inside title page	Diversions on a Theme Opus 21 For Pianoforte Solo and Orchestra	Diversions for Piano (Left Hand) and Orchestra Op. 21
Dedication on the front cover	To Paul Wittgenstein	Removed
Dedication on the inside title page	To Paul Wittgenstein	For Paul Wittgenstein
Duration	23 minutes	24 minutes
Shorter version	(1) Omit No. VIII (Ritmico) (2) Omit No. V (Chorale) and No. VII (Badinerie)	Removed
Preface	Included	Removed
Contents	Theme	Theme
	I Recitative	I Recitative
	II Romance	II Romance
	III March	III March
	IV Rubato	IV Arabesque
	V Chorale	V Chant
	VI Nocturne	VI Nocturne
	VII Badinerie	VII Badinerie
	VIII Ritmico	VIII Burlesque
	IXa Toccata I	IXa Toccata I
	IXb Toccata II	IXb Toccata II
	X Adagio	X Adagio
	XI Tarantella	XI Tarantella

Table 4.8 Changes in the composition title, front matter and movement titles in the revised version of 1955

As Table 4.8 above shows, Britten renamed the work as ‘*Diversions for Piano (Left Hand) and Orchestra Op. 21*’. It was indeed interesting to see that Britten did not include ‘piano (left hand)’ in the title of the first version but the revised version. It was perhaps because the first version was directly associated with

Wittgenstein and would have been played by Wittgenstein only, that Britten did not feel the need to make this specification explicit in the title. By removing the dedication on the front cover of the revised version, Britten seemed to have cut off the most important linkage to Wittgenstein. But, as the inside title page shows, the dedication was still included although it was modified. The change of dedication from 'to Paul Wittgenstein' in the first version to 'for Paul Wittgenstein' in the revised version was significant. In the early composition stage of the *Diversions* Wittgenstein had altogether suggested to Britten twice that he would prefer 'Dedicated to Paul Wittgenstein' to 'for Paul Wittgenstein' as the dedication. Not only did Britten ignore Wittgenstein's request when he finalised the front matter for the first version, he even used the dedication that was banned by Wittgenstein in his revised version. Although this modification was trivial, it allowed Britten to claim his authority and ownership in the *Diversions* in an implicit way. Britten took a further step to weaken Wittgenstein's association with his *Diversions* by excluding the preface that he wrote for the first version from the revised version. Besides changing the composition title and the front matter, Britten also renamed the following three variations: 'Variation IV–Rubato' became 'Variation IV–Arabesque', 'Variation V–Chorale' became 'Variation V–Chant' and 'Variation VII–Ritmico' became 'Variation VII–Burlesque'. By using these new titles, which were more representational of the characters embedded in these movements than the former ones, Britten probably provided a more relevant guideline for his audience to understand his musical ideas in the *Diversions*.

Paul Wittgenstein's Re-composition of the *Diversions*

Britten would have heard stories about the unpleasant experiences that both his predecessors and contemporaries went through with Wittgenstein before the pianist approached him for a commission. In order to avoid becoming the next victim, Britten was as meticulous and considerate as possible when he composed the *Diversions*. First of all, he pondered and chose a compositional approach that accentuated the special qualities of Wittgenstein's left hand, which at the same time allows him to explore its possibilities. So as to make sure his intentions would not be mistaken, Britten revealed his strategy in the preface to the first version of the *Diversions* published in 1941:

I wrote this work in Maine in the summer of 1940 at the suggestion of Mr. Paul Wittgenstein. It takes the form of eleven straightforward and concise variations on a simple musical scheme, which is announced by the orchestra without any preamble... In no place in the work did I attempt to imitate a two-handed piano technique, but concentrated on exploiting and emphasizing the single line approach. I have tried to treat the problem in every aspect, as a glance at the list of movements will show: special features are, trills and scales in the Recitative; wide-spread arpeggios in the Nocturne; agility over the keyboard in the Badinerie and Toccata, and repeated notes in the final Tarantella.⁴⁰

These 'special features', together with the ones not mentioned in the Preface including self-accompanying melodies, swift alternation between chords and octaves as well as fast-moving octaves, are all common features that can be found in almost all compositions written for piano left-hand. What distinguishes the *Diversions* from Wittgenstein's other commissions as a work

⁴⁰ Benjamin Britten, 'Preface' to *Diversions On A Theme*, Op. 21 (1941).

that truly celebrates the pianist's left-handedness is Britten's handling of these techniques, and the most characteristic of all is his use of register. Instead of following the conventional practice to place a large part of the composition in the low register of the keyboard for ease of playing, Britten addressed, or even 'exhausted' Wittgenstein's left hand by making use of the entire keyboard. In addition, he further strengthened the left-handedness in the *Diversions* by rejecting the use of counterpoint, a technique that many composers adopted in their works to create an illusion that two hands were playing.⁴¹

Britten was an accomplished pianist and with his mastery and thorough understanding of the piano, he was able to exploit the instrument's versatilities and appropriate them for Wittgenstein to showcase his performing abilities. Britten assigned four different roles to the piano for Wittgenstein to take on throughout the *Diversions* and introduced them to the audience one by one in the first four variations. Firstly, he characterised the piano as a soloist and this primary role was made explicit at the beginning of Variation I. Subtitled 'Recitative', Variation I is literally a piano cadenza. The piano enters powerfully to strike a trill before playing a five-note ascending scale pattern. The fast-running figurations that follow and the quick shifts between octaves and block chords that span across the keyboard offer the pianist opportunities to demonstrate his exceptional technical skills as well as to 'warm up' for the subsequent variations. Secondly, he presented the piano as an equal partner to the orchestra in Variation II, the 'Romance', in which the two parties take turns

⁴¹ Britten's *Variations on a Theme of Frank Bridge*, Op.10 and *Cello Suites* prove that he was undoubtedly capable of mastering this learned art. The *Cello Suites* are single-line works with implied counterpoint, which was a writing that Britten could have used in the solo part of the *Diversions* but he opted not to do so.

to play the theme. In the middle section of this particular variation the piano plays a series of self-accompanied melodies against the orchestra. Thirdly, the piano was treated as a percussionist in Variation III, the 'March', with an extensive use of accents, rhythmic repeated block chords and series of fast-running scale patterns played *staccato* or even *staccatissimo*. The last role Britten designed for the piano to carry out was the role of accompanist. Variation IV, the 'Rubato' is set in the form of a piano quintet, in which the strings take turn to play solo. Playing incessant dyads of different intervals, the piano is strictly limited to the role of accompaniment to support the string ensemble.

Although Britten adopted a relatively innovative approach to address Wittgenstein's special disability in the *Diversions* that not only explored the possibilities of Wittgenstein's left hand but also realised its potentials to the fullest, his wish to prevent a war against Wittgenstein from happening did not come true. As the following discussion will show, Wittgenstein altered the *Diversions* substantially and extensively to suit his need and musical preferences. His alterations included the insertion of an additional cadenza between Variations IXb and X, and a number of extra solo passages in other variation movements among many others that caused great destruction to the structure of the *Diversions*.

Famously known for being difficult and fastidious to the composers he commissioned, Wittgenstein was never satisfied with their compositions when he first received them. Occasionally he complained to the composer and

commanded them to rewrite or make necessary changes to the solo part, but more often he did not give the composer a chance to revise but simply assumed the role of composer himself and took the liberty to carry out modifications and forced the changes upon the composers' scores. With the *Diversions*, Wittgenstein has as usual exercised his assumed prerogative to carry out revisions but since Britten was not acquiescent, the two of them wrestled against each other and eventually entered into a battle that was as vigorous as the one between Wittgenstein and Ravel.

Wittgenstein's sketches of his alterations can be seen throughout S5 and in his 'Additional Draft'.⁴² They are mainly embellishments or elaborations that derived from existing arpeggiated figurations, which he intended to either juxtapose with the original notation in the solo movements or insert as transitions between variations.⁴³ The first section on which he elaborated is the opening of the 'Recitative', which marks the first entrance of the soloist (Fig. 4.18a and Ex. 4.1a). At first he sketched directly in the score, but then he wrote out a fuller yet incomplete version in the first system on pages 16 and 17 [fols. 1v–2r/pw] of his 'Additional Draft' (Fig. 4.18b and Ex. 4.1b). In his version, Wittgenstein doubled both the acciaccatura and the trill in octaves in the first bar and added a series of arpeggiations that ascends to highest part of the

⁴² Wittgenstein's 'Additional Draft' is made up of a single bifolio (which he numbered as pages 15–18), the contents page [fol. 1v] and the inside back cover [fol. 20r] of the photographic two-piano score (S5). In order to differentiate Wittgenstein's extra bifolio from the folios that actually form S5, folio numbers have been added to them by me, and in order to differentiate this extra bifolio from the folios that actually form S5, an identifier '/pw' is added at the end of the folio number(s) I assigned. For example, then, the folio number for page 15 of Wittgenstein's Additional Draft' is [fol. 1r/pw].

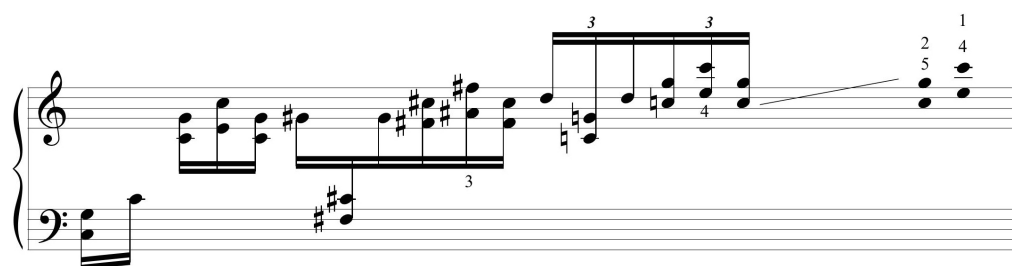
⁴³ Hammond reproduced a number of images from S5 in her unpublished dissertation 'To Conceal or Reveal'. She used 'Preprinted with permission from the Octavian Society. All rights reserved' for these images, which is an incorrect creditation. S5 is housed in the *Gb-Alb*, not the *HK-pwa*.

keyboard. In the next bar, he doubled the ascending five-note scale in bar 34 in octaves again. The big arrow inserted between the semibreve C and the two semiquaver dyads in bar 33 show that Wittgenstein intended to squeeze his addition into the first beat of bar 33.⁴⁴ The doubling Wittgenstein made to the trill and the ascending scale does not distort the original notation at all as it merely means an increase in both the technical difficulty and volume of the passage. His arpeggiated flourishes, however, upset the harmony, texture and style of Britten's score. The original opening is clearly set in the diatonic soundscape of C major, but Wittgenstein's addition, which includes chromatic interjections based on the notes F, C#, A# and G#, greatly undermined the establishment of the C-major tonality. Moving in a two-part texture, Wittgenstein's arpeggiation went against the sparse texture that Britten deliberately designed for the work. In addition, since the style of this arpeggiated pattern is unprecedented from the previous 'Theme', its sudden appearance would have caused quite a dramatic effect in the 'Recitative'.

⁴⁴ Hammond thought that Wittgenstein's alterations took the place of Britten's single-line ascending scale in bar 34. But the location of the arrow in bar 33 (Fig. 4.18a) and the inclusion of the two semiquaver dyads in Wittgenstein's 'Additional Draft' (Fig. 4.18b) clearly show that Wittgenstein wanted to insert the arpeggiation in bar 33 rather than replacing the composer's original notation in bar 34. For Hammond's reading of Wittgenstein's sketch of the opening of the 'Recitative', see Hammond, 'To Conceal or Reveal', 128–30.



Fig. 4.18a Wittgenstein's first sketch of the opening of the 'Recitative' in bars 33–42 on page 2 [fol. 2v] in the photographic two-piano score of the *Diversions* (S5). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.



Ex. 4.1a Transcription of Fig. 4.18a

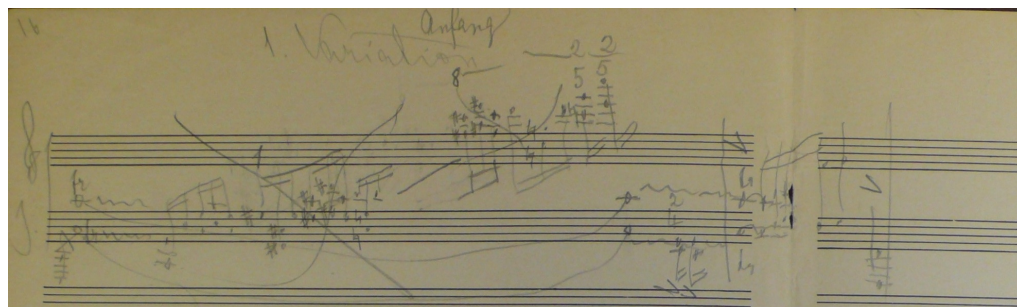


Fig. 4.18b Wittgenstein's second sketch of the opening of the 'Recitative' on pages 16–17 [fols. 1v–2r/pw] of his 'Additional Draft' contained within the photographic two-piano score of the *Diversions* (S5). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved

1. Variation Anfang
[Opening of the first Variation]

8va-----

Ex. 4.1b Transcription of Fig. 4.18b

Having begun his first solo in an elaborate way, it was expectable that Wittgenstein finished it in a similar manner. He composed a few possible endings for the 'Recitative', which are all quite similar in both content and style.⁴⁵ Among them, the one found at the top of the contents page is the most mysterious (Fig. 4.19a and Ex. 4.2a). Wittgenstein wrote out a series of single notes moving in fifths that leads to two octaves of ascending chord sequences. Above the music he scribbled '*eventuell statt Seite 3, unter Ende der 1. Variation*', meaning possibly or tentatively instead of page 3, to play this

⁴⁵ Hammond has only looked into the draft that Wittgenstein wrote out on pages 16–17 of his 'Additional Draft', which is the final version in my discussion. For Hammond's investigation on the ending for the 'Recitative', see Hammond, 'To Conceal or Reveal', 130–2.

passage underneath the end of the first variation. In the second system on page 3, Wittgenstein inscribed a time signature 3/4 before Rehearsal 5 (Fig. 4.19b). He first circled it but then crossed it out. He also added a few notes and fingerings between the B \flat octave and A \flat octave and wrote '*nicht höher*' [not higher] above them. The same time signature 3/4, also circled, can be found again under the last note of the movement. It seems that Wittgenstein originally intended to place his sketch before Rehearsal 5 but eventually decided to play it at the end of the 'Recitative'.

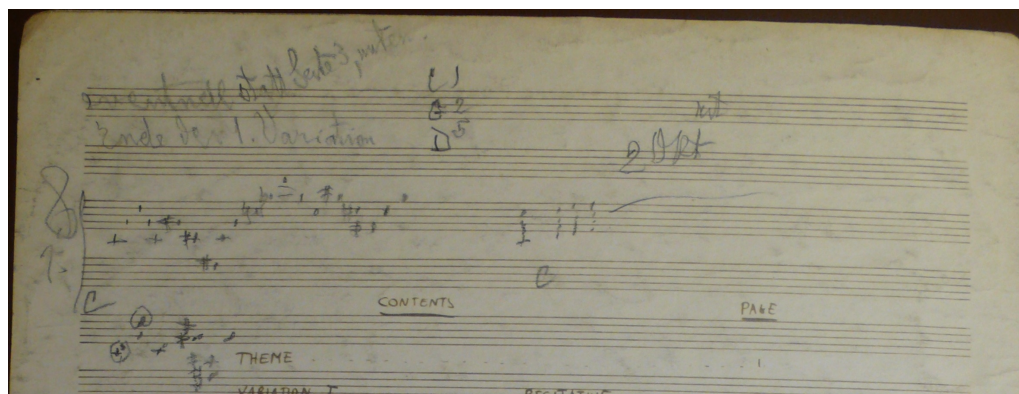


Fig. 4.19a Wittgenstein's first sketch of the ending of the 'Recitative' on the contents page [fol. 1v] of the photographic two-piano score of the *Diversions* (S5). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.

eventuell statt Seite 3, unter Ende der 1. Variation
[instead of page 3, to play this passage underneath the end of the first Variation]

C1
G2
D5

2 Okt rit.
[2 Octaves rit.]

C

Ex. 4.2a Transcription of Fig. 4.19a

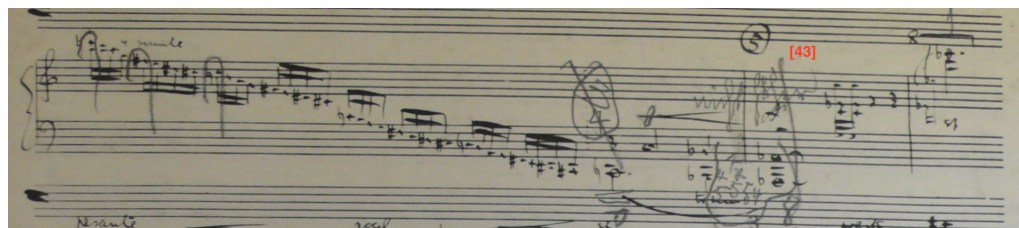


Fig. 4.19b Wittgenstein's indication of his insert at Rehearsal 5 in bar 43 in the 'Recitative' on page 3 [fol. 3r] in the photographic two-piano score of the *Diversions* (S5). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.

Wittgenstein drafted another possible ending for the 'Recitative' right in the space underneath the last system on page 3 [fol. 3r], which is again based on the idea of arpeggio (Fig. 4.19c and Ex. 4.2b). Incomplete in content, it consists of five sets of ascending semiquavers with different groupings that were to be played after the last note of the movement. Yet, Wittgenstein added an insert below this, and wrote before it '*vielleicht besser*' [perhaps better]. This fragment begins with a C–G–C triad followed by a series of arpeggiated flourishes that moves in parallel fifths. Then, the C–G–C triad is repeated once more, and Wittgenstein rounded it off with a C-major chord sequence. As his written instruction '*über 2 Oktaven (oder C–G–D)*' suggests, this chord series were to be played for two octaves in ascending motion, and that he could change the C-major chord into a ninth chord that spells C–G–D. Although Wittgenstein seemed to have found his second thought better than the first, he went on to compose one more draft. Located in the second system on pages 16–17 [fols. 1v–2r/pw] of Wittgenstein's 'Additional Draft' (Fig. 4.19d and Ex. 4.2c), the final version is a combination of fragments taken from the two previous drafts. Above the system he clearly wrote '*Ende*', meaning 'the end', and the passage begins with four descending octaves that coincide with the last

four notes at the end of the ‘Recitative’ in Britten’s version. Then, Wittgenstein drew four groups of ascending single-line semiquavers and, instead of specifying its end, he simply wrote ‘*bis hinauf*’, meaning ‘going right up [after this]’. Wittgenstein transformed the arpeggiations in fifths on page 3 of the score into a series of broken-chord figurations that is both initiated and concluded by the C–G–C triad, and he finished off the movement with two octaves of ascending C-major block chords. Of all the sketches, the one notated in the ‘Additional Draft’ is the most detailed and is the only version that has not been crossed out, suggesting that it was likely to be the one that Wittgenstein added into Britten’s score in the end.



Fig. 4.19c Wittgenstein’s second sketch of the ending of the ‘Recitative’ in the space below the last system on page 3 [fol. 3r] in the photographic two-piano score of the *Diversions* (S5). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.



Ex. 4.2b Transcriptions of Fig. 4.19c

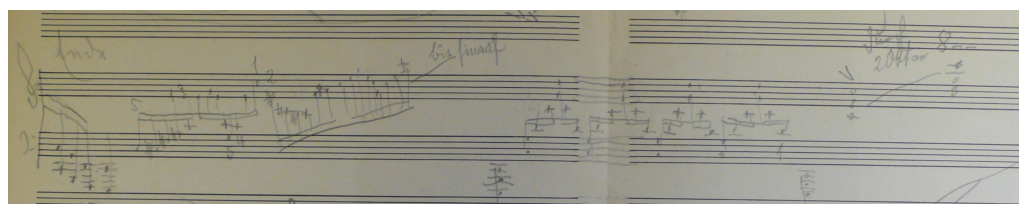
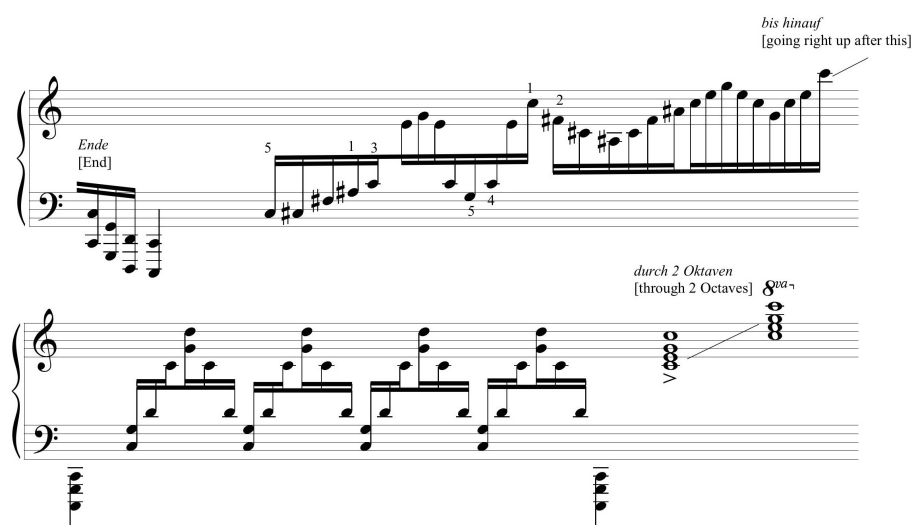


Fig. 4.19d Wittgenstein's final sketch of the ending of the 'Recitative' on pages 16–17 [fols. 1v–2r/pw] of his 'Additional Draft' contained within the photographic two-piano score of the *Diversions* (S5). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.



Ex. 4.2c Transcription of Fig. 4.19d

For his second solo, the real Cadenza located in Variation IXb, the ‘Toccata II’, Wittgenstein rewrote both its second half and ending.⁴⁶ He sketched his version of the second half of the Cadenza in the first two systems on page 18 [fol. 2v/pw] of his ‘Additional Draft’ (Fig. 4.20a and Ex. 4.3a). Wittgenstein’s inscription, ‘*B dur 2^{te} hälfte der Cadenz (anschließend nach der letzten Triller auf B)*’ above the system shows clearly that the passage below was to be placed at the second half of the Cadenza in B \flat major, following on from the last trill on B \flat . However, he did not mark in the score the location for his additions. Since there is only one trill on B \flat in bar 473[7–9] in Britten’s version, bar 473[10] seems to be the most sensible spot (Fig. 4.20b). Yet, this conjecture would have been valid only if Wittgenstein rearticulated the trill on the first beat in bar 473[8–9] so as to play it three times. In addition, Wittgenstein also did not state clearly if he were to replace Britten’s notation with his version or he would play Britten’s after his. Yet, since his draft ends with a downward glissando on black keys, which corresponds to the descending glissando in bar 473[13] in Britten’s original score, it seems that Wittgenstein intended to replace Britten’s notation with his own. He did so perhaps because Britten’s notation, which includes broken-chord and scale patterns and trills, was not as challenging and varied as he would have anticipated. Therefore, he decided to play various kinds of broken-chord figurations, a rising scale pattern and a downward glissando on black keys in the hope of making the Cadenza more virtuosic than it was.

⁴⁶ Hammond discussed only the alterations Wittgenstein made to the ending of the Cadenza but not the changes the pianist made to the second half of the Cadenza in her unpublished dissertation. For Hammond’s examination of Wittgenstein’s sketches for the ending of the Cadenza, see Hammond, ‘To Conceal or Reveal’, 132–5.

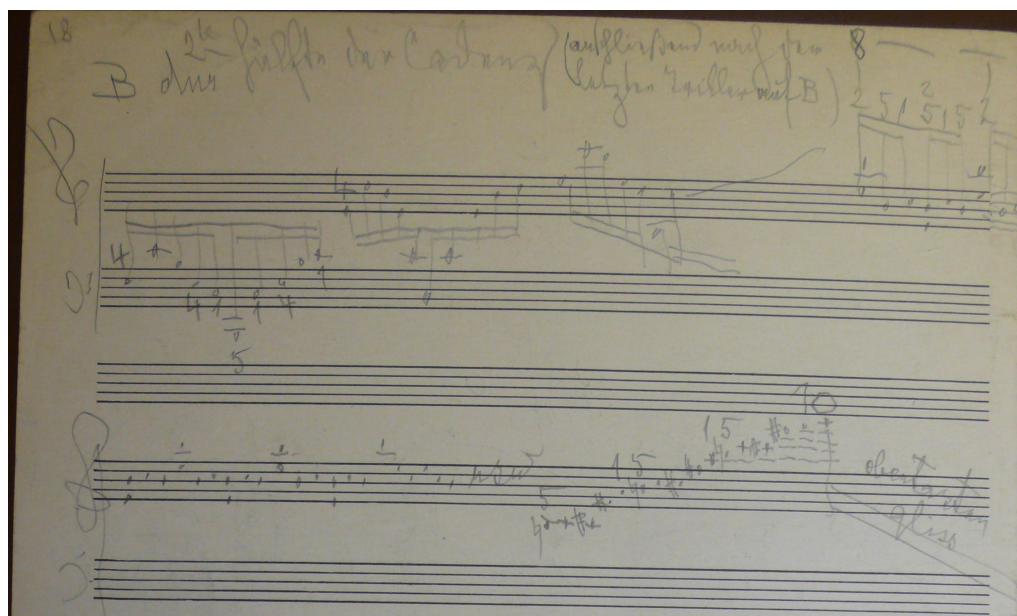


Fig. 4.20a Wittgenstein's sketch of the second half of the Cadenza on page 18 [fol. 2v/pw] of his 'Additional Draft' contained within the photographic two-piano score of the *Divisions* (S5). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.

B dur 2te Hälfte der Cadenza (anschließend nach der letzten Triller auf B)
[B major, 2nd half of the Cadenza (following after the last trill on B)]

U.S.W.
[and so forth]

Obertasten gliss.
[Black keys glissando]

Ex. 4.3 Transcription of Fig. 4.20a



Fig. 4.20b Britten's original version of the second half of the Cadenza on page 28 [fol. 15v] in the photographic two-piano score of the *Diversions* (S5). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.

Britten's original Cadenza ends with seven arpeggiated minims (Fig. 4.21a), and Wittgenstein transformed them into a highly elaborated passagework. In the third system on page 18 [fol. 2v/pw] of his 'Additional Draft', Wittgenstein sketched a single-line fragment and wrote above it '*Ende der Cadenz*', suggesting that the notation was intended for '[the] end of the Cadenza' (Fig. 4.21b and Ex. 4.4a). However, this sketch is too brief and it is not clear where Wittgenstein might have wanted to insert it. Another draft for the ending of the Cadenza can be found in the third, fourth and fifth systems on page 19 [fol. 20r] of his 'Additional Draft' (Fig. 4.21c and Ex. 4.4b). Distinctively different from the previous sketch, this version includes patterns, such as broken-chord and arpeggiated figurations that constitute the final draft on page 15 [fol. 1r/pw] of his 'Additional Draft', where Wittgenstein wrote out a large part of his preferred ending in detail (Fig. 4.21d and Ex. 4.4c). Wittgenstein used the first four minims (augmented into semibreves) as the basis, and added his flourishes on top of them in an improvisatory manner that resembles a

recitative. Britten probably intended his slow-moving ending as a transition to calm the excitement of the Cadenza and prepare both the performer(s) and audience for entering into the following ‘Adagio’, which is supposedly the most introspective movement within the *Diversions*. Wittgenstein, on the other hand, probably saw the seven minims as an appropriate platform on which he could improvise freely as a means to further show off his performing skills, even though it destroys Britten’s careful design both musically and structurally.

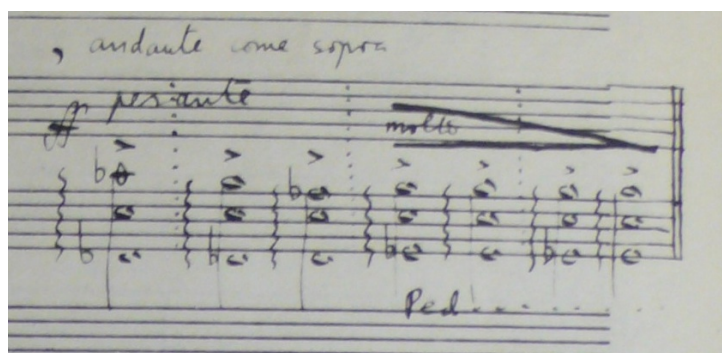


Fig. 4.21a Britten’s original version of the end of the Cadenza on page 28 [fol. 15v] in the photographic two-piano score of the *Diversions* (S5). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.

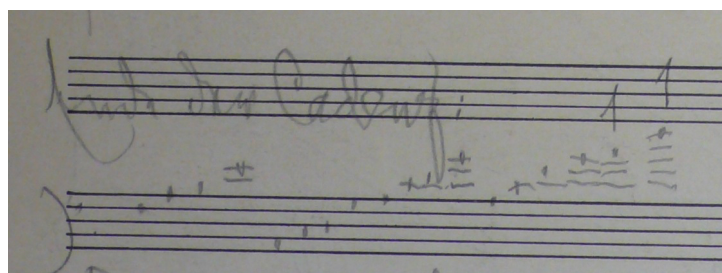
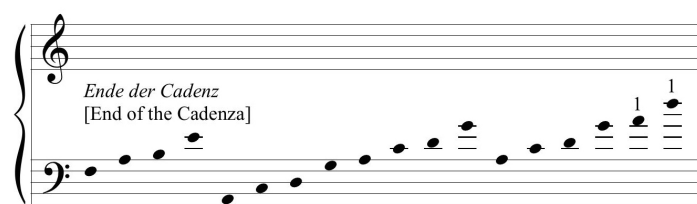


Fig. 4.21b Wittgenstein’s first sketch of the end of the Cadenza on page 18 [fol. 2v/pw] of his ‘Additional Draft’ contained within the photographic two-piano score of the *Diversions* (S5). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.



Ex. 4.4a Transcriptions of Fig. 4.21b

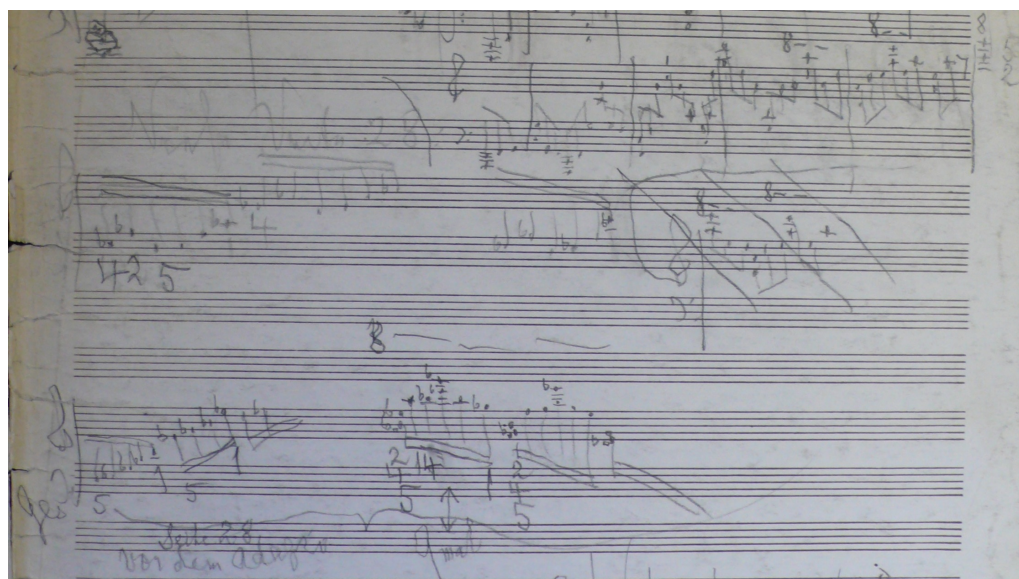


Fig. 4.21c Wittgenstein's second sketch of the end of the Cadenza on page 19 of his 'Additional Draft' on the inside back cover [20r] of the photographic two-piano score of the *Diversions* (S5). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.

Siehe Seite 28:
[See page 28:]

Ges Seite 28 vor dem Adagio
[G♭] [On page 28, before the Adagio]

8va

9 Male
[9 times]

Ex. 4.4b Transcription of Fig. 4.21c

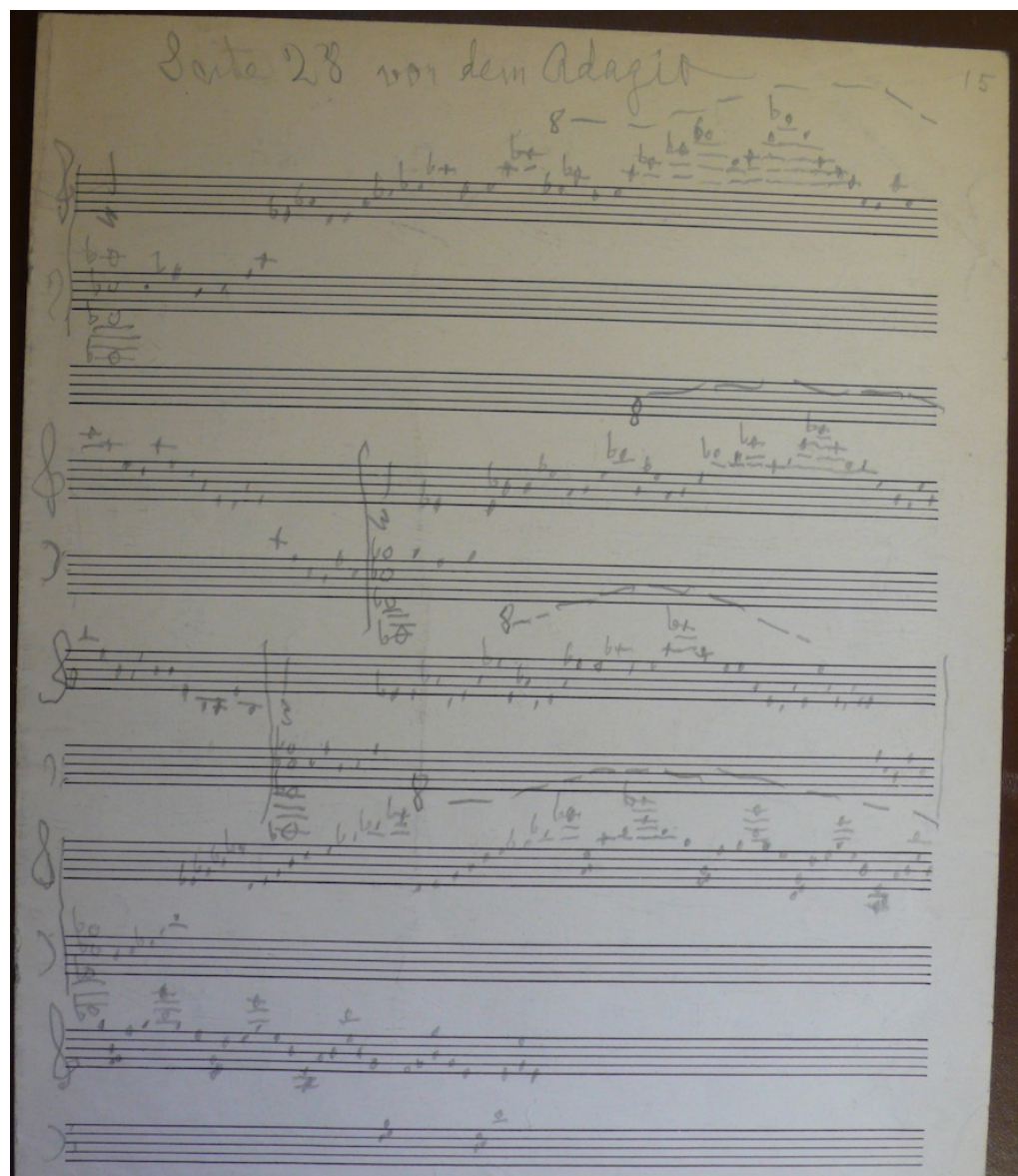


Fig. 4.21d Wittgenstein's final sketch of the end of the Cadenza on page 15 [fol. 1r/pw] of his 'Additional Draft' contained within the photographic two-piano score of the *Diversions* (S5). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.

Seite 28 von dem Adagio
[Page 28 before the *Adagio*]

Ex. 4.4c Transcription of Fig. 4.21d

The last addition Wittgenstein imposed on the *Diversions* is a transition inserted between the ‘Adagio’ and the final ‘Tarantella’, which he based on the single dotted minim on E in the last bar of the ‘Adagio’ in Britten’s score. He

altogether composed three sketches for this transition, which are all very similar in content and reflect Wittgenstein's compositional process.⁴⁷ The first draft can be found in the last two systems on the contents page. It is unspecified, sketchy and vague, but the figurations used here including ascending single-line arpeggiations and broken chords in alternating fourths, fifths and sixths suggest it is an earlier version of the second draft. Pitch names, fingerings and the instructions that Wittgenstein wrote at the end of the bottom system, too, would be realised in the next stage (Fig. 4.22a and Ex. 4.5a).

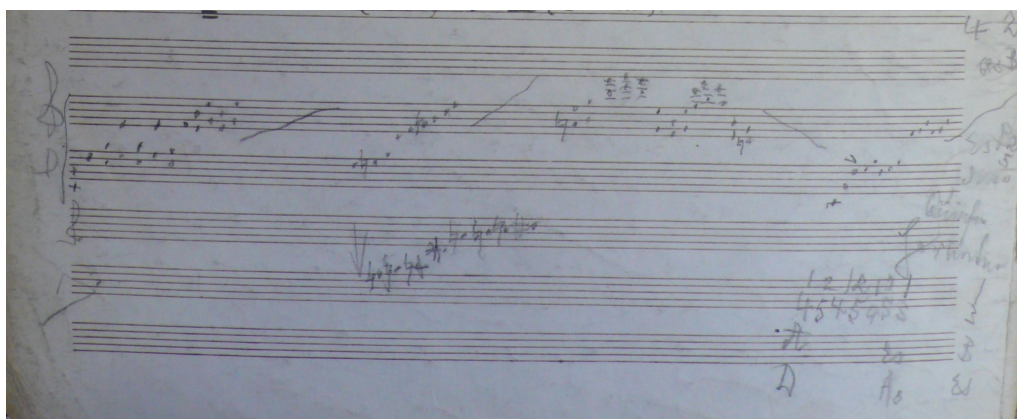


Fig. 4.22a Wittgenstein's first draft of the transition on the contents page [fol. 1v] of the photographic two-piano score of the *Diversions* (S5). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.

⁴⁷ Hammond identified three sketches for the transition, and she left out the one on the contents page. Her three examples of the sketches are my 'second draft' (Fig. 4.22b), 'final draft' (Fig. 4.22c), and the bracketed fragment in my 'final draft' (Fig. 4.22c). While I consider the bracketed fragment belongs to the final draft, she assumed it to be a completely new draft. For Hammond's study of Wittgenstein's sketches for the E_b minor transition, see Hammond, 'To Conceal or Reveal', 135–7.

		<i>Es-B 5-2</i>	
		<i>dann Quinten</i>	
		<i>hinunter</i>	
1 2 1 2 1 2 1		1	
4 5 4 5 4 5 3		3	
A	<i>Es</i> [E ₅]	B	[B ₅]
D	<i>As</i> [A ₅]	<i>Es</i> [E ₅]	

[E₅-B₅ [fingered:] 5-2
then [in] fifths
descending
[fingered:] 1-3 B₅-E₅]

Ex. 4.5a Transcription of Fig. 4.22a

Wittgenstein wrote his second attempt of the transition in the space below the last system of the ‘Ritmico’ on page 23 [fol. 13r] in S5, and marked it with the following note: ‘*Zwischen Es moll Variation und Tarantella:*’, stating clearly that this passage was to be inserted between the E_b minor Variation [the ‘Adagio’] and the ‘Tarantella’ (Fig. 4.22b and Ex. 4.5b). All patterns used in the first draft, except the broken-chord figurations, were retained in the second attempt. Wittgenstein not only wrote them out to a fuller extent with a much tidier handwriting, he also indicated a definite end for the first arpeggiated flourish in both the first (ending with a dyad on G_b and E_b) and second systems (ending with a single note G_b).⁴⁸ In addition, he translated the pitch names and instructions he wrote at the end of the first draft into a chromatic scale in fifths

⁴⁸ Besides the first arpeggiated pattern in the first and second systems, Wittgenstein did not specify an end for the rest. This is probably because he knew where he wanted to finish, and it depends on the time he wanted to take for his additions. In her transcription of this passage provided in Ex. 60a in her unpublished dissertation, Hammond finished off each arpeggiation with the same pitch on which they started. For Hammond’s transcription of Wittgenstein’s sketches for the E_b minor transition, see Hammond, ‘To Conceal or Reveal’, 135–6.

in triplets in the second system that descends from the highest reach of the keyboard for three and a half octaves.



Fig. 4.22b Wittgenstein's second sketch of the transition on page 23 [fol. 13r] in the photographic two-piano score of the *Diversions* (S5). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.

zwischen Es moll Variation und Tarantella:
[between the E_b minor Variation and the Tarantella:]

Es moll
[E_b minor]

1 4

2 Okt -----
[2 Octaves -----]

1 2
4 5

in Triolen
[in triplets]

Es
[E_b]

2 5

Ex. 4.5b Transcription of Fig. 4.22b

Named as ‘*Es moll Überleitung zur Tarantella*’ [E \flat minor transition to the Tarantella], Wittgenstein’s final attempt of the transition is notated in the third and fourth systems on pages 16–7 [fols. 1v–2r/pw] of his ‘Additional Draft’ (Fig. 4.22c and Ex. 4.5c). The setup of the final draft is almost identical as the second draft, except it now includes the broken-chord figurations from the first draft and a newly composed arpeggiated ascent. Although none of the patterns in the final draft is complete, they form the most detailed draft and even help solve the puzzle that was left unanswered in the second draft. For example, the last figuration group in the second system, as its incipit and ending suggest, is the descending chromatic scales in fifths. Wittgenstein’s inscription ‘*In reinen Quinten in Triolen | hinunter, auf Es–As und B–Es 1–3*’, meaning ‘[to play] downward [from the highest B \flat –E \flat , as marked by a downward arrow] in perfect fifths in triplets, [use] 1–3 as the fingering for the fifths on E \flat –A \flat and B \flat –E \flat ’ not only confirms the pattern, its instruction for fingering also explains the reason why these two sets of pitches were underlined in the second draft.⁴⁹

The most intriguing thing about this final draft is that Wittgenstein bracketed the last two patterns in the second system and wrote ‘*nur das als Überleitung zur Tarantella*’ underneath, meaning ‘only the passage in bracket as the transition to the Tarantella’. It is not known why Wittgenstein, after having endeavoured to compose three sketches for the transition, decided in the end to abandon all of his creations but retained only the two patterns he put in brackets. It might have been Britten’s idea to cut it short, if he had accepted Wittgenstein’s added transition in the first place. Alternatively, it could well

⁴⁹ In this particular inscription/pattern, ‘*Es–As*’ [E \flat –A \flat], E \flat is the upper note whereas A \flat is the lower note, and the fingering ‘1’ is for E \flat and ‘3’ is for A \flat . The same applies to ‘*B–Es*’ [B \flat –E \flat].

have been Wittgenstein's own intention to keep it brief in order to save his energy for the technically demanding 'Tarantella'.



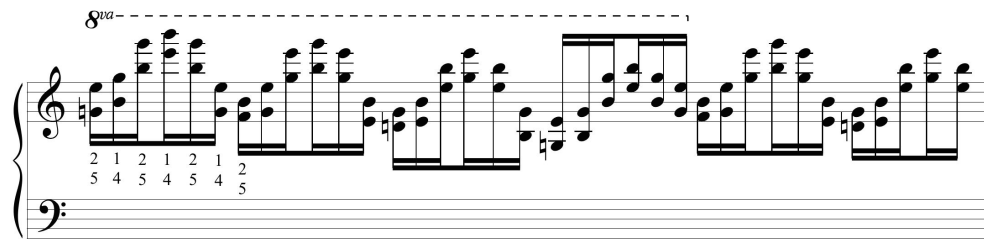
Fig. 4.22c Wittgenstein's final sketch of the transition on pages 16–7 [fol. 1v-2r/pw] of his 'Additional Draft' contained within the photographic two-piano score of the *Diversions* (S5). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.

[First system, to be continued]

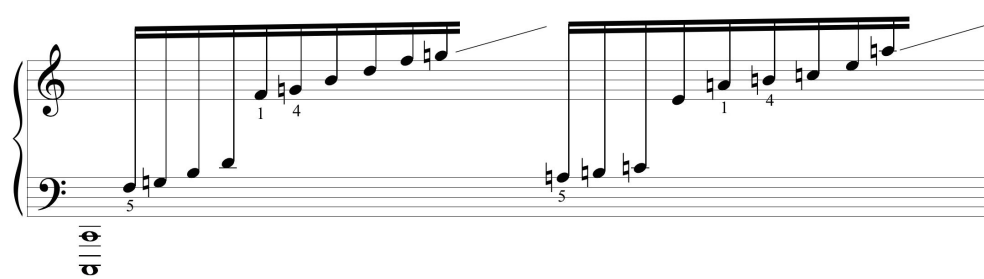
Es moll Überleitung zur Tarantella
[E_♭ minor transition to the Tarantella]



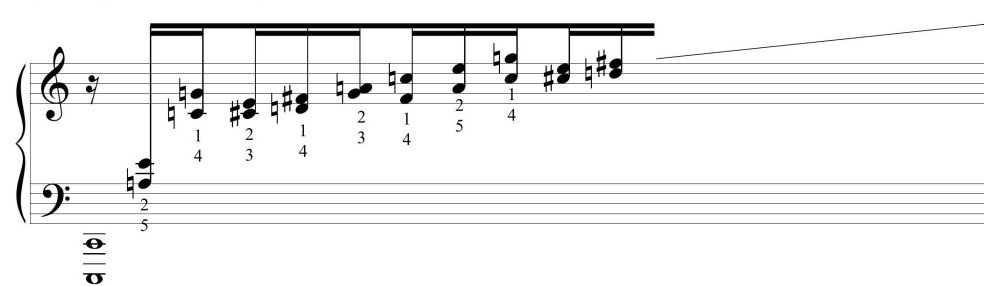
[First system (cont'd)]



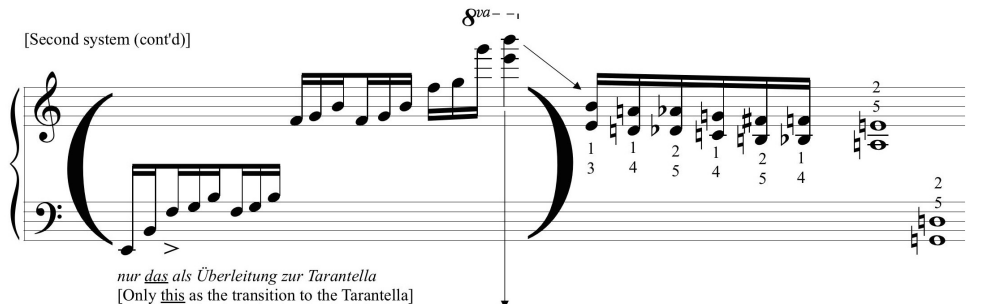
First system (cont'd)]



[Second system, to be continued]



[Second system (cont'd)]



mur das als Überleitung zur Tarantella
[Only this as the transition to the Tarantella]

In reinen Quinten in Triolen | hinuter, auf Es B 1
As und Es 3
[In perfect fifths in triplets | downward, from E_♭-A_♭ and B_♭-E_♭ [fingered:] 1-3]

The alterations Wittgenstein made to the last seven minims at the end of the Cadenza and the last note in the ‘Adagio’ bear the highest significance among all the additions he composed for the *Diversions*, as they directly reflect his musical aesthetics that were representational of a practice derived from the Classical and Romantic traditions. Locating at the end of a movement and improvisatory in nature, both passages bring to mind the practice of ‘preluding before the performance of a piece’,⁵⁰ despite not being intended as preludes but transitions to be played between movements. According to Kenneth Hamilton, preluding had been ‘an established practice from time immemorial’,⁵¹ and for many nineteenth-century musicians such as Clara Schumann, Hans von Bülow and Franz Liszt among many others, it was ‘more of a requirement than an option’.⁵² Besides improvising introductions to frame the pieces they were going to play, pianists improvised cadenzas and transitions between movements or works during their performances, too. This practice gave performers an opportunity to stun the audience by demonstrating their performing and improvising skills on the one hand, while projecting themselves as composers on the other. Wittgenstein, who grew up with numerous musical soirées held at his home featuring music from both the Classical and Romantic periods performed by the most prominent musicians of that time, would have certainly come across this practice in his adolescent years. Secondly, his teacher Leschetizky, who insisted it was very important for pianists to improvise cadenza(s) or transition(s) in order to provide ‘a little

⁵⁰ Kenneth Hamilton, ‘A Suitable Prelude’ in *After the Golden Age: Romantic Pianism and Modern Performance* (Oxford: University Press, 2008), 103.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Hamilton, *After the Golden Age*, 133.

modulation from the first piece to the second' at a performance,⁵³ would have likely shared this wisdom with his pupil or perhaps even trained him to do so. Since Wittgenstein was deeply rooted in the Classical and Romantic traditions, it is not surprising for him to have adopted this practice and carried it out in nearly all his commissions. Leaving the aesthetic point of view aside, the reason that prompted him to extend and expand Britten's original Cadenza and to add a transition between the final two movements could well have been his desire to prolong his solo time for as long as he could as well as showing the world he too could compose.

The alteration Wittgenstein made to the opening twelve bars of the 'Adagio' is very different from those discussed previously. Instead of embellishing existing notation or inserting additional passages there, Wittgenstein simply replaced the orchestra (represented by the second piano) with the piano solo. Wittgenstein wrote '*Piano anfangen*' [to begin with the piano] above the first system of the variation to indicate that the piano should commence the variation, and appropriated the notation in the first twelve bars for his solo purposes (Fig. 4.23). Besides delaying the entrance of the first note F in the first bar and deleting notes from some of the chords throughout, Wittgenstein bracketed four chords and wrote '8' below them, implying that he would play these chords an octave lower. For the two bracketed chords in bars 476–7, Wittgenstein even drew an arrow from their bass note G_b to his note '*Diese Oktave ist zu spielen, wenn dieser Akkord weggelassen wird*', meaning 'this octave is to be played, when/if this chord is omitted'. Although it is clear that

⁵³ Theodore Leschetizky, quoted in Hamilton, *After the Golden Age*, 143. Hamilton also pointed out several more practical reasons for preluding before the performance of a piece: for more details, see Hamilton, 'A Suitable Prelude' in *After the Golden Age*, 101–39.

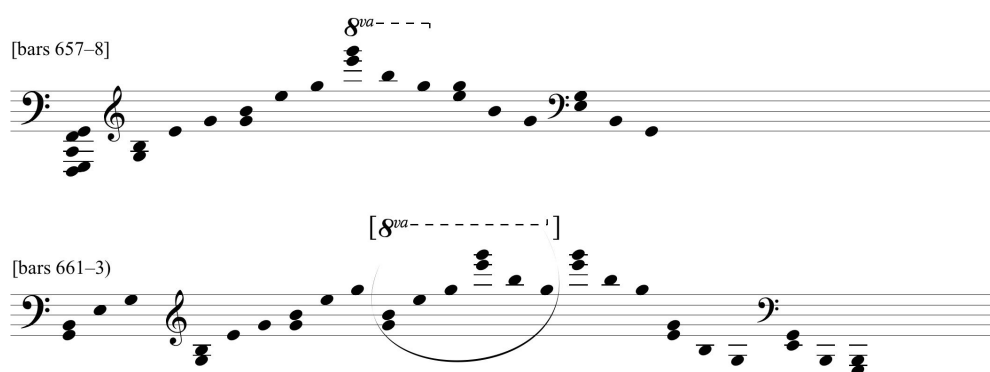
forming a dialogue with the piano (Fig. 4.24a and Ex. 4.6a). Wittgenstein's scribbles above bars 657–8 and 661, 664–5 and the instruction 'Brass muted' in red crayon in bars 657–8 and 661–3 suggest he initially intended to revise only the notation in both the piano solo and the orchestra in bars 657–8 and 661–3,⁵⁴ but in the final draft on page 19 [fol. 20r] of his 'Additional Draft', he included the last set of arpeggios in bars 666–7 as well (Fig. 4.24b and Ex. 4.6b).⁵⁵ Although the sketches on page 19 [fol. 20r] are unnamed, their pitches, gestures and contour show an unmistakable link to Wittgenstein's scribbles and Britten's original notation on page 36 [fol. 19v] in the two-piano score. They also demonstrate clearly that Wittgenstein, instead of making extensive and blatant changes to Britten's notation, simply replaced the first three notes in each of Britten's arpeggios with a crotchet cluster, transposed them up to the higher register of the piano, rearranged their note order and occasionally doubled some of their notes. These comparatively slight changes seem to hint that Wittgenstein did not intend to add another solo passage here; rather, he merely wanted to be heard against the presumably loud accompaniment provided by the brass.

⁵⁴ The arpeggio Wittgenstein scribbled above the empty bars 664–5 is not a new arpeggio but the continuation of the one in bar 661. He needed to separate the notation due to insufficient space above bars 662–3 in S5.

⁵⁵ In the middle of the second system in Fig. 4.24b, Wittgenstein inscribed both the treble clef and the bass clef. The figurations he wrote after the clefs were not related to the arpeggios in bars 657–8, 661–3 and 666–7 but intended for the end of the piece: see my discussion of Figs. 4.26a–c in the latter part of this chapter.



Fig. 4.24a Wittgenstein's scribbles above bars 657–8 and 661, 664–5 in the 'Tarantella' on page 36 [fol. 19v] in the photographic two-piano score of the *Diversions* (S5). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.



Ex. 4.6a⁵⁶ Transcription of Fig. 4.24a

⁵⁶ The '8^{va}-----' in square brackets above the arpeggio in bars 664–5 is my editorial addition. Wittgenstein's upward bracket means to play the bracketed notes an octave higher.

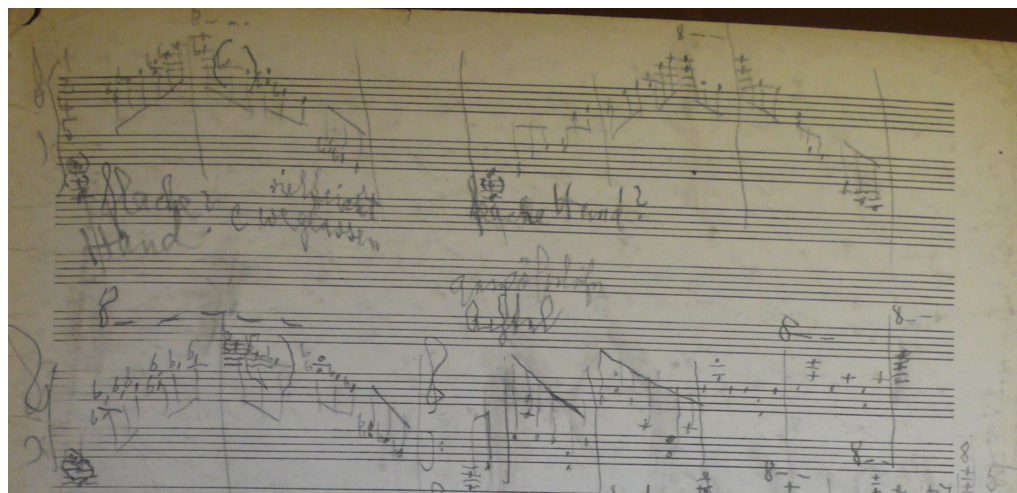


Fig. 4.24b Wittgenstein's sketch for bars 657–8, 661–3 and 666–7 in the 'Tarantella' on page 19 of his 'Additional Draft' on the inside back cover [fol. 20r] of the photographic two-piano score of the *Diversions* (S5). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.

Flache Hand?
[Flat hand?]

vielleicht
C weglassen
[perhaps omit C]

Flache Hand?
[Flat hand?]

Gewöhnliche Achtel
[plain eighth notes]

Ex. 4.6b Transcription of Fig. 4.24b

Besides those already discussed, Wittgenstein composed two more sketches but never used them. The first can be found in the last two systems on page 18 [fol. 2v/pw] in his 'Additional Draft'. Right above the second last system Wittgenstein wrote '*Vor der H moll Variation*', indicating a passage was to be

played before the B-minor Variation. However, there are two possible passages here: 1) a very brief passage notated in the treble clef (originally in the bass clef but Wittgenstein wrote a treble clef to cancel it) that consists of a series of double-voice broken-chord patterns in ascending motion. Wittgenstein assigned fingerings to the first four sets of notes in the series, and wrote '~~nicht~~ ~~zu schnell~~ langsam anfangen' above it, meaning 'to start slowly'; or 2) a longer passage that occupies the last two systems on the page, which starts with a semibreve octave on F \sharp , followed by a lengthy arpeggiated flourish and ends with a single note F \sharp in the low register of the keyboard (Fig. 4.25 and Ex. 4.7). Wittgenstein did not specify whether it was intended for the 'March' or the 'Ritmico', which are both set in B minor. Harmonically, the 'March' seems to be more fitting with the draft than the 'Ritmico'. Although the concluding F \sharp in the sketch and the opening octave on B in the 'Ritmico' match well with each other as they form a perfect cadence, its beginning does not fit with the C-major ending of the 'Badinerie' that precedes the 'Ritmico'. On the other hand, since both the beginning of the 'March' and the ending of the previous 'Romance' are marked by a F-major chord, Wittgenstein's sketch could have served as an upper auxiliary transition between them. Another possibility is that this draft might have been intended to be inserted in the last bar of the 'Ritmico'. This is because in Britten's original the piano solo plays a B-major chord with F \sharp in the bass and the second piano opens the following 'Toccata I' an octave on B \natural . As such, the octave on F \sharp at the start of Wittgenstein's draft can replace the B-major chord at the end of the 'Ritmico' without altering the original harmony and the draft can flow into the 'Toccata I' naturally via a perfect cadence. At any rate, since Wittgenstein did not mark the exact location

in the score for this sketch to be inserted, it seems that he had already abandoned it before meeting with Britten.

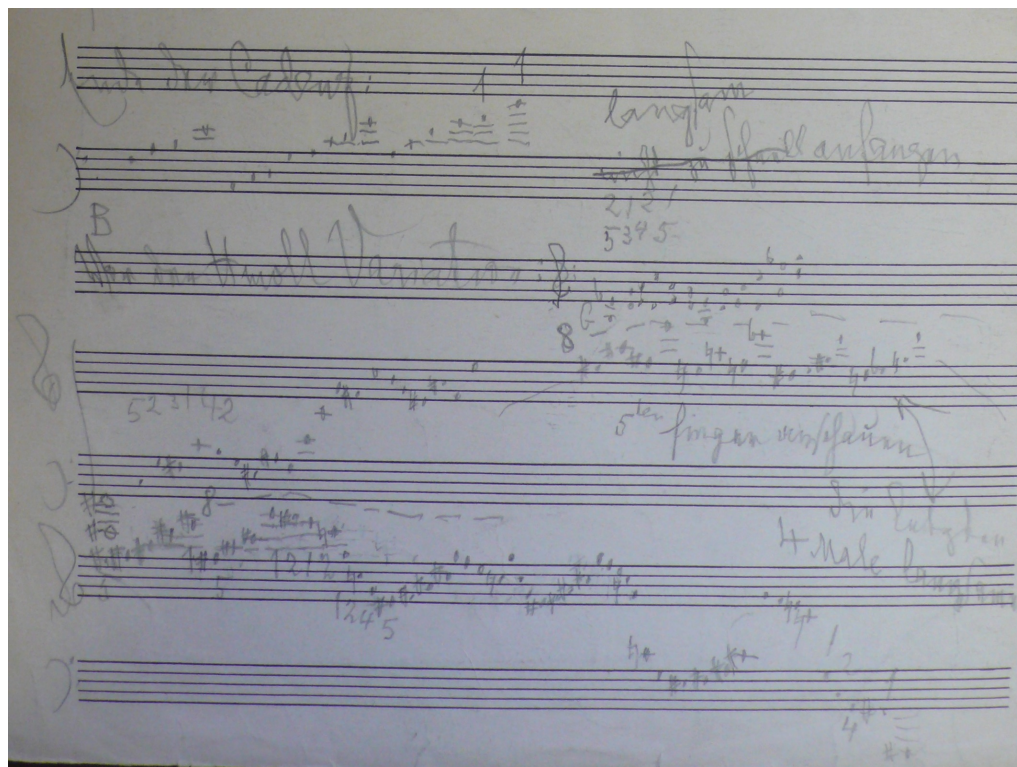


Fig. 4.25 Wittgenstein's sketch of an additional short passage before a B-minor Variation on page 18 [fol. 2v/pw] of his 'Additional Draft' contained within the photographic two-piano score of the *Diversions* (S5). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.

nicht zu schnell langsam anfangen
[not too fast slow beginning]

Vor der H-moll Variation:
[Before the B-minor Variation:]

Piano

5ten Finger vorschaun
[prepare the 5th finger]

Pno.

die letzten 4 Male langsamer
[the last four times slower]

Pno.

Ex. 4.7 Transcription of Fig. 4.25

The music notated in the second half of the second system, the third, the fourth and the last systems on page 19 [fol. 20r] of the ‘Additional Draft’ are Wittgenstein’s sketches of the ending of the ‘Tarantella’. Lasting for about five bars with a pick-up at the start, Britten’s ending is an octave series built on F#, C#, G#, D#, A# and E#, and uses regular quavers as the note value (Fig. 4.26a). None of Wittgenstein’s sketches contain a key signature or accidentals, but it is likely that they are based on the same pitches and Wittgenstein simply did not write the accidentals. Wittgenstein’s sketches in the second system and the third system are almost identical, but their note values are different. The former uses regular quavers, or ‘*Gewöhnliche Achtel*’ [plain eighth notes] as Wittgenstein called them, whereas the latter uses triplets. The most interesting discovery found in the sketch in the third system is that Wittgenstein wrote ‘2–

5' as the fingering for the E–B dyad at the end of passage, meaning to play the lower E with the second finger and the upper B with the fifth finger (Fig. 4.26b). Since this is an appropriate fingering for a right hand but certainly not the left, it is clear that Wittgenstein made a mistake here. The very brief pattern in the fourth system does not seem to be the beginning of yet another version but likely a continuation from the one in the third system. The sketch in the last system is unmistakably an extended rewrite of Britten's original octave series of five bars (Fig. 4.26c). The first four bars of Wittgenstein's version are almost a direct copy of Britten's, with the exception that several octaves were reduced to single notes. The following five bars are literally a repeat but Wittgenstein augmented the note values from quavers to crotchets. It seems likely that Wittgenstein eventually discarded his sketches for the ending of the 'Tarantella' because he once again did not provide any indications as to where it should be located in the work. The exact reason for him to reject his ending, if he really did so, will probably remain unknown. Perhaps after considering that the music was rushing to a *fortissimo* ending, he realised his use of crotchets after the quavers would greatly undermine the heightening musical tension, and so he decided to abandon his draft and use Britten's original instead.



Fig. 4.26a Britten's original ending of the 'Tarantella' starting at Rehearsal 44 on page 36 [fol. 19v] in the photographic two-piano score of the *Diversions* (S5). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.

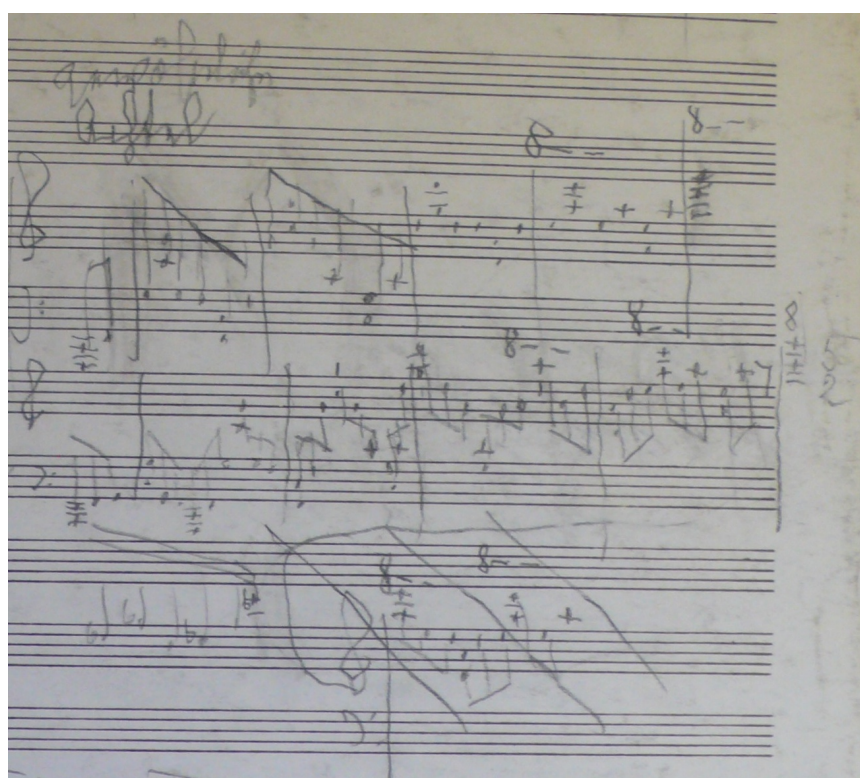


Fig. 4.26b Wittgenstein's sketch of the ending of the 'Tarantella' in the second, third and fourth systems on page 19 of his 'Additional Draft' on the inside back cover [fol. 20r] of the photographic two-piano score of the *Diversions* (S5). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.

Gewöhnliche Achtel
[plain eighth notes]

[second system]

[third system]

[fourth system]

Ex. 4.8a Transcription of Fig. 4.26b

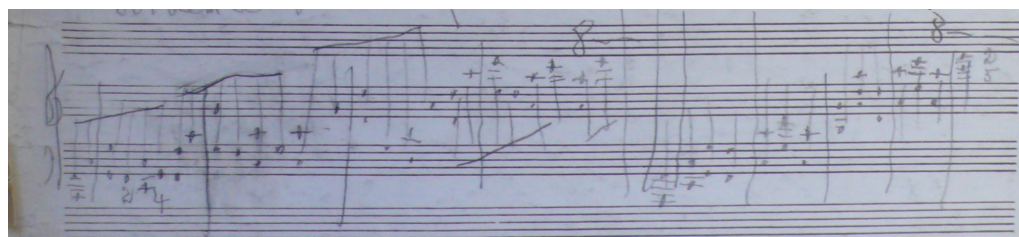


Fig. 4.26c Wittgenstein's sketch of the ending of the 'Tarantella' on page 19 of his 'Additional Draft' on the inside back cover [fol. 20r] of the photographic two-piano score of the *Diversions* (S5). Reproduced by permission of the Britten-Pears Foundation, ©The Britten-Pears Foundation. All rights reserved.

Ex. 4.8 Transcription of Fig. 4.26c

The Battle between Paul Wittgenstein and Benjamin Britten

Between September and December 1940 Wittgenstein was forced to stay in Cuba and could not re-enter the United States. During this temporary exile he wrote several letters to Britten in which he mentioned making changes to the piano solo part. In his undated letter, which is presumably the first of the series, Wittgenstein wrote politely that he wanted to ‘propose a few, but merely technical or pianistic alterations in the Solo part’,⁵⁷ and assured the composer in his second letter that his ‘pianistic alterations ... are small’.⁵⁸ Although none of Britten’s replies to these particular letters is available for study, it is highly likely that the composer kept on asking Wittgenstein what needed to be changed. However, Wittgenstein was very secretive about his plans and as he hid his thoughts from Britten, he tried to pacify the anxious composer by saying, ‘it is your work, and the composer’s idea should first of all be put down unmixed. If later on the small alterations I am proposing for the piano part should meet your approval, they might be attached as an annex or a sort of footnote’.⁵⁹ It seems that these letters were only part of Wittgenstein’s diplomatic act as all the sketches discussed above have convincingly proved that even if some of his alterations were arguably ‘technical and pianistic’, none of them were as small as he claimed in terms of their scale and the impact they made on the *Diversions*.

⁵⁷ Britten-Pears Foundation, Benjamin Britten Letters, 2Hc3.12 (34) (Unpublished letter, [conjectured] September 1940).

⁵⁸ Britten-Pears Foundation, Benjamin Britten Letters, 2Hc3.12 (34) (Unpublished letter, 28 September 1940).

⁵⁹ Britten-Pears Foundation, Benjamin Britten Letters, 2Hc3.12 (34) (Unpublished letter, 10 October 1940).

Presumably Wittgenstein had played the piano part to Britten with all the new additions composed by him when the two finally met in New York in 1941. However, there is no official confirmation from either Britten or Wittgenstein that the composer has approved any of them. As the manuscript full score of the first version of the *Diversions* is unavailable and no recording has been made of the American premiere in 1942, it is impossible to find out which of Wittgenstein's changes, if there were any, were actually allowed at the first performance. For the British premiere in 1950, however, Wittgenstein implemented at least one of his alterations in the *Diversions*, as suggested by several instrumental parts included in the photographic reproductions of the instrumental parts of the first version of the *Diversions* (S7). For example, the first flautist circled the opening twelve bars of the 'Adagio' and wrote '*tacet*' next to them, and inscribed the word 'beat' at Rehearsal 32 as the cue for re-entrance at that point (Fig. 4.27a).⁶⁰ A similar marking can be found in the part for timpani, too. Although the timpanist has nothing to play until Rehearsal 32, he wrote 'piano alone' at the beginning of the 'Adagio', affirming further that Wittgenstein actually replaced the orchestra to begin the movement (Fig. 4.27b). It seems that Wittgenstein only managed to put his 'pianistic' appropriation of the opening of the 'Adagio' into practice in the end, as no more markings can be found in S7 that suggest the implementation of his other sketches.

⁶⁰ Similar annotations can be found in nearly all instrumental parts, although some of the wordings vary, they all share the same meaning: to keep silent in the first twelve bars of the 'Adagio'.

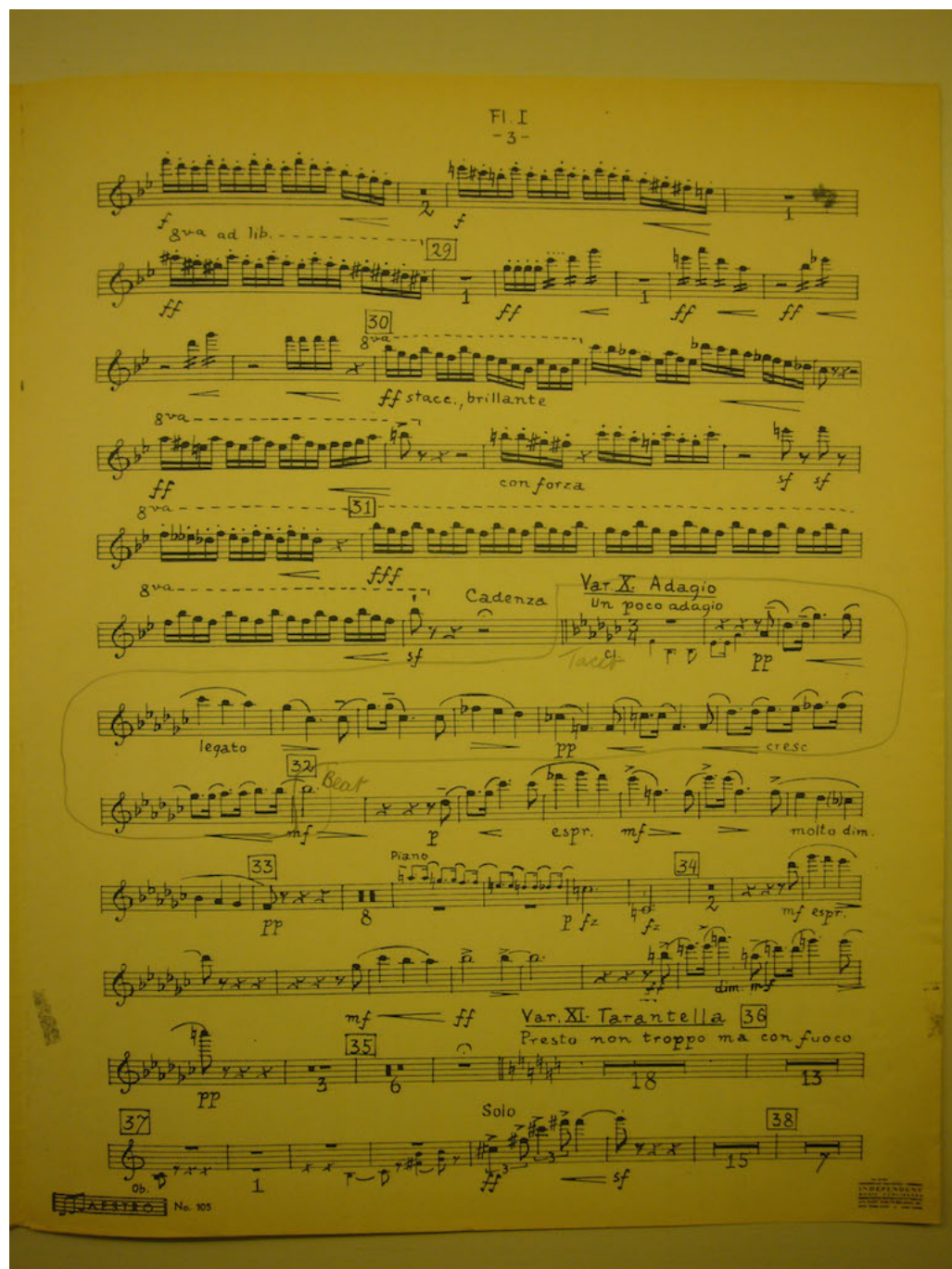


Fig. 4.27a

Page 3 [fol. 2r] of the Flute I part of the photographic reproduction of the instrumental parts of the first version of the *Diversions* (S7). Reproduced with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

Timpani
-2-

Vi. I solo

2 3 4 5 [19]

Var. VII Badinerie
Grave - Vivacissimo

Var. VIII Ritmico
Molto moderato

Var. IXa Toccata I
Allegro ma non troppo

Var. IXb Toccata II
L'istesso tempo

Var. X Adagio
Poco adagio

Var. XI Tarantella
Presto non troppo ma con fuoco

With snare drum sticks

pp sempre distinto

simile

sempre pp

molto cresc.

f

p stacc. e cresc.

ff pesante

Fl. b. 1

p dim.

pp

pp (distinto)

poco cresc.

mf

Piano

Piano

10 17

Fig. 4.27b

Page 2 [fol. 1v] of the Timpani part of the photographic reproduction of the instrumental parts of the first version of the *Diversions* (S7). Reproduced with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

Wittgenstein did not only make alterations to the solo part for his British premiere of the *Diversions*, he also reworked some of Britten's scoring. As mentioned before, Wittgenstein was very concerned about the heavy scoring in bars 657–8, 661–3 and 666–7 in the 'Tarantella', for which he made a formal complaint to Britten in July 1941. Whether the two musicians reached a compromise for the American premiere or not is a question that cannot be answered, but it is certain that Britten did not change his scoring when he revised the work. Determined to appropriate the scoring to suit his needs, Wittgenstein ignored the composer's likely disapproval and wiped out the loud instruments such as horns, trombones and the bass tuba from bars 657–8, 661–3 and 666–7 for his British premiere. While it was fairly reasonable for Wittgenstein to get rid of these brass instruments in order to make sure the audience could hear him, his hypersensitivity against 'heavy scoring' seems to have gone slightly too far when he felt the need to remove the soft-sounding harp, which would not have been able to override him (Fig. 4.28).

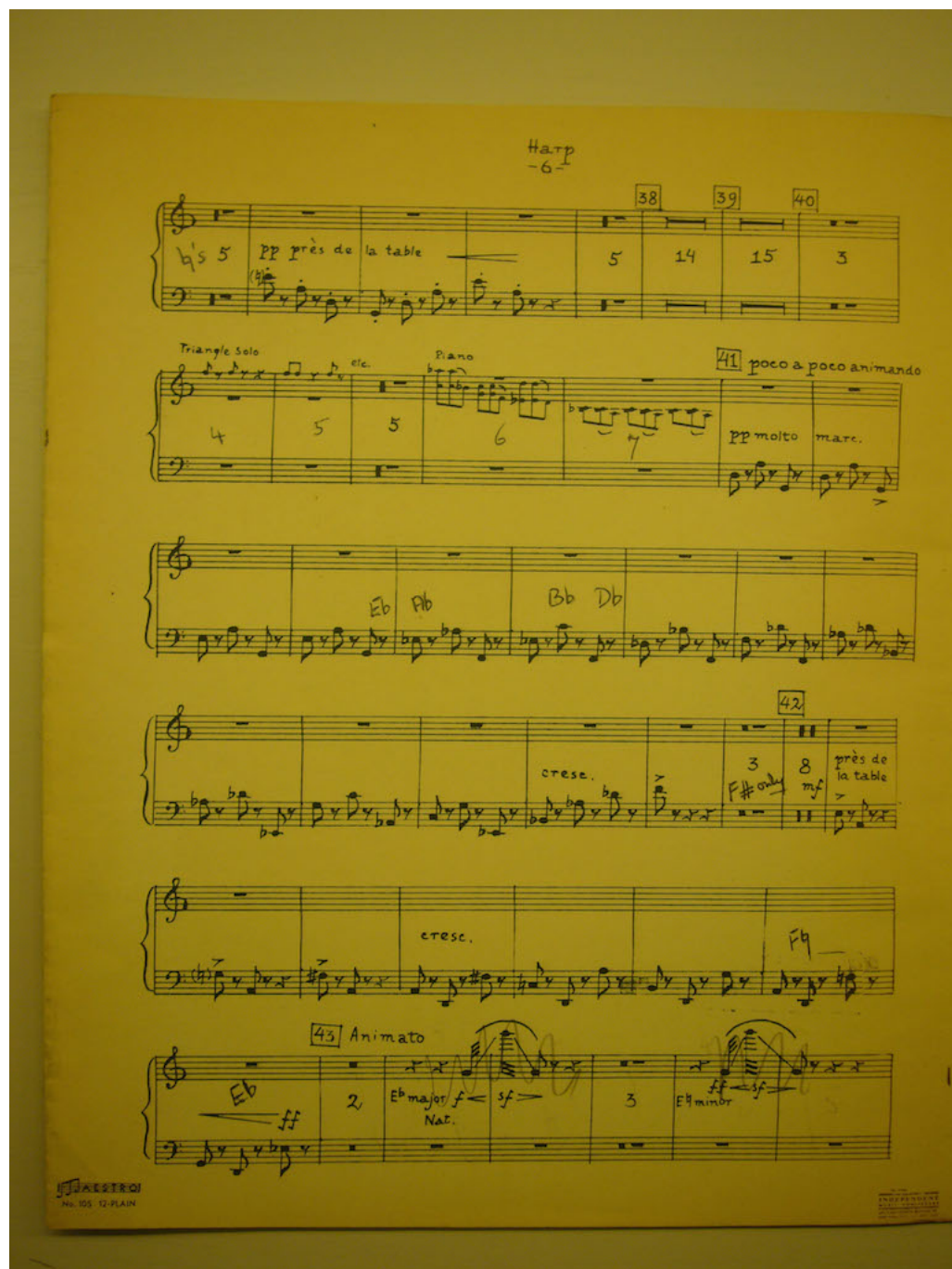


Fig. 4.28

Page 6 [fol. 3v] of the Harp part of the photographic reproduction of the instrumental parts of the first version of the *Diversions* (S7) (to be continued). Reproduced with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

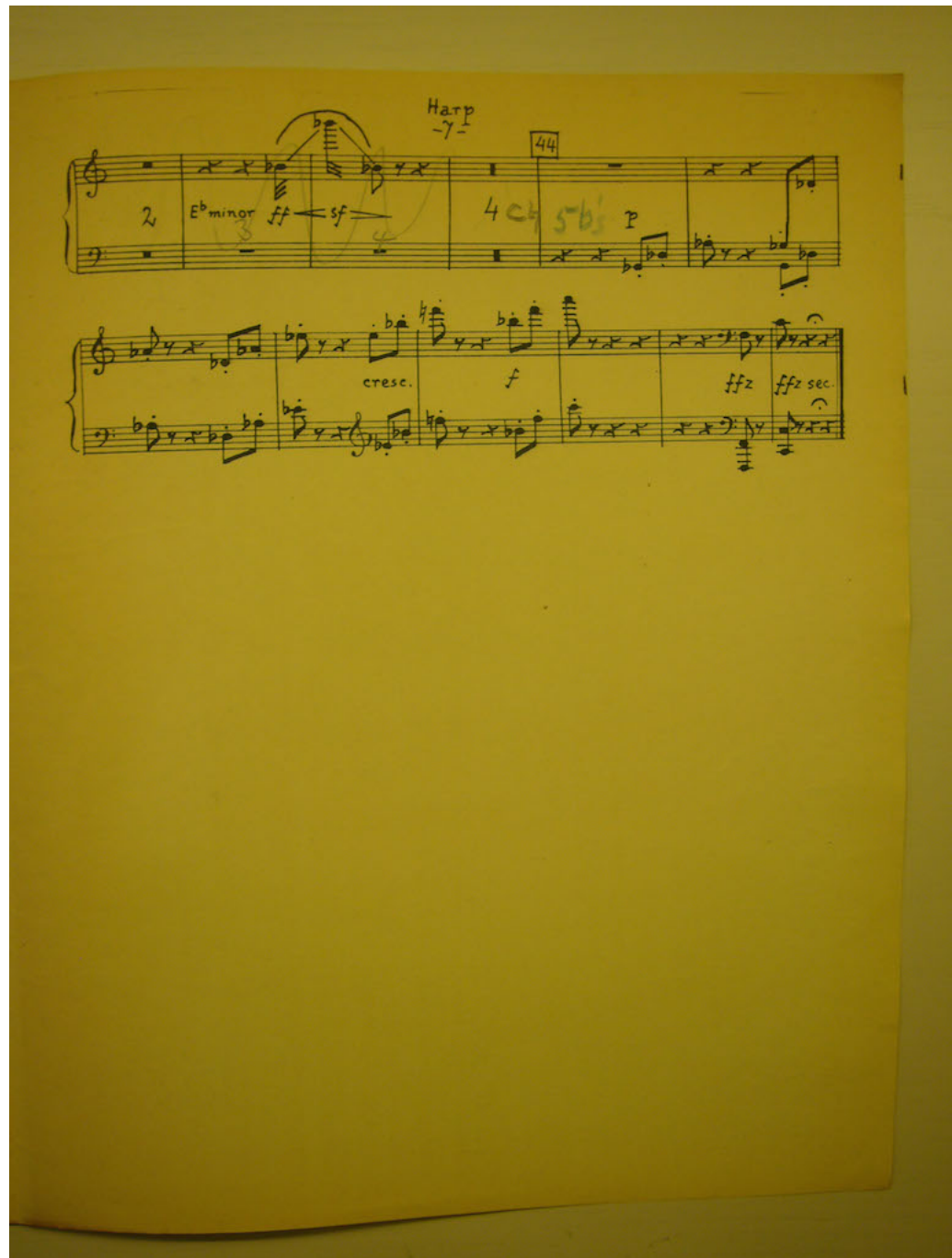


Fig. 4.28 (cont'd)

Page 4 [fol. 4r] of the Harp part of the photographic reproduction of the instrumental parts of the first version of the *Diversions* (S7). Reproduced with permission from The Octavian Society. All rights reserved.

While it was usual of Wittgenstein to make massive changes to the score of his commissions as demonstrated in the works by Schmidt, Strauss and Ravel, the other reason that prompted Wittgenstein to extensively alter Britten's

Diversions was his distrust in the composer's capability of composing a work for him. His lack of confidence in Britten emerged as early as in August 1940, just a few weeks after the composer accepted his invitation. So as to make sure Britten would not deviate from his preferred direction, Wittgenstein posted a score of Schmidt to the composer and said in his letter that 'although [the work] is a little too heavily scored, at least some parts of it, from a pianistic point of view it is cleverly written'.⁶¹ It is unknown which particular composition of Schmidt Wittgenstein dispatched to Britten for his reference. Mitchell and Reed suggested it to be either the *Concertante Variations* or the Piano Concerto in E-flat major (1934), and my conjecture is that it was the *Concertante Variations* that Wittgenstein posted to Britten because the composer had decided to write a variations and he would have discussed about this with Wittgenstein when they dined together and chatted about Britten's initial sketches in July 1940. In the same letter Wittgenstein also suggested Britten to follow in the footsteps of Schmidt and Godowsky to compose because, 'only would their pianoforte be applicable for the cadenza or solo variation, for which indeed, it would be excellent'.⁶²

After studying the two-piano score that Britten sent him, Wittgenstein's doubt was not cleared away but intensified. He wrote to Britten on 28 September 1940 to tell him that he 'had the feeling, as if the Finale (Tarantella) was a little bit too short for a Finale, which should conclude a work of such dimensions... Compared to the number of the length of the preceding variations, the Finale seems to me a little short. But it is only an idea of mine, perhaps an entirely

⁶¹ Britten-Pears Foundation, Benjamin Britten Letters, 2He3.12 (34) (Unpublished letter, 3 August 1940).

⁶² Ibid.

wrong one...'⁶³ Assuming Britten made a mistake in providing him with a short finale, Wittgenstein even urged the composer to 'compare it [the Tarantella] with the variations of Brahms on the themes of Haydn, or Haendel [*sic*]'.⁶⁴ Occasionally Wittgenstein would make his 'suggestions' to his composers in a rather mild way, but more often he adopted a vigorous and even threatening approach to force them to grant his requests. After negotiating several times with Britten over his scoring, Wittgenstein lost both his patience and tolerance. In the ultimatum he sent on 31 July 1941 Wittgenstein told Britten,

In the Museum in Vienna I have seen a terrible weapon, used in the Middle Ages in the wars between Robber-knights; it looks like an easychair [*sic*]; but when you sit down, the two sides snap over your body, and you can't get out again. The German word for it is "Fangstuhl". My idea was to have privately constructed such a sort of Fangstuhl, then to invite you, let you sit down in it, and only let you out of your prison after having conceded the different alterations which I am going to propose. Or perhaps I shouldn't have told you this plan of mine and put you off your guard?⁶⁵

Of course, Wittgenstein would not have in reality tailor-made a '*Fangstuhl*' for Britten, but this warning was powerful enough to force the composer to, as discussed already, give in to the pianist. Although Wittgenstein seemed to have won the battle in the first place, his victory did not last forever and he would eventually become the loser in the end. This is because Britten, as with other composers who were treated by Wittgenstein as slaves, never forgot the

⁶³ Britten-Pears Foundation, Benjamin Britten Letters, 2Hc3.12 (34) (Unpublished letter, 28 September 1940).

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Britten-Pears Foundation, Benjamin Britten Letters, 2Hc3.12 (34) (Unpublished letter, 31 July 1941).

treatment he received from the pianist. He repaid Wittgenstein by simply refusing to renew his exclusive performing rights in 1950 on the one hand, and revising the *Diversions* in 1950 and publishing it in 1954 on the other. With this arrangement Britten successfully and diplomatically gained back his authorship over the *Diversions* while Wittgenstein, who was then not allowed to perform the first version of the work any more, also lost his ownership of his only official British commission.

Wittgenstein's plan to re-establish his performing career following his migration to the United States with a composition by Britten was not as easy as he imagined, and the first obstacle that he had to tackle was to get the *Diversions* premiered. Wittgenstein was not a regular performer in the United States, and his rather limited exposure and lack of popularity in American music circles were likely the factors that prevented him from getting a concert engagement on his own, meaning he had to rely completely on Britten to find an opportunity for him to premiere the work. Firstly, Britten tried to work out a plan with Eugene Goossens, conductor of the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra who had already heard the *Diversions* in sketch form on two pianos on 3 September 1940 and thought very highly of both the composer and the work.⁶⁶ However, the plan did not materialise. Then, Britten approached John Barbirolli, the conductor of the New York Philharmonic, for a concert engagement. Wittgenstein was both grateful and hopeful for his potential collaboration with Barbirolli, and that he wrote to Britten on 6 March 1941 saying, 'as Goossens as well as O. and K. have turned us down, your help in

⁶⁶ Eugene Goossens to Hans Heinsheimer (27 September 1940), quoted in note 5 to Letter 292 (Letter 292, 7 October 1940), in Mitchell and Reed, ed. *Letters from a Life*, 874.

the matter of a desirable and advantageous first performance would be most important, and I need not assure you, that I would be most grateful for it! Whenever Barbirolli wants to hear it, it would be the greatest pleasure to me'.⁶⁷ Unfortunately however, their plan to perform with Barbirolli also fell through. It was only four months later in mid-July that Britten finally succeeded in getting a concert engagement for Wittgenstein to give the first performance of the *Diversions* with the Philadelphia Orchestra under the direction of Eugene Ormandy, to which the pianist responded with extreme excitement. He wrote, 'the first performance in Philadelphia is, *unberufen* [unbidden], an excellent solution! May I play decently, and may it be a success! That is my wish as it is yours'.⁶⁸

Before Wittgenstein gave the first performance of the *Diversions* in Philadelphia, Britten was totally disgusted by the changes the pianist forced upon his score and refused to attend the premiere. In the end he agreed to go, as discussed earlier, but only to hear how the pianist destroyed his composition.⁶⁹ To Britten's and Wittgenstein's great surprise, the reception of both the *Diversions* itself and Wittgenstein's playing of it were unanimously positive. 'Loudly acclaimed', William E. Smith wrote, 'Mr. Wittgenstein had Mr. Ormandy shared in the ovation. At the Jan. 16 concert Mr. Britten came on the stage and personally acknowledged the reception accorded his work'.⁷⁰

How Britten felt about the triumphant success of the premiere of his *Diversions*

⁶⁷ Britten-Pears Foundation, Benjamin Britten Letters, 2Hc3.12 (34) (Unpublished letter, 3 March 1941). The two initials 'O. and K.' probably referred to Eugene Ormandy and Serge Koussevitzky or Otto Klemperer. I am grateful to Professor Paul Banks for this information.

⁶⁸ Britten-Pears Foundation, Benjamin Britten Letters, 2Hc3.12 (34) (Unpublished letter, 15 July 1941).

⁶⁹ Benjamin Britten to Albert Goldberg (Letter 363, 20 January 1942), in Mitchell and Reed, ed. *Letters from a Life*, 1014.

⁷⁰ William E. Smith, 'Philadelphia', *Musical America* (25 January 1942).

remains unknown, but it is known that Wittgenstein was overwhelmed by his phenomenal victory. About a week after the premiere Wittgenstein posted a thank-you letter to Britten, in which he enclosed a cheque of USD50 to clear the outstanding payment for his commission:

Let me take that occasion to thank you once more for your splendid work which, as far as I know & with that one curious exception, was universally admired! I hope, you don't repent of having written it for me! Perhaps, if I have occasion to play it somewhere, where your other works are not yet known, perhaps in that case it might even be useful to you and pave the way for your other compositions.⁷¹

Wittgenstein's self-recommendation as promoter of Britten's music was not realised at all because the remarkable success he made with the *Diversions* in Philadelphia did not bring him many more performing opportunities. In the United States, he only played the *Diversions* one more time, on 13 March 1942 with the Columbia Concert Orchestra under the baton of Charles Lichter in the British-American Festival programme on WABC. After this radio concert, Wittgenstein had no further chance to perform the *Diversions* again until eight years later, in 1950, when he was able to play the work twice in Britain. He gave the British premiere of the *Diversions* at the Winter Gardens in Bournemouth with Trevor Harvey conducting the Bournemouth Municipal Orchestra on 14 October 1950. Then, he gave the second performance (which was also the last), at the Royal Albert Hall with Sir Malcolm Sargent directing the London Symphony Orchestra. After this, Wittgenstein's version of the

⁷¹ Britten-Pears Foundation, Benjamin Britten Letters, 2He3.12 (34) (Unpublished letter, 21 January 1942).

Diversions was never heard again in Britain as well as other European cities and the United States. Since Britten published the revised edition of the *Diversions* and recorded it with Julius Katchen in 1954, whenever the work is played it is the 'Britten edition' of the *Diversions* that we hear.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has, by examining a wide variety of primary sources that are here published for the first time, presented the first scholarly research into Paul Wittgenstein's performing career in Great Britain in the period from the 1920s to the 1950s, and into the compositions Ernest Walker, Norman Demuth and Benjamin Britten composed for and dedicated to him. Within this framework, this thesis explored Wittgenstein's triple roles as pianist, composer and music patron, which were all governed by his self-identification as a member of the Viennese musical and cultural 'royalty'. This unique degree of self-recognition, combined with his contradictory personality traits and attitudes, exerted a great influence on his performing career in Great Britain, his relationships and interactions with his British colleagues and acquaintances, as well as his dealings with and reception of the compositions the three British composers wrote specifically for him.

Chapter 1 dealt with one of the fundamental research questions of this thesis: why did Wittgenstein seek to establish a performing career in Great Britain? At one level, the answer was simple and straightforward: as an aspiring left-hand pianist whose career was blossoming in central Europe in the mid-1920s, Wittgenstein was ready to expand his performing territory and Britain was a good choice. The upper middle class in both Britain and Wittgenstein's native Vienna was especially wealthy, powerful and cultured. This certainly encouraged Wittgenstein, who came from a powerful family of the upper bourgeoisie and considered himself in effect and in reality to be a member of

the Viennese aristocracy, to imagine himself becoming part of the British community without obstacles. Britain not only had a long and well-established concert history and tradition, it also had a considerable number of world-class musicians and orchestras and a fairly wide base of educated audiences and music lovers that inspired Wittgenstein to launch a performing career there.

By studying all available primary sources, such as original concert programmes and reviews, letters and documents, and memoirs housed at various libraries and archives in Hong Kong and the United Kingdom, Chapter 1 gave a detailed account of Wittgenstein's performing activities in Great Britain in the 1920s–1950s and came to the conclusion that the British branch of his pianistic career was in fact inconsistent and sporadic in nature. Wittgenstein made his first entrance into the British musical world in July 1926 by giving a private solo recital in its capital London, which was at the same time one of the European musical capitals alongside Paris, Berlin and Vienna. The outcome of this trial, however, did not meet his expectations, as the concert reviews proved. The private recital in 1926 did not bring Wittgenstein any immediate concert invitations, and he had to wait for more than a year to make his first public appearance in Edinburgh with the Reid Orchestra under Donald Tovey, in October 1927, and his official, public London debut took place only in August 1928 when he participated in a Promenade concert. In his lengthy performing career of nearly thirty years in Britain, Wittgenstein gave only a total of a dozen public performances across the country. This very low performing frequency was a combined result of political, institutional, musical and most importantly, personal issues.

The outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 was one of the main obstacles that hindered the development of Wittgenstein's performing career in Britain (or indeed anywhere else). He was not performing much in Britain already before the War, but his forced emigration to the United States at the onset of the War prevented him from visiting Europe and his British performing career stagnated for ten years as a result. In 1949 he was able to come to Britain again, and he made five more public appearances in Oxford, Bournemouth, and London. However, that was all he did in the last phase of his performing career in Britain.

Wittgenstein was 62 years old in 1949. His advancing age and the very limited proofs he could provide to show his participation in any recent performances discouraged the British conductors, orchestras and organisations such as the BBC from including him in their concert programmes. This lack of concert engagements was not a new phenomenon in the post-war period. Instead, it had always been a problem throughout Wittgenstein's entire British performing career. In Vienna, Wittgenstein's superior social status and vast fortune allowed him to hire performing venues and orchestras/ensembles, and he did not need to rely on concert agents or anyone to find concert opportunities for him. In Britain, however, he simply did not enjoy such privileges. The making of Wittgenstein's British performing career depended largely on the help offered by his British friends, especially Margaret Deneke, who took up the role of Wittgenstein's 'honorary agent' and endeavoured to arrange as many performances for him as possible. Yet, most of the concert engagements she succeeded in getting for Wittgenstein were limited to provincial cities.

Wittgenstein's public performances in London, on the other hand, were arranged by one or another of his three concert agents, Imperial Concert Agency, Ibbs & Tillett and Harold Holt Ltd., but they too did not manage to secure regular concert opportunities for the pianist.

Currently housed at the BBC Written Archives (WAC), the letters that Wittgenstein, his concert agents and Deneke sent to the BBC in the 1920s–1950s showed that Wittgenstein constantly wished to participate in the concerts organised by the BBC, especially the orchestral ones, and always recommended that he be engaged to play concertos by Korngold, Schmidt, Strauss (specifically the *Panathenäenzug*), Ravel and, later on, Britten. The BBC showed an interest in Wittgenstein's special programmes at first, but as their internal circulars and official collaborations with Wittgenstein revealed, only Strauss's *Parergon*, Ravel's Concerto and Britten's *Diversions* were finally accepted. The reason why the BBC would offer Wittgenstein opportunities to perform these pieces was not because they were impressed by Wittgenstein's pianistic skills or sympathetic about his courageous act in pursuing a pianistic career despite the loss of his right arm; instead, it was simply because they were eager to claim the honour in giving the first performances of these compositions in England.

While Wittgenstein's exclusive repertoire failed to persuade the BBC to offer him as many concert appearances as he desired, the quality of his performance and his interpretation of his commissions also played an important part in pushing not only the BBC but also other orchestras and conductors away.

Wittgenstein made acquaintances with a number of British conductors through Deneke and some of them became his personal friends, including Donald Francis Tovey and Trevor Harvey. As director and conductor of the Reid Orchestra in Edinburgh, Tovey arranged and conducted Wittgenstein's first and only public concert in the Scottish capital in 1927, in which the pianist premiered Strauss's *Parergon* and Schmidt's *Concertante Variations*. Usually, a visiting performer playing with the Reid Orchestra would also give a solo recital a few days after the orchestral performance. However, Wittgenstein only appeared in the orchestral concert. Harvey, who worked for the BBC as assistant chorus master in 1935–42 and became a freelance conductor afterwards, directed Wittgenstein's British premiere of Britten's *Diversions* in 1950 in Bournemouth. Both Tovey and Harvey were very important to Wittgenstein, as the former officially launched his performing career in Britain in the 1927 Edinburgh concert while the latter helped resuming it after the Second World War. Neither Tovey nor Harvey, however, as with any other British conductors who had worked with Wittgenstein, re-engaged their friend for any future performances. No information can be found on the reasons why Tovey did not invite Wittgenstein to perform in his concerts again, but with Harvey the explanation is simple. As already mentioned earlier in Chapter 1, it was entirely due to the poor quality of Wittgenstein's piano playing at the Bournemouth performance and, specifically in the case of Britten's *Diversions*, that Wittgenstein even misinterpreted the composer's intentions.

Harvey was not the only person who did not approve Wittgenstein's pianistic skills and his interpretation of his commissions. In fact, the reception of

Wittgenstein as a pianist and his piano playing fell into two extremes throughout his performing career but there were always more disapproval than approval. Even for his loyal advocate Deneke, Wittgenstein's piano playing was difficult to understand. On 30 July 1959 Deneke wrote to William Glock, Controller of Music at the BBC, to highly recommend the BBC offer Wittgenstein a concert engagement in May 1960. After praising how famous Wittgenstein was and reminding Glock about the valuable commissions that Strauss, Korngold, Ravel and Britten had written for him, Deneke confessed that she had to learn to 'appreciate his strong rhythm and forceful interpretations'.¹ 'Strong rhythm' and 'forceful interpretations' were exactly the two most frequently heard criticisms on Wittgenstein's playing, alongside his signature 'pitch inaccuracy'.

Another difficulty for Deneke and Wittgenstein's agent in getting him any concert engagements in the 1950s was the expiration of Wittgenstein's exclusive performing rights in his most popular commissions. By the mid-1950s Wittgenstein no longer held exclusive performing rights in Ravel's Concerto and Britten's *Diversions*, and Britten also rewrote and subsequently published a revised version of the *Diversions* in 1955, meaning that these two compositions were freely available for any pianists to play.² As Harvey rightfully pointed out to Deneke, it was natural for the BBC and any other institutions or conductors to want to collaborate with the pianists who could

¹ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 2, 1949–1960; Letter, 30 July 1959).

² Wittgenstein only had six years of exclusive performing rights in Ravel's Concerto and this exclusivity therefore expired in 1937.

play these works better than Wittgenstein, and that they could not be blamed for their decisions.³

Although the establishment of Wittgenstein's British performing career was to say the least of it not very successful, and its development was restricted by the very limited concert appearances he was offered due to the unpopularity of his special repertoire, generally unrefined piano playing and arguably misleading musical interpretations, Wittgenstein could nevertheless have done more to stimulate his pianistic career in Britain. On the surface he seemed eager to make it as fruitful as the one he had in his native Vienna, and he showed particular interests in performing in the BBC concerts. In reality, however, he was very selective about the type of concert engagements he was offered. Not only was he unwilling to perform in the Sunday Concert in Birmingham in February 1929 if there were not a concert in Bournemouth that same week, he was also reluctant to accept – and eventually turned down – an invitation from the BBC to play a group of solo pieces for twelve minutes in a Ballad Concert in June 1927. One possible explanation for Wittgenstein's seeming indifference in his approach to developing his British performing career was that the ultimate outcome he wanted to achieve was not to lead a professional pianistic career in Britain but to reconstruct and enjoy a private concert life in Oxford, where he could make music with his friends in the house concerts organised by Deneke at her home in Gunfield.

³ For more details on Harvey's correspondence with Deneke, see my discussion in Chapter 1.

The house concert, of course, was never a foreign idea to Wittgenstein. On the contrary, he was very familiar with the concept because his parents, as already discussed at the beginning of Chapter 1, had a habit of organising musical gatherings at home on a frequent and regular basis. It was through both his direct and indirect participation in these occasions, as both performer and audience member, that Wittgenstein shaped his musical identity, aesthetic and taste. Following the death of his father in 1913, however, the Wittgenstein family started to fall apart and the practice of hosting private music concerts at the Palais Wittgenstein gradually disappeared. As such, his participation in the musical gatherings at the Denekes' bears a special importance in his life. They not only provided opportunities for him to show off his special pianistic skills and enjoy being crowned as the star pianist, but also and more importantly offered him chances to make music with his friends, allowing him to re-engage himself in the long-lost tradition of which he was so fond. To Wittgenstein, Oxford was without question his musical sanctuary, and this was what lured him to make annual visits to Britain. As a result, developing a professional performing career in Britain became something of a secondary aim and activity.

Besides appearing to be indifferent about his professional performing career in Britain, Wittgenstein also made all kinds of unusual requests that caused great troubles to his concert organiser and sometimes forced them to call off their proposed collaboration. For example, in August 1931 Wittgenstein informed the BBC via his agent Ibbs & Tillett that he was going to perform Ravel's Concerto in Paris on 25 March 1932 under the direction of the composer and

that he ‘would be prepared to come to London a few days before’ if the BBC would give him a concert offer.⁴ At first the BBC was interested and began negotiations with Wittgenstein’s agent to find a date.⁵ However, as soon as Wittgenstein told the BBC that Ravel would arrange to come to London to conduct his piece, the Corporation stepped back and called off the concert plan because they had to ‘make very great economies and therefore will not be able to engage any expensive artists such as the above [Ravel]’.⁶ Wittgenstein possibly considered that he was doing the BBC a great favour to offer them his first British performance of the new Ravel Concerto with the composer conducting, and that the BBC should be grateful and therefore pay Ravel’s fee. Yet, the Corporation obviously did not agree with this proposal. In August 1932 the BBC did engage Wittgenstein in a Promenade concert to premiere the Ravel Concerto in London, and Wittgenstein, who was not ashamed of making special requests, bluntly demanded the BBC arrange a preliminary rehearsal with Sir Henry Wood on 14 August prior to the scheduled rehearsals on the next two days.

Wittgenstein’s potential appearance in a BBC studio concert in early 1932, which fell through, revealed that for most of the time when Wittgenstein approached the BBC for a concert offer it was because he was going to perform in Paris (and in Holland at other times) and that he did not mind making a stop in London, rather than being determined and eager to play for the BBC *per se*. This was particularly true, because when there were occasions on which the BBC did not give him any offer, Wittgenstein would still travel to

⁴ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948; Letter, 28 August 1931).

⁵ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948; Letter, 7 September 1931).

⁶ BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948; Letter, 23 September 1931).

Britain and of course his destination was Oxford, not London. Wittgenstein's demanding an extra rehearsal with Wood alone prior to the scheduled rehearsals for his 1932 promenade concert, on the other hand, showed that he assumed he had the privilege to ask for something extra from the conductor and expected his request to be granted.⁷ His habit of making special requests from or giving commands to others was due to his deep-rooted self-identification as a member of the Viennese aristocracies, or even 'royalties', with which he grew and carried within him an overrated self-esteem and pride that led him to think he was superior to others. Such an attitude or a personality did not only leave an impact on Wittgenstein's career as a pianist, it also greatly affected the way he played the role as a music patron.

Chapters 2, 3, and 4 provided a comprehensive source study of the compositions Walker, Demuth and Britten wrote for Wittgenstein's left hand pianism. Analyses of the composers' musical styles, use of melodic and harmonic devices as well as their treatment of the piano in their works were carried out to facilitate the discussions of the composers' conception of and approaches to composing for piano left-hand with or without an orchestra/ensemble. These analyses were also intended to offer readers an impression of the stylistic nature of these compositions, as they were basically unknown before this study (in the case of Britten's *Diversions*, the unknown

⁷ Wittgenstein actually made a similar request to Clarence Raybould five years later. On 18 March 1937 he wrote a letter to Raybould saying, 'in order to facilitate our work at the rehearsal [on 16 April, one day prior to the studio concert] I would propose that you and I alone should have a preliminary rehearsal at the piano. At all events I shall be in London on Wednesday the 14th of April in the evening ... you need only let me know at my hotel when and where we should meet'. BBC WAC, RCont 1, Wittgenstein, Paul (File 1, 1927–1948; Letter, 18 March 1937). In contrast to Wood's response, Raybould did not grant Wittgenstein's request.

quantity was the first version of 1940, which included Wittgenstein's extensive annotations and additional musical sketches and re-conceptions). Besides examining the technical and musical aspects of these compositions, Chapters 2, 3, and 4 also explored Wittgenstein's conception, objective and intention to commission Walker, Demuth and Britten (if and when there were any), his relationships and interactions with these composers, and his reception of their musical creations.

Wittgenstein's relationships with Walker, Demuth and Britten were distinctive and individual, which in turn informed Wittgenstein's different handling of the commissioning project with each of the composers. As already discussed in Chapter 3, it is highly likely that Wittgenstein did not commission the two compositions from Demuth and the two musicians were possibly not even personally acquainted. The making of both the Three Preludes and the Concerto for Piano (Left Hand) and Orchestra in 1946 was entirely initiated by Demuth, who wished to become a member of Wittgenstein's extensive commissioning campaign. Demuth's strategy of dedicating a concerto to Wittgenstein could have been successful as it was the genre at which Wittgenstein targeted his whole commissioning campaign. As it turned out, however, Demuth did not win the interest of Wittgenstein and his compositions did not make their way into Wittgenstein's repertoire.

With the assumption that Wittgenstein had no relationship with Demuth and did not approach him for any compositions, Walker and Britten were the only two composers he commissioned, and his intentions in doing so were different.

Wittgenstein's collaboration with Walker was probably an informal one, which made it an exceptional case in his commissioning project. Although Walker was one of the most respected and important musical figures in Oxford, his reputation as a composer was, as with Wittgenstein's favourite composer Schmidt's, limited to his own country and his music was virtually unknown to the outside world. As an enthusiastic supporter of Walker's music, Wittgenstein probably wished, by performing a work he commissioned from Walker, to bring his friend's name and music to audiences outside Britain, just as he did in the case of Schmidt.⁸ But, if Wittgenstein was eager to promote his friend and his music in places outside Britain, why did he request a composition from Walker only in 1933 and not earlier in the 1920s when Walker was relatively young? As discussed earlier in Chapter 2, Wittgenstein and Walker were personal friends. They shared a strong friendship and *Hausmusik* (house music) partnership that Wittgenstein treasured dearly. Wittgenstein's relationship with Walker was somewhat similar to his relationship with Strauss, who was at first a family friend and later on became his duet partner. However, after they went through the process of creating the *Parergon* in 1925 and the *Panathenäenzug* in 1927, during which they must have encountered some disagreement and argument, Wittgenstein and Strauss did not get together to make music ever again. Wittgenstein's experiences with Strauss may well have warned him not to commission a personal friend on impulse, and when he finally decided to approach Walker for a commission, he suggested his friend compose a chamber work for him, instead of a concerto, as

⁸ Wittgenstein had done a similar favour for Tovey in 1928, too. Instead of commissioning a work from Tovey and playing it to audiences outside Britain, Wittgenstein arranged for the composer-pianist to make two appearances in Vienna, playing his own compositions. For more details, see my discussion in Chapter 1.

he knew it was Walker's speciality (Or, if it was indeed Walker's suggestion, then, Wittgenstein gladly approved it). It was very rare for Wittgenstein to be so considerate to the composer he commissioned, but in the case of commissioning Walker it was apparent that Wittgenstein considered it as a way to celebrate their friendship, and the set of Variations Walker dedicated to him was the musical emblem of their friendship. Therefore, it was not without reasons that Wittgenstein treated Walker differently when compared to the other composers he commissioned.

The engagement with the musical world of Britten was an entirely different matter. In comparison to his informal collaborations with Walker (not to mention the much more distant, even inconsequential relationship to Demuth), Wittgenstein's commissioning project with Britten was a formal business, as discussed in Chapter 4. Wittgenstein and Britten were not personally acquainted until the former contacted the latter through Boosey & Hawkes in 1940. Britten's musical style and language obviously deviated somewhat from the musical aesthetics and tastes of Wittgenstein, and such a musical mismatch recalled the two unsuccessful trials Wittgenstein had had with other contemporary composers such as Hindemith and Prokofiev and raises the question of what prompted Wittgenstein, who was essentially a musician of the nineteenth century to commission Britten, who was obviously a musician of the twentieth century? The reason was entirely practical. After settling in New York in early 1940, Wittgenstein was in desperate need to get back to his performing routine to make a living. In order to accelerate the process and guarantee some measure of success, he needed to commission composers who

were popular and well received in the United States. And Britten, who happened to be living in the United States at that time and whose music was generally liked by American audiences, was undoubtedly the perfect candidate to be commissioned.

Wittgenstein's collaboration with Britten had the potential to become a very fruitful and rewarding one, but unfortunately their relationship became extremely strained and inharmonious as they progressed along the compositional journey of the *Diversions* and ended up battling against each other. This, to a large extent, was not caused by the fundamental differences in musical conception, aesthetics and tastes between Wittgenstein and Britten but Wittgenstein's perception of Britten as a composer. Right from the start of their collaboration it was obvious that Wittgenstein did not fully trust Britten. This was proved by the fact that he sent a work by Schmidt to Britten for his reference, and 'instructed' him to study Brahms's *Variations on a Theme by Haydn*. Although Britten's response to these 'suggestions' is unknown, it seems more than probable that he did find them useful.⁹ During the course of his study of the *Diversions*, Wittgenstein came across places which he found unsatisfactory and, instead of entrusting Britten with making changes to suit his needs, Wittgenstein made the corrections himself and forced them upon Britten's score. This, of course, annoyed Britten immensely and the war between them broke out immediately.

⁹ Britten's friend, Elizabeth Mayer, was probably not excited about the Schmidt score and assumed Britten would have no interests in it, too. She wrote to Britten from Maine on 9 August 1940: 'The music which Wittgenstein sent, is here, I don't send it'. Elizabeth Mayer to Benjamin Britten (9 August 1940), quoted in note 2 to Letter 281 (3 September 1940) in Mitchell and Reed, ed. *Letters from a Life*, 843.

The famous battle between Wittgenstein and Ravel over ‘their’ Concerto suggests one of the reasons why Wittgenstein took the liberty to make extensive changes and corrections to the scores of his commissions. After hearing his Concerto for the first time on two pianos, Ravel was understandably puzzled by the alterations the pianist made and that he had not been consulted beforehand. He went up to the pianist and said to him that ‘But it [the Concerto] is not that at all!’ and Wittgenstein replied ‘I am an old hand as pianist and what you wrote does not sound right’.¹⁰ Considering that he knew better than anyone about ‘the capabilities and limitations of the left hand’,¹¹ Wittgenstein felt that he had the authority in deciding what ought to be composed and subsequently performed in order to fully demonstrate his pianistic skills. The other reason why Wittgenstein was overly confident about challenging the composers’ handling of the piano in his commissions was that he had had considerable experience in ‘composing’ music for the left hand. Before he launched his extensive commissioning campaign, Wittgenstein had thoroughly studied all the piano works for the left hand and written a substantial amount of arrangements of operatic and piano works in accordance with ‘the nineteenth-century transcription practice of Liszt and Godowsky’s novel methods of reducing works to the left hand’.¹² The experiences and knowledge he obtained through studying those pre-existing pieces and transcribing his own arrangements of them allowed, guided and encouraged Wittgenstein to approach his commissions from a composer’s point of view, too, and because of that he was unashamed of making massive alterations to his commissions.

¹⁰ Long, *At the Piano with Ravel*, 59.

¹¹ J.F. Penrose, ‘The Other Wittgenstein’, 398.

¹² E. Fred Flindell, ‘Paul Wittgenstein (1887-1961): Patron and Pianist’, 114.

Wittgenstein's commissioning of Britten reflected his conception and practice of music patronage, which was essentially a master-servant system in which he was the master and the composers he commissioned were his servants. Having gained sufficient experience in taking commissions, Britten refused to be a slave to Wittgenstein and stood firmly to fight against him in order to safeguard his authorship and dignity as the composer of the *Diversions*. Although Wittgenstein at first persuaded Britten to play his version of the *Diversions* at the 1942 premiere, Britten ultimately won the battle by declining Wittgenstein's request to renew his exclusive performing rights in the *Diversions* after their expiry and immediately started revising the work and published his version of the *Diversions* in 1955. The publication of the revised version had a significant importance, not only because it prevented Wittgenstein from performing his unorthodox version of the *Diversions*, but also officially terminated their collaboration. Wittgenstein was upset because he was losing ownership of his commissions one by one and there was nothing he could do about it.¹³

In view of the fact that Wittgenstein's relationships with Walker, Demuth and Britten were uniquely different, it is not surprising that his reception of the compositions they wrote for him differed too. The unmarked autograph manuscripts of Demuth's Three Preludes and the Concerto were persuasive evidence to prove that Wittgenstein were not interested in these pieces and did

¹³ Schmidt's student, Fredrich Wührer, obtained permission from Schmidt's widow to arrange and publish a two-handed version of the three Quintets with Josef Weinberger. Siegfried Rapp, a pianist who lost his right arm in the Second World War, successfully obtained from Prokofiev's widow another manuscript copy that Prokofiev kept of his Concerto and premiered the work in 1954. Ravel, as was the case also with Britten, did not renew Wittgenstein's exclusive performing rights in the Concerto and the work was free to be played by anyone.

not intend to perform any of them. This was probably because, regarding the musical aspects discussed in Chapter 3, Demuth's harmonic and melodic language, as well as his musical styles were incomprehensible to Wittgenstein. On the practical side, if Wittgenstein contemplated reappearing on the concert stage in Paris after the war, playing a composition by Demuth could well have been useful because the composer was highly received by both the French government and audiences. However, Wittgenstein did not make an immediate return to either Paris or other parts of Europe in the late 1940s. On the one hand, he might have been tied up with teaching in the United States, but on the other he focused on developing his performing career in his new home. Most of Wittgenstein's American performances were solo recitals, but when he made an appearance with an orchestra he always played Ravel's Concerto, not the Concerto by Demuth. It was reasonable of him to prefer the former to the latter because both Ravel and his left-hand concerto (and other music, too) had a much higher profile than Demuth and his works, and since Demuth's musical style and language did not impress Wittgenstein and presumably they were not personal friends, Wittgenstein also would not have felt the need to repeat what he had done for Walker to introduce or promote Demuth's music to his American audiences. Wittgenstein simply put away the autograph manuscripts Demuth sent him, and these materials were left untouched until today.

In contrast to his reception of the two compositions by Demuth, Wittgenstein's reception of Walker's *Variations* was far more positive. The fact that Wittgenstein performed the *Variations* a few times in public confirmed he thought highly of the piece. Yet, it is unusual that Walker's score contains only

fingerings and performing instructions that Wittgenstein marked for his own use, and not a single change or correction. While Wittgenstein could have been satisfied with what Walker had composed for him, it is surprising that he did not delete any music from the Variations nor insert any new passages in it because basically no commissions, not even the ones by his favourite composer, Franz Schmidt, were usually exempted from being transformed. The only possible explanation for this was that Wittgenstein considered the Variations as a piece that he would use to introduce Walker to a wider audience but not as a piece to help him further develop his public performing career, and therefore he kept the work in its original form and did not make drastic changes to suit his tastes.

Wittgenstein's reception of Britten's *Diversions* was complex. Although Wittgenstein did not praise the *Diversions* as he did with the Variations by Walker for example, it was certain that he liked the *Diversions* and what they offered because, if he had disliked the piece as in the case of compositions by Demuth, Hindemith and Prokofiev (among many others), he would simply have refused to play it and put the manuscript away. What Wittgenstein probably liked about the *Diversions* was Britten's idea of focusing on the single-line, figurative-melodic approach instead of strenuously trying to imitate a two-handed piano technique as most other composers did, which allowed him to show off his pianistic skills thoroughly. Despite his seeming approval of the solo piano part, Wittgenstein was highly critical of Britten's orchestration in the *Diversions*, which he thought was too heavy, hence the massive number of changes found in Britten's score. The most important point, perhaps, about

Wittgenstein's reception of the *Diversions* was not the question of whether he liked or disliked the piece *per se* but the fact that he needed the *Diversions* for his concert career, which possibly overcame all the negative feelings he had for the work.

Concerning the three British composers' opinions of the compositions they wrote for Wittgenstein, only Britten's is known. In a letter to Ralph Hawkes dated 2 September 1940, Britten wrote that he was 'writing out a beautiful copy of the Wittgenstein piece & will send it off at once when it's done. I've written to him direct & told him all about the piece – which I'm very pleased with – hope he'll like it! It's quite substantial, but attractive, I think'.¹⁴ Ten days later on 12 September 1940, Britten told Elizabeth Mayer about his opinions on the *Diversions* and he said, 'It's not deep – but quite pretty!'¹⁵ So, whether Britten considered the *Diversions* as 'substantial' or 'not deep' was perhaps a question that even Britten himself could not answer. But one can be ascertained that Britten at least thought the *Diversions* was 'attractive' and 'quite pretty'.

Britten was neither the first nor the only composer who experienced a certain mixture or ambiguity of feelings towards the composition he had written for Wittgenstein. On the one hand, he was delighted with his creation because he had succeeded in overcoming the exciting compositional challenges he had anticipated in composing for piano left-hand and orchestra, a special medium that he had never explored before, but on the other he was worried, as was

¹⁴ Benjamin Britten to Ralph Hawkes (Letter 286, 2 September 1940) in Mitchell and Reed, ed. *Letters from a Life*, 854–5.

¹⁵ Benjamin Britten to Elizabeth Mayer (Letter 290, 12 September 1940) in *ibid.*, 861.

Prokofiev with his Piano Concerto No. 4 in B-flat major, that the *Diversions* might fail to impress the unpredictable Wittgenstein. Although the arguments between him and Wittgenstein and the latter's forceful emendations to the *Diversions* might have affected Britten's views of his work, his continuous efforts in trying to get it premiered in 1941–2 suggested that he continued to appreciate the *Diversions* and was still very eager to introduce it to audiences.

Here, then, is a summary of Wittgenstein's musical career in Britain: as a performer, Wittgenstein had initially high chances of leading a pianistic career with flying colours if he were not fussy about the type of concert engagements he was offered. Although the setting up of his professional performing career in Britain was, as this thesis suggested, a by-product of the success of his private performing career in his musical sanctuary in Oxford, the high-handed and indifferent attitudes he held serve to explain one of the reasons why all institutions and conductors who collaborated with him, except for the BBC, never booked him for a second time. The quality of his piano playing was perhaps the real reason that ruined not only his British performing career but also his pianistic career as a whole. When starting out as an one-armed pianist in the 1920s, Wittgenstein was highly praised for his exceptional performing skills and musical interpretations, and initially, he also received similar acclaim when he first introduced himself to the British musical world as a left-hand virtuoso in 1926. In the late 1930s, however, the quality of his playing began to deteriorate, and the over-forceful and excessively self-indulgent interpretations he had of his commissions, which was especially evident in his recordings of

Ravel's Concerto and Strauss's *Parergon*,¹⁶ gradually deterred both his audiences and the people who had collaborated with him.¹⁷ No information can be found on the reception that Walker, Demuth and Britten had of Wittgenstein as a music patron and so my discussion here is necessarily conjectural. Presumably, Demuth and Wittgenstein did not know each other, and Demuth probably saw Wittgenstein as a potential client from whom he might be rewarded with both wealth and fame for the two unsolicited compositions he had sent. Unfortunately, however, Wittgenstein did not like his music and Demuth's plan came to nothing. Walker may well have been thankful for Wittgenstein's appreciation and praise of his music, and the fact that he wanted to promote him and his music to audiences outside Britain with a composition that he had specifically composed for Wittgenstein as a left-handed pianist. However, Walker probably considered Wittgenstein more as a friend and house-music partner than as a music patron, and that writing a chamber work for his left hand was simply an act to commemorate their friendship. Britten's reception of Wittgenstein as a music patron would have been as complicated as Wittgenstein's reception of the *Diversions*. As a still fairly young composer,

¹⁶ When I worked at the *Hk-pwa* as research assistant, I had a chance to listen to a recording Wittgenstein made of Strauss's *Parergon* and it was full of errors and unnecessary banging on the piano. Wittgenstein's performance of Ravel's Concerto in 1937 with the Royal Concertgebouw Orchestra under the direction of Bruno Walter was also recorded, and it can be found on YouTube at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PnC8DmBJJew> [accessed 1 April 2016]. In this recording also, Wittgenstein's performance was not at all accurate and his touch was rather aggressive. One point to note about this video clip is that the photo that accompanies the video was taken at Wittgenstein's premiere of Schmidt's E-flat Concerto conducted by the composer, and has nothing to do with Ravel or his Concerto.

¹⁷ Leschetizky, Harvey and Margaret Stonborough all commented on Wittgenstein's playing at different stages of his pianistic career. For Leschetizky's and Harvey's opinions, see my discussions in Chapter 1 above. Stonborough was one of Wittgenstein's elder sisters, with whom he had lost contact since the Second World War. On 13 March 1942 when Paul gave the New York premiere of the *Diversions*, Stonborough was in the audience. She wrote to Ludwig after the concert saying, 'I felt I wanted to see him (unseen by him) & also to hear him. He looks well & astonishingly young & as sympathetic as always on the podium. But his playing has become much worse. I suppose that is to be expected, because he insists on trying to do, what really cannot be done. It is *eine Vergewaltigung* [a violation] – Yes, he is sick...' Quoted in Waugh, *The House of Wittgenstein*, 279–80.

Britten would have been thankful to Wittgenstein because he brought him a certain fame and perhaps wealth, as well as an opportunity to enhance and explore his compositional skills in particular ways. Doubtless, too, the technical and aesthetic challenge of the commission, maybe even the idea of ‘measuring up to’ Ravel and others, would have attracted the ever-curious Britten. Yet, Britten surely hated Wittgenstein for his dictatorial handling of musical situations and the changes he so forcefully imposed upon scores. Despite all this, it was with his arrogance, insistence and persistence that Wittgenstein successfully completed what was a mission apparently impossible in others’ eyes, and left a uniquely valuable legacy in both the history of piano performance and twentieth-century music patronage. Still-current performances in contemporary concert settings of the pieces he so far-sightedly commissioned keep his memory in public view, even if his own pianism, in his later years, was widely seen as a travesty of what it might – or ought to – have been.

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