

# Italian Instructive Editions of *The Well-Tempered Clavier*: A Useful Resource for Performance Practice Studies

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This article considers the utility and importance of instructive editions (IEs) for performance practice studies in the field of Bach interpretation at the piano. By ‘instructive edition’ I mean a particular edition of a musical work prepared for publication by a musician other than its composer, using different editing criteria from those used for Urtexts or critical editions. An IE should include the advice on performance elements which is generally missing from an Urtext’s normal sources and is likely to have been added by the editor; it may have pedagogical purposes as a help and/or substitute for traditional teaching; and its editor is normally a musician, rather than a musicologist, in most cases a concert pianist and/or piano teacher, often at a conservatory.

Although their use in music education may pose crucial problems,<sup>1</sup> for example regarding the development of the student’s awareness in the field of notational contextualisation, IEs may profitably be studied as witnesses of past performance practice, alongside recordings, treatises, performers’ memories and annotated scores. In fact, an IE is a written record of its editor’s interpretive idea of the work, as well as, partially and consequently, of his/her time, epoch, style and school.<sup>2</sup> IEs may also be objectively studied for the effects of their use, the influence they exerted in transmitting—and sometimes creating—traditions of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Chiara Bertoglio, ‘Instructive Editions of Bach’s Wohltemperirtes Klavier: An Italian Perspective’, PhD dissertation, University of Birmingham (2012), Chapter Three.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, *Musikalische Interpretation—Hans von Bülow* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999), pp. 124 and 183; Mafalda Scalvati, ‘Alfredo Casella revisore e le edizioni Curci’, *Rassegna musicale Curci*, 58/3 (September 2000), 24–7, here 24; Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen and Dominik Sackmann, *Bach-Rezeption im Umkreis Franz Liszts: Joseph Joachim Raff und Hans von Bülow* (Stuttgart: Carus Verlag, 2004), p. 45; Shirley S. Yoo, ‘Four performance editions of J. S. Bach’s Well-tempered Clavier: Carl Czerny, Carl Tausig, Ferruccio Busoni and Béla Bartók’, DMA dissertation, Peabody Conservatory of Music, Baltimore (2005), pp. 103, 108. According to Dahlhaus, although IEs may have no philological value, they are important for the work’s reception history. See Carl Dahlhaus, *Allgemeine Theorie der Musik I: Historik, Grundlagen der Musik, Ästhetik*, in Hermann Danuser (ed.), *Carl Dahlhaus: Gesammelte Schriften*, 10 vols. (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2000), vol. I, p. 234ff.

performance practices to subsequent generations.<sup>3</sup> The role of IEs as witnesses to performance traditions is easier to study and to demonstrate; their influence on actual performances can mostly only be inferred, although the comparisons of IEs below will provide significant evidence of the transmission of performance elements from one edition to another.

This article presents, compares and discusses some Italian IEs of Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier* (WTC) from the viewpoint of performance practice history; its aim is not to find an 'authentic' version of the text, to establish the value of sources or to discuss textual problems, in the fashion of critical editing. In the case of Bach's WTC, these problems have been thoroughly discussed elsewhere, and will continue to provoke musicological debate.<sup>4</sup> Nor is the principal aim to discuss the 'textual' relationships among editions. Although this has already been done,<sup>5</sup> an important aspect has often been neglected. In most cases, IEs have been evaluated by the same parameters as Urtexts and critical editions, principally

- <sup>3</sup> IEs 'become primary sources for the reception of the work', 'a kind of oral tradition of the style of performance: great performers study with great teachers, who pass on insights into the meaning of the work from previous generations'. James Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music: History, Method and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 13 and 151 respectively. Cf. Ludwig Finscher, 'Gesamtausgabe-Urtext-Musikalische Praxis: zum Verhältnis von Musikwissenschaft und Musikleben', in Martin Bente (ed.), *Musik-Edition-Interpretation: Gedenkschrift Günther Henle* (Munich: Henle Verlag, 1980), pp. 193–8, here p. 194. Both aspects of IEs (mirroring and forming performance traditions) are present in Gramit's viewpoint. David Gramit (ed.), *Beyond the Art of Finger Dexterity: reassessing Carl Czerny* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2008), p. 6.
- <sup>4</sup> Cf. e.g. Yo Tomita, *J. S. Bach's 'Das Wohltemperierte Clavier II': A Critical Commentary*, 2 vols. (Leeds: Household World, 1993–1995); NBA KB V/6.1 and V/6.2.
- <sup>5</sup> Cf. e.g. Carl E. R. Müller, 'Die Ausgaben des Wohltemperierten Klaviers von Czerny bis Mugellini und dessen Analysen von Dehn bis Iliffe', *Allgemeine Musikzeitung: Wochenschrift für das Musikleben der Gegenwart*, 39 (1912), 855–8, 883–4, 907–9, 935–8; Walton Smith Cole, 'Bach editions: a comparative study', MMus dissertation, University of Arizona, Tucson (1950); Magali Philippsborn, 'Die Frühdrücke der Werke Johann Sebastian Bachs in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts: eine kritisch vergleichende Untersuchung anhand des Wohltemperierten Klaviers I', PhD dissertation, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main (1975); Mark H. Levy, 'The Well-Tempered Clavier: Authenticity and Style in Editions of Bach's Wohltemperierte Clavier', MMus dissertation, King's College, University of London (1987); Annette Oppermann, *Musikalische Klassiker-Ausgaben des 19. Jahrhunderts: eine Studie zur deutschen Editions-geschichte am Beispiel von Bachs 'Wohltemperiertem Clavier' und Beethovens Klaviersonaten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2001); Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, 'Zur Wirkungsgeschichte des Wohltemperierten Klaviers', in Siegbert Rampe (ed.), *Das Wohltemperierte Klavier I: Tradition, Entstehung, Funktion, Analyse. Ulrich Siegele zum 70. Geburtstag* (Munich: Katzschlichler, 2002), pp. 27–51; Yo Tomita, "'Most ingenious, most learned, and yet practicable work": the English reception of Bach's Well-Tempered Clavier in the first half of the nineteenth century seen through the editions published in London', in Therese Ellsworth and Susan Wollenberg (eds.), *The Piano in Nineteenth-Century British Culture: Instruments, Performers and Repertoire* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 33–67; cf. also Francesco Scarpellini Pancrazi, 'Edizioni a confronto. Il Clavicembalo ben temperato di Johann Sebastian Bach, Parte prima: il Primo Volume (BWV 846–869)', in Carmelo Labate (ed.), *Musica Testo e Didattica*, 2 (Messina: Di Nicolò, 2004), pp. 39–194; Emiliano Giannetti, 'Il Clavicembalo ben temperato (I) nella revisione di Bruno Mugellini', PhD dissertation, University of Tor Vergata, Rome (2005); Gaia Bottoni, 'Bach in Italia nell'Ottocento: le edizioni italiane della musica per clavicembalo', *Fonti Musicali Italiane*, 14 (2009), 151–70.

from the viewpoint of textual authenticity. This article studies IEs from the performer's viewpoint: it examines how IEs can transmit information about past performance practices, and how they influence each other, from the particular perspective of interpretation conveyed through performance indications.

## Italian Bach editions

Before discussing those features that are common to several Italian editors of the WTC, reflecting an 'Italian' approach to Bach performance, I will describe briefly the popularity of Bach in Italy. In eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Italy, appreciation of Bach's works was mostly linked to specific individuals who fostered the circulation of manuscript copies and the promotion of private/semi-public performances. These admirers of Bach included Padre Martini in Bologna, Mayr in Bergamo, Landsberg in Rome, Lanza in Naples, and Rossini in Pesaro.

Notwithstanding the interest in Bach's music shown by these professional and distinguished amateur musicians, Italian editions of Bach's works appeared comparatively late and at first consisted largely of excerpts from collections or larger works: Table 1 lists the editions published in Italy to show the editorial history of the WTC in Italy until the first half of the twentieth century.<sup>6</sup> Table 2 describes the other editions – either non-Italian editions of WTC or other works by Bach – that are referred to in this article.

A short observation should be added concerning the 1856 Naples edition. Vincenzo Vitale<sup>7</sup> maintains that Sigismund Thalberg edited both the WTC and Clementi's *Gradus* for the publishing house Stabilimento Musicale Partenopeo, formerly Eredi Girard, during his residence in Posillipo (1864–71). Stabilimento was founded by Bernardo Girard, a Swiss-born musician;<sup>8</sup> in 1828 the French composer Guglielmo (Guillaume) Cottrau became a commercial partner of the company and consequently established a relationship with the French publishers Troupenas, Latte and Launer. Although this supposed 'Thalberg' edition of the WTC is mentioned by Pugliese Carratelli<sup>9</sup> and Lablache<sup>10</sup> (following Vitale), no trace of it can be found either in library catalogues or in Stabilimento's catalogues; the Thalberg Foundation in Naples has not been able to find any trace

<sup>6</sup> Most of these editions fully qualify as IEs, as the editor's interventions include added fingerings, expression, dynamic and sometimes metronome indications (since no copy of Lanza's edition could be consulted, I am not in a position to make statements about its editing criteria). Limitations of space prevent a full discussion of each edition; for more details, cf. Bertoglio, 'Instructive Editions of Bach's Wohltemperirtes Klavier', Chapter Six.

<sup>7</sup> Vincenzo Vitale, *Il pianoforte a Napoli nell'Ottocento* (Naples: Bibliopolis, 1983), p. 23.

<sup>8</sup> Therefore, this Girard should not be mistaken with the Girard (or Gérard) who owned a publishing house in Paris, which issued the WTC between 1839 and 1845. This edition was an offshoot of Czerny's edition, bearing the inscription 'revised by a committee of artists'. This 'committee' may have included Thalberg, of course, but it is unlikely that Vitale's reference was to this publication.

<sup>9</sup> Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli, *Storia e civiltà della Campania: l'Ottocento* (Naples: Electa, 1995), p. 379.

<sup>10</sup> Clarissa Lablache Cheer, *The Great Lablache: Nineteenth Century Operatic Superstar: His Life and His Times* (Bloomington: Xlibris, 2009), p. 505; here, however, the publisher's name is misspelt as *Giraud*, and the other work supposedly edited by Thalberg is the *Gradus ad Parnassum* by Fux instead of that by Clementi, as correctly maintained by Vitale.

Table 1: Early Italian editions of Bach's WTC, listed in chronological order

<b>Editors (abbreviations)</b>	<b>Title-Page Description</b>	<b>Publication Information</b>	<b>Works Included</b>
Anonymous	<i>Le clavecin bien tempéré: ou Préludes et Fugues dans tous les tons et demi-tons du mode majeur et mineur / par Jean Sebast. Bach</i>	Rome: Francesco [François] Ricci at Pittarelli & Santinelli, [1844]	WTC I
Francesco Lanza	<i>Il Cembalo ben temperato. Preludi e Fughe in tutt'i toni e semitoni maggiori e minori / Johann Sebastian Bach. Edizione riveduta e diteggiata da Francesco Lanza</i>	Naples: Stabilimento Musicale Partenopeo, [1856], Ed.-No: 15534; Pl.-No: 12426, 12427	WTC I + II
Carl Czerny	<i>Le Clavecin bien tempéré ou Préludes et Fugues dans tous les tons et demi-tons sur les modes majeurs et mineurs / par Jean Sebastien Bach. Edition nouvelle soigneusement revue, corrigée et doigtée ainsi que pourvue de notifications sur l'exécution et sur les mesures des temps (d'après le métronome de Maelzel) et accompagnée d'une préface / par Charles Czerny</i>	Milan: F. Lucca, [1863], Pl.-No: 14201, 14202	WTC I + II
Stefano Golinelli	<i>L'arte antica e moderna: scelta di composizioni: volume secondo</i>	Milan: Ricordi, [1864], Pl.-No: 35137	WTC I/1–4
Edoardo Bix	<i>Scelta sistematica e progressiva delle composizioni per pianoforte / di G. S. Bach. Corredate di note, diteggiatura, indicazioni di metronomo, etc., da Edoardo Bix</i>	Scelta sistematica e progressiva delle composizioni per pianoforte di G. S. Bach, vol. II–III – Milan: Ricordi, [1874], Pl.-No: 43441, 43442	vol. II: WTC I/1–2, 4–7, 9–10, 16, 19, 21; WTC II/12 vol. III: WTC I/3, 8, 15, 18, 22; WTC II/1, 4, 6, 11, 13, 17, 20
Carl Czerny	<i>Le Clavecin bien tempéré ou Préludes et Fugues dans tous les tons et demi-tons sur les modes majeurs et mineurs / par Jean Sebastien Bach. Edition nouvelle soigneusement revue, corrigée et doigtée ainsi que pourvue de notifications sur l'exécution et sur les mesures des temps (d'après le métronome de Maelzel) et accompagnée d'une préface / par Charles Czerny</i>	Milan: Ricordi, [1892], Pl.-No: 95452, 95453	WTC I + II

Beniamino Cesi	<i>Il clavicembalo ben temperato: 48 preludi e fughe in tutti i toni maggiori e minori. Parte 1 [2]. / Gio. Seb. Bach</i>	Metodo per lo studio del pianoforte, Composizioni di Gio. Seb. Bach ; raccolte, ordinate e digitate di Beniamino Cesi [vols. 7-8] Milan: Ricordi, [1894], Pl.-No: 100523, 100529	WTC I + II
Bernard Boekelman	<i>Otto fughe dal Clavecin bien tempéré / di J. S. Bach. Con esposizioni analitiche in colore ed annessi schemi armonici per cura di Bern. Boekelman</i>	Milan: Ricordi, 1894-5	8 Fugues (WTC I/1, 3-4, 7, 10, 21-22; WTC II/2)
Bruno Mugellini (Mugellini 1908)	<i>Il clavicembalo ben temperato / Johann Sebastian Bach. Edizione critico-tecnica a cura di Bruno Mugellini</i>	Milan: Carisch, 1908, Pl.-No: 22001, 22002	WTC I + II
Felice Boghen	<i>Il clavicembalo ben temperato / Bach. Revision ed illustrazione di Felice Boghen</i>	Florence: Casa Editrice Musicale Italiana, 1920, Pl.-No: J 7350 H; Milan: Ricordi, 1920	WTC I + II
Alessandro Longo	<i>Il clavicembalo ben temperato: ossia preludi e fughe in tutti i toni e semitoni nei modi maggiori e minori di G. S. Bach. Edizione riveduta e diteggiata da Alessandro Longo</i>	Milan: Ricordi, [1923], Pl.-No: E. R. 190, E. R. 191	WTC I + II
Gino Tagliapietra	<i>Il clavicembalo ben temperato / Bach. Edizione riveduta da Gino Tagliapietra</i>	Milan: Ricordi, 1928-9, Pl.-No: E. R. 807, E. R. 808	WTC I + II
Alessandro Bustini	<i>Il clavicembalo ben temperato: Preludi e fughe / J. S. Bach. [A cura di] Alessandro Bustini</i>	Rome: De Santis, 1935, Pl.-No: E. D. S. 427, E. D. S. 428	WTC I + II
Alfredo Casella (Casella 1946)	<i>Il clavicembalo ben temperato / G. S. Bach. Edizione critico tecnica di Alfredo Casella</i>	Milan: Curci, 1946, Pl.-No: E. 4035 C., E. 4036 C.	WTC I + II
Pietro Montani (Montani 1952)	<i>Il clavicembalo ben temperato: edizione di studio secondo gli originali / Bach. Relatore e coordinator e Montani</i>	Milan: Ricordi, 1952, Pl.-No: E. R. 2375	WTC I + II
Alfredo Casella, rev. Giuseppe Piccioli (Casella/Piccioli)	<i>Il Clavicembalo ben temperato / G. S. Bach. Revisione critico-tecnica di Alfredo Casella. Nuova ristampa a cura di Giuseppe Piccioli</i>	Milano: Edizioni Curci, [©1946], 1955. Ed.-No: 4035, E. 4036 R.; Pl.-No: E. 4035 C., E. 4036 C.	WTC I + II

Table 2: Other editions of J. S. Bach's works, listed in chronological order

<b>Editors (abbreviations)</b>	<b>Title-Page Description</b>	<b>Publication Information</b>	<b>Works Included</b>
Carl Tausig ( <b>Tausig 1869</b> )	<i>Das wohltemperirte Clavier. Ausgewählte Präludien und Fugen / J. S. Bach. Bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Carl Tausig mit einem Vorwort von Louis Ehlert</i>	Berlin: M Bahn, [1869], Pl.-No: 2500	WTC I/1–6, 8, 10–11, 13, 15, 21–22; WTC II/1, 4, 6, 10–12, 18, 24
Ferruccio Busoni ( <b>Busoni 1894</b> )	<i>The Well-Tempered Clavichord by Johann Sebastian Bach. Revised, Annotated, and Provided with Parallel Examples and Suggestions for the Study of Modern Pianoforte-Technique by Ferruccio B. Busoni</i>	New York: G. Schirmer, 1894–7, [issued in 3 parts plus supplement] Pl.-No: 11660, 11661, none, 11658 a	WTC I
Hugo Riemann ( <b>Riemann 1894</b> )	<i>Joh. Seb. Bach's wohltemperiertes Clavier mit Phrasierungs- und Fingersatzbezeichnungen herausgegeben von Dr. Hugo Riemann. Neue sorgfältig revidirte Ausgabe</i>	London: Augener & Co., [1894–6], [issued in 8 parts] Ed.-No: 6011[a-d], 6012[a-d], Pl.-No: 10044, A 65, A 66, A 67, 10516, 10623, A 70, A 71	WTC I + II
Eugen d'Albert ( <b>d'Albert 1906</b> )	<i>Das wohltemperierte Klavier / J. S. Bach. Herausgegeben von Eugen d'Albert. I Teil [and II Teil] mit Bachs Bildnis nach einem Gemälde von G. Hausmann</i>	Instruktive Ausgabe klassischer Klavierwerke, 7.1, 7.2 – Stuttgart: Cotta, [1906, 1907], Ed.-No: Edition Cotta, Nos. 92, 93, Pl.-No: 123, 124	WTC I + II
Ferruccio Busoni ( <b>Busoni 1916</b> )	<i>Das Wohltemperierte Klavier. Erster [and Zweiter] Teil. Bearbeitet und erläutert, mit daran anknüpfenden Beispielen und Anweisungen für das Studium der modernen Klavierspieltechnik von Ferruccio Busoni</i>	Johann Sebastian Bach: Klavierwerke. Busoni-Ausgabe, Band I [and II] – Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1916], Ed.-No: EB 4301, EB 4302, Pl.-No: 27451, 27452	WTC I + II
Donald Francis Tovey ( <b>Tovey 1924</b> )	<i>Forty-Eight Preludes and Fugues / J. S. Bach. Edited by Donald Francis Tovey, fingered by Harold Samuel</i>	London: The Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music, 1924, Pl.-No: A.B.99; A.B.100	WTC I + II
Alfredo Casella ( <b>Casella 1946b</b> )	<i>G. S. Bach., 15 / Invenzioni / a tre voci / (Sinfonie) / per pianoforte. Revisione critico-tecnica di Alfredo Casella</i>	Milan: Edizioni Curci, 1946, Ed.-No: E. 4689 C.	BWV 772–801
Pietro Montani ( <b>Montani 1960</b> )	<i>Bach: 6 Partite per pianoforte (edizione secondo gli originali)</i>	Milan: G. Ricordi & C., 1960, Ed.-No: ER 2628	BWV 825–830

of it either. We are forced to conclude, therefore, that (contrary to legend) it is unlikely that the Thalberg edition ever existed.

However, Stabilimento did issue both the WTC and Clementi's *Gradus* in an edition by Francesco Lanza.<sup>11</sup> Evidence of Lanza's interest in Bach's music is demonstrated by his composition of twenty-four 'pedagogical preludes' in all major and minor keys<sup>12</sup> as a part of his method for the piano. Unfortunately, no copy of Lanza's edition of the WTC has been found, although exemplars of his *Gradus* still survive.<sup>13</sup> It is therefore quite possible that Vitale erroneously attributed Lanza's edition to Thalberg.<sup>14</sup>

In the remainder of this article I will focus on later editions; namely those by Busoni,<sup>15</sup> Mugellini,<sup>16</sup> Casella/Piccioli<sup>17</sup> and Montani.<sup>18</sup> I will compare their versions of the Prelude and Fugue 8 of WTC I with the BGA's text, which was their reference text and formed the basis for their editorial additions. My concern is not with the authenticity of the IEs' text,<sup>19</sup> but rather with the interpretive approach conveyed by the editors' additions to the given text. These will be superimposed in different colours on the BGA, showing the similarities and differences between IEs.

## The editors and their editions

Bruno Mugellini (1871–1912), a celebrated pianist and conductor, edited the WTC in 1908 for both Carisch and Breitkopf.<sup>20</sup> Two years later, he was asked to

<sup>11</sup> I am particularly grateful to Professor Francesca Seller (Conservatory of Salerno) for her help on this point.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Francesco Lanza, *La Scuola del Pianoforte nel Conservatorio di Napoli: 24 preludj in tutti i toni maggiori e minori* (Naples: Stabilimento Musicale Partenopeo and Antica Casa Girard, 1874).

<sup>13</sup> For example in the Library of the Conservatory 'San Pietro a Majella' in Naples, SBN identification code IT\ICCU\NAP\0364162.

<sup>14</sup> Neither of these 'Neapolitan' editions (Thalberg or Lanza) is listed in Albert Riemenschneider, 'A List of the Editions of Bach's Well Tempered Clavier', *Music Library Association Notes for Members*, 14 (1942), 38–45, Judy Ellen Rabin, 'An annotated chronological bibliography of literature and editions of "Das Wohltemperierte Clavier"', MA dissertation, the State University of New York at Binghamton (1975), Giannetti, 'Il Clavicembalo ben temperato', or Bottoni, 'Bach in Italia nell'Ottocento'.

<sup>15</sup> Busoni 1894; Busoni 1916.

<sup>16</sup> Mugellini 1908.

<sup>17</sup> Casella/Piccioli. Giuseppe Piccioli, a former student of Casella, added several modifications and changes to Casella 1946.

<sup>18</sup> Montani 1952.

<sup>19</sup> The textual reliability of these editions has been discussed by Francesco Scarpellini Pancrazi in his study on the authenticity of WTC editions (Scarpellini, 'Edizioni a confronto'): the IEs I will be analysing here are qualified as 'mediocre' and ranked 17th (Busoni) to 24th (Montani). Similar comparisons are found in Cole, 'Bach editions', Levy, 'The Well-Tempered Clavier', Yoo, 'Four performance editions of J. S. Bach's Well-tempered Clavier', Brian Dykstra, 'The Interpretation of Bach's Well-Tempered Clavier, Book One: a Study in Diversity', DMA dissertation, University of Rochester (1969), and Willard Palmer (ed.), *Johann Sebastian Bach, The Well-Tempered Clavier, vol. I* (Los Angeles: Alfred Publishing Company, 1990).

<sup>20</sup> Giannetti, 'Il Clavicembalo ben temperato', p. 128; cf. Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini, 'Johann Sebastian Bach: Musik in Italien im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert', in Wolfgang Rehm (ed.), *Bachiana et alia musicologica: Festschrift Alfred Dürr* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1983), pp. 301–24, here p. 313.

cooperate with Busoni and Petri on the so-called 'Busoni Ausgabe' (BA).<sup>21</sup> It should be emphasised that, although the title-pages of many volumes of the BA mention Petri's and Mugellini's cooperation, this edition is a collective work only inasmuch as the three editors each contributed individual volumes. Busoni's edition of WTC I had been published by Schirmer (1894–95) in English; German versions were issued both by Fr. Hofmeister in Leipzig (following an agreement with Schirmer) and by Universal Edition in Vienna.<sup>22</sup> At first, Breitkopf suggested that their publication of Mugellini's edition of WTC should be incorporated within the BA; however, Busoni argued that no collection of Bach's keyboard works under his own name could include a WTC edition by another musician.<sup>23</sup> Only in 1910 did Mugellini actually begin his cooperation with the BA, on Busoni's suggestion,<sup>24</sup> and the WTC edition of the BA is by Busoni himself in 1916.<sup>25</sup>

After Mugellini's untimely death in 1912, Breitkopf feared that publication of the BA would be interrupted and asked Busoni to divide the works originally assigned to Mugellini between Petri and himself in order to issue eighteen volumes of the edition as soon as possible. Busoni was not enthusiastic about this proposal, since he was more interested in composition at that time; nevertheless, after prolonged discussion, it was agreed that Busoni and Petri would complete the work, but—as compensation—Breitkopf would also publish Busoni's Bach arrangements and elaborations.<sup>26</sup> This was to be the 'Bach-Busoni. Gesammelte Ausgabe' (BBGA), which was published by Breitkopf & Härtel in six volumes in 1916. The seventh volume was added in 1920. This edition comprises the two volumes of the WTC plus five other volumes of transcriptions, arrangements and compositions after Bach.<sup>27</sup>

Of the twenty-five volumes of the BA, only nine were edited by Busoni;<sup>28</sup> his supervision of the remainder was very limited. To Vianna da Motta's enquiries about the extent of Petri's and Mugellini's cooperation with Busoni for their

<sup>21</sup> *Johann Sebastian Bach, Joh. Seb. Bach. Klavierwerke unter Mitwirkung von Egon Petri und Bruno Mugellini. Herausgegeben von Ferruccio Busoni* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1916–1923), Ed.-Nos: EB 4301 – EB 4325.

<sup>22</sup> However, Busoni claimed in his letter dated 14 June 1910 that the Universal Edition had been issued 'behind his back'. See Eva Hanau (ed.), *Ferruccio Busoni im Briefwechsel mit seinem Verlag Breitkopf & Härtel* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2012), vol. I, p. 418, letter 556.

<sup>23</sup> See his letter dated 17 February 1913 repr. in Hanau (ed.), *Ferruccio Busoni im Briefwechsel*, vol. I, p. 572, letter 757.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Martina Weindel (ed.), *Ferruccio Busoni: Briefe an Henri, Katharina und Egon Petri* (Wilhelmshaven: Florian Noetzel Verlag, 1999), p. 119, letter from Busoni to Petri dated 15 July 1910; cf. Giannetti, 'Il Clavicembalo ben temperato', p. 13, and Bottoni, 'Bach in Italia nell'Ottocento', 163.

<sup>25</sup> Giannetti, 'Il Clavicembalo ben temperato', p. 51.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Weindel (ed.), *Ferruccio Busoni*, pp. 368–9. Since Petri's enthusiasm for editing was particularly scanty, as the letters show, it seems slightly unfair that he had to pay for Busoni's publications with his share of editing.

<sup>27</sup> Weindel (ed.), *Ferruccio Busoni*, pp. 346–7. Cf. the letters between Busoni and Breitkopf & Härtel, February/December 1913.

<sup>28</sup> I.e. vols. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 14, 15, 16 and 18.



'joint' edition,<sup>29</sup> Busoni replied that he claimed no right to Petri's work, and that each one of the three editors was the only one responsible for the pieces he had edited. Busoni added that the larger print adopted for his own surname on the title-page was a 'trick' of the publisher.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, some letters from Busoni to Petri (1916–17) demonstrate that Busoni did not see Petri's editions before they were printed.<sup>31</sup>

The long time which elapsed between Busoni's editions of WTC I and WTC II is just one of the discontinuities between the two volumes.<sup>32</sup> The former had in fact the objective of providing a kind of a school of piano technique, with added studies and exercises which 'surpass what is necessary to play Bach';<sup>33</sup> the latter dealt rather with compositional technique<sup>34</sup> (or 'mechanism', as Busoni once wrote).<sup>35</sup> Fingering and technical suggestions are very rarely found in Busoni's edition of WTC II, whereas it has 'richer material as concerns compositional and aesthetic information'.<sup>36</sup>

The elements of proximity between Busoni and Czerny have often been pointed out. Although Busoni appreciated both Kroll's and Bischoff's editions, Giannetti's most direct source of inspiration is Czerny's.<sup>37</sup> For Carruthers, 'more than remnants of Czerny's style are evident' in Busoni's edition, and he 'adopts and even amplifies some of Czerny's suggestions'.<sup>38</sup> Rattalino maintains that

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Christine Wassermann Beirão (ed.), *Ferruccio Busoni, José Vianna da Motta: Briefwechsel 1898–1921* (Wilhelmshaven: Florian Noetzel Verlag, 2004), p. 89, letter from Vianna da Motta to Busoni, 10 October 1916.

<sup>30</sup> Beirão (ed.), *Ferruccio Busoni, José Vianna da Motta*, p. 125, letter from Busoni to Vianna da Motta, 8 June 1917.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Busoni's letters to Petri (5 October 1916 and 11 July 1917 respectively). Moreover, once Breitkopf & Härtel asked Busoni to translate into Italian some footnotes to Petri's editions, but without sending him either the edited score, or the musical references/examples to which Petri's commentaries referred. Cf. Weindel (ed.), *Ferruccio Busoni*, p. 260.

<sup>32</sup> There has been a wide-spread misunderstanding among Busoni scholars that Breitkopf published the Busoni edition of WTC I in 1894, the confusion originating from the dates given in both the preface and the copyright statement on p. 2 of the Breitkopf edition claiming the use of Schirmer's text. The actual publication date of 1916 can be established from studying the series number of Edition Breitkopf (4301), plate number (27451), an entry in Hofmeister's *Monatsbericht* (June 1916) and a letter from Breitkopf & Härtel to Busoni dated 10 August 1916 that notifies the shipment of a bound copy of WTC I to him. Hanau (ed.), *Ferruccio Busoni im Briefwechsel*, vol. II, p. 158, letter 1145. Note that Busoni's WTC II volume was published in 1916 for the first time by Breitkopf & Härtel as part of BA.

<sup>33</sup> Yoo, 'Four performance editions of J. S. Bach's Well-tempered Clavier', p. 104.

<sup>34</sup> Erinn Elizabeth Knyt, 'Ferruccio Busoni and the Ontology of the Musical Work: Permutations and Possibilities', PhD dissertation, Stanford University (2010), p. 128.

<sup>35</sup> Weindel (ed.), *Ferruccio Busoni*, p. 108, letter from Busoni to Petri, 16 August 1909.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Günter Reinhold, 'Das Wohltemperierte Klavier von Johann Sebastian Bach in der Ausgabe von Ferruccio Busoni', in *Johann Sebastian Bach. Dokumentation 2000/2001* (Düsseldorf: Staccato-Verlag, 2002), pp. 87–99, here p. 95.

<sup>37</sup> Giannetti, 'Il Clavicembalo ben temperato', p. 53. For Vianna da Motta, Czerny's edition was the 'botching' invariably brought to piano lessons by students; he therefore complained about the unavailability of Busoni's edition in French. Beirão (ed.), *Ferruccio Busoni, José Vianna da Motta*, p. 82, letter from José Vianna da Motta to Busoni, 26 September 1916.

<sup>38</sup> Glen Carruthers, 'Bach and the Piano: Editions, Arrangements and Transcriptions from Czerny to Rachmaninov', PhD dissertation, University of Victoria, British Columbia (1986), p. 64.

Busoni's Bach editions are part of the Czerny/Tausig tradition, of which Busoni is both a 'qualified continuer and [an] innovator'.<sup>39</sup> Levy expresses a similar opinion: for him, Busoni's understanding of Bach's keyboard music is based on his perception of a chain of tradition linking Bach to Beethoven, Beethoven (via Czerny) to Liszt and hence to Wagner, and finally, Liszt and Wagner to Busoni himself, and to the pianism of his own time.<sup>40</sup>

The most important similarity between Czerny and Busoni, in my opinion, is their quest for a truly pianistic rendition of Bach's works,<sup>41</sup> seeking a middle way between excessive objectivity and subjectivity<sup>42</sup> and aiming at an interpretation for listeners, for the audience. For Bottoni, the difference in style between Czerny's and Busoni's editions represents an evolution rather than a revolution: '[Busoni's] indications suggest the same interpretive ideals, although they are made extreme'.<sup>43</sup> In my opinion, this is a slightly simplistic statement. Indeed, both Busoni and Czerny share the concept of a public rendition of the WTC;<sup>44</sup> nevertheless, their opinions differ on how to realise an enhancement of Bach's effect in public performance: Busoni's codas are mostly in *f* whereas Czerny prefers *ritardando* and piano.<sup>45</sup> Another important difference lies in Czerny's extensive use of *legato*, whereas Busoni was the first to use frequently the expression '*non troppo legato*'.<sup>46</sup>

Busoni's edition finds justification for its interpretive choices in the score and in its analysis. It is not mere objectivity, since the analysis is partially subjective in turn and – in contrast to Riemann<sup>47</sup> – both analysis and creative interpretation coexist in Busoni. Thus his interpretations anticipated many discoveries of the authenticity movement: for example, Busoni's treatment of rhythm and dynamics was much straighter than Leschetitzky's,<sup>48</sup> and Busoni's IE was appreciated by Albert Schweitzer<sup>49</sup> and Ralph Kirkpatrick,<sup>50</sup> two musicians whose approach to baroque performance was radically different from his own.

<sup>39</sup> Piero Rattalino, *Pianisti e Fortisti: Viaggio fra gli interpreti alla tastiera* (Florence: Giunti Ricordi, 1990), pp. 512–13.

<sup>40</sup> Levy, 'The Well-Tempered Clavier', p. 29.

<sup>41</sup> Ferruccio Busoni, 'Von der Übertragung Bach'scher Orgelwerken auf das Pianoforte', in Busoni 1916, *Heft IV: Erster Anhang zum I. Bande*; Italian translation by Laura Dallapiccola and Fedele D'Amico, edited by Fedele D'Amico, as *Sulla trascrizione per pianoforte delle opere per organo di Bach* (Milan: Il Saggiatore, 1977), p. 62 and footnote; cf. Glen Carruthers, 'Subjectivity, Objectivity and the Authenticity in Nineteenth-Century Bach Interpretation', *Canadian University Review* 12/1 (1992), 95–112, here 107–8.

<sup>42</sup> Carruthers, 'Subjectivity, Objectivity and the Authenticity in Nineteenth-Century Bach Interpretation', 107.

<sup>43</sup> Bottoni, 'Bach in Italia nell'Ottocento', 154.

<sup>44</sup> Piero Rattalino, *Ferruccio Busoni: Il mercuriale* (Varese: Zecchini editore, 2007), pp. 121–7.

<sup>45</sup> Giannetti, 'Il Clavicembalo ben temperato', p. 54.

<sup>46</sup> Carruthers, 'Bach and the Piano', p. 33.

<sup>47</sup> Rattalino, *Ferruccio Busoni*, pp. 82–3: Busoni's edition is 'lively', Riemann's is 'tiresome'.

<sup>48</sup> Grigory [Grigorij Mihajlovič] Kogan (Григорий Михайлович Коган), *Ferruccio Busoni (Ферруччо Бүзони)* (Moscow: Sovetskij Kompozitor, 1971); English translation by Svetlana Belsky as *Busoni as Pianist* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2010), p. 43.

<sup>49</sup> Schweitzer appreciated Busoni's editions, as his 'interpretation' of the works, although their respective ideas on 'the permissible limits of modernisation of Bach's music' were different.

Although Busoni's editions were not as frequently used as others in Italy, they were enormously influential on subsequent Italian IEs, as the graphical analyses show. Later editors often admitted their appreciation of Busoni's edition: for Casella, it 'dominates' all other editions<sup>51</sup> and Busoni's interpretive suggestions were largely transferred into Casella's edition. It is also interesting to observe that the quantity of shared indications between Busoni's and Mugellini's editions changes substantially between WTC I and WTC II: Mugellini's WTC I was in fact published after Busoni's,<sup>52</sup> whereas Busoni's WTC II was issued after Mugellini's death. The influence of Riemann's theories and graphic solutions is recognisable in Mugellini's (and Busoni's<sup>53</sup>) occasional rebarring of Bach's original scoring.<sup>54</sup>

In the WTC edition by Alfredo Casella (1883–1947), which was one of the most used in Italy during the twentieth century, the interpretive concept is indebted to Busoni's,<sup>55</sup> whereas the notes are (declaredly) taken from the BGA. Casella believed this to be 'infallible'<sup>56</sup> and 'perfect as regards authenticity', making therefore his own edition 'irreproachable [...] in this respect'.<sup>57</sup> Casella often used pre-existing Urtexts as the basis for his additions, partly because the absence of added indications left space (even from the physical viewpoint) for his own remarks.<sup>58</sup>

Albert Schweitzer, *J. S. Bach*, English translation by Ernest Newman (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1911), vol. I, p. 382.

<sup>50</sup> Kirkpatrick had 'profound sympathy and respect for Busoni's editions', considering them as 'the work of an extraordinary musical mind'. Ralph Kirkpatrick, *Interpreting Bach's 'Well-Tempered Clavier': A Performer's Discourse of Method* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), p. 19.

<sup>51</sup> Alfredo Casella, *Il pianoforte*, 4th edn (Milan: Ricordi, 1954), pp. 173–7; cf. *ibid.*, p. 83 and 187.

<sup>52</sup> Indeed, Busoni asserted in his letter to Breitkopf dated 17 February 1913 that Mugellini had 'plundered' ('geplündert') his edition of WTC I when preparing his own. See Hanau (ed.), *Ferruccio Busoni im Briefwechsel*, vol. I, p. 572.

<sup>53</sup> In his letter to Petri of 12 April 1915, Busoni states that he consulted Riemann's edition 'out of scruple' while preparing his own edition of WTC II, and that it 'enthralled' him. However, he added a German equivalent of 'the higher you climb the harder you fall'. Weindel (ed.), *Ferruccio Busoni*, p. 237.

<sup>54</sup> Giannetti 'Il Clavicembalo ben temperato', pp. 25 and 27.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Bertoglio, 'Instructive Editions of Bach's Wohltemperirtes Klavier', pp. 326–8, for a quantitative study of shared indications between the various editions under analysis.

<sup>56</sup> Casella, *Il pianoforte*, p. 173; cf. pp. 173–7.

<sup>57</sup> 'Preface' in Casella 1946. When Giuseppe Piccioli edited a reprint (with his own metronome indications) of Casella's WTC IE in 1955, he added that the text had been 'compared with the original edition of the Bach-Gesellschaft and in certain places with Altnickol's manuscript copies. Therefore, no doubt about its authenticity'.

<sup>58</sup> 'This edition, having nothing but the original text, is the most useful, so that one can do the [editing] task [directly] with red ink'. Alfredo Casella, *Letter to Ricordi*, 4 December 1915. Courtesy of the Fondazione Giorgio Cini ONLUS, Venice [Ref.: L1524]; cf. Alfredo Casella (ed.), *Sonate per pianoforte di L. van Beethoven / Nuova edizione critica, riveduta e corretta da Alfredo Casella* (Milan: G. Ricordi & C., 1919); Francesco Scarpellini Pancrazi, 'Il testo della Waldstein-Sonate di Beethoven e la sua fortuna editoriale', *Quaderni di Esercizi (Arte, Musica, Spettacolo)* (Perugia: Università di Perugia, 1986), pp. 127–8. Similarly, Philip Lorenz reports that Arrau used a 'whited' edition as the basis for his own Beethoven's edition. Joseph Horowitz, *Conversations with Arrau* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), p. 208.

Indeed, for Casella the BGA could be used for performance only by 'fully mature musicians'.<sup>59</sup> Bach's 'mere text' was 'evidently insufficient' for the students (and for most teachers, apparently);<sup>60</sup> it had therefore to be 'equipped' with editorial indications, which are 'indispensable for a pupil's studies':<sup>61</sup> among them, fingering, ornamentation, pedalling, dynamics and expression indications.

With regard to performance elements, Casella did not wish to add too many dynamic marks: in Bach, he stated, these are determined by 'architecture' and not by 'sentiment' as in Beethoven.<sup>62</sup> On the other hand, Casella deplored the misleading pedalling indications of 'popular editions', and not their presence per se: 'precise' pedalling indications are the 'starting point for flying on one's own wings', and the ban of pedalling from Bach performance on the piano is a 'false tradition'.<sup>63</sup>

For Casella, Bach's works were the best training for *legato*, as in no other music had the *legato* style a comparable 'function, expressivity and eloquence',<sup>64</sup> and the aim of his IE's fingering was to be 'complete and such as to make a perfect organ-like *legato*'.<sup>65</sup> Therefore, and rather paradoxically, *legato* indications are not numerous in his edition: since the '*legato* style [...] always predominates in Bach [and] is self-evident', the editor suppressed many slurs for the sake of readability.<sup>66</sup>

Indeed, Casella admitted that this ideal *legato* could be obtained with the help of pedalling: 'therefore, much freer fingerings become possible, with fingers strictly adhering to the melody's phrasing requirements'.<sup>67</sup> Nonetheless, in his IE, the editor's fingering is 'deliberately arduous and pedagogical',<sup>68</sup> since it has the educational objective of providing a phrasing model. Similarly, Casella showed through fingerings the 'correct' realisation of ornaments, although on very empiric criteria (since tradition is 'dim', 'living art' should be favoured to 'cold and hypothetic archaeology')<sup>69</sup>: the editor's duty is to leave neither 'uncertainty' nor 'excuses' to students using his edition.<sup>70</sup>

For the purposes of this article, however, a further element of Casella's fingering approach should be pointed out. In the 'Preface' to his WTC, he admits that 'most of this fingering is similar to Busoni's', adding that it is also his 'own

<sup>59</sup> Casella, *Il pianoforte*, pp. 173–7; cf. 'Preface', in Alfredo Casella (ed.), *Mozart. Sonate e Fantasie per pianoforte* (Milan: G. Ricordi & C., 1949), Ed.-No: ER 2624.

<sup>60</sup> 'Preface', in Casella (ed.), *Sonate per pianoforte di L. van Beethoven*.

<sup>61</sup> 'Preface', in Casella 1946. Scalvati remarks that Casella's IEs are rather 'didactical' than 'interpretive', since they are useful for both 'teacher and student', and both on 'the pedagogic and the aesthetic field': Scalvati, 'Alfredo Casella revisore e le edizioni Curci', p. 26.

<sup>62</sup> 'Preface', in Casella 1946.

<sup>63</sup> This and the preceding quotations are taken from Casella, *Il pianoforte*, p. 135.

<sup>64</sup> Casella, *Il pianoforte*, p. 101.

<sup>65</sup> 'Preface', in Casella 1946.

<sup>66</sup> 'Preface', in Casella 1946b.

<sup>67</sup> Casella, *Il pianoforte*, p. 143.

<sup>68</sup> Scalvati, 'Alfredo Casella revisore e le edizioni Curci', p. 27.

<sup>69</sup> 'Preface', in Casella 1946b.

<sup>70</sup> 'Preface', in Casella 1946; 'Preface', in Casella 1946b.

personal fingering, resulting from years of experience'.<sup>71</sup> This statement is highly significant: as a pianist, Casella was so influenced by Busoni's edition that the fingerings it suggests became his own; later they passed into his own edition. Casella's statement demonstrates how IEs may influence performance and even the creation of subsequent IEs. It should be mentioned that Casella's edition enjoyed its greatest success in a later reprint with additions by his student Giuseppe Piccioli. In Piccioli's words, his interventions consist 'only in certain practical details', including the realisation of embellishments and the insertion of metronome markings 'following the best German tradition'. Piccioli also claims to have 'confronted ... again' the text with 'the original edition of the Bach-Gesellschaft and in certain places [!] with Altnikol's manuscript'.<sup>72</sup>

On the other hand, the pianist, teacher and editor Pietro Montani (1895–1967) had a very different approach to editing. His criteria are highly subjective, as stated in his own 'Preface' to the WTC: his edition is the result of 'personal experience' in consultation with the 'best-known Bach experts'. All elements of editing were 'compared' with the 'original' (Montani does not explain what he means by 'original') and 'eventually established according to the least questionable aesthetic and pedagogical rules',<sup>73</sup> a statement which may simply mean that the editor's taste had the last word.

This was not uncommon, of course; however, the most problematic aspect of Montani's edition is its terminological ambiguity. In the editor's words, it is free from the 'usual sea of dynamic and agogic signs, footnotes [...] and descriptive affectations such as *swaying*, *pensive*, *affettuoso*', mirroring the modern Urtext-trend. He continues by stating that the original text needs the addition of nothing but 'proven fingerings, precise tempo and metronome indications, well-considered phrasing and what is really necessary for a good school':<sup>74</sup> which is a very long list for an edition with Urtext ambitions, especially since Montani's text is actually very unreliable.<sup>75</sup>

Montani aimed at a 'neutral edition', which could suit both pianists and harpsichordists without 'preventing personal interpretation' as other IEs did; users of his edition were given a 'frame' within which to exploit the peculiar resources of their instrument. From the interpretive viewpoint, Montani had a rationalistic concept of Bach, claiming that Bach's 'abstractedness [...] avoids any sensory gratification' in dynamics, and that 'every good drawing has the right colour inside itself',<sup>76</sup> which accounts for Bach's 'supremely intellectual sound geometry'.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>71</sup> 'Preface', in Casella 1946b. Cf. László Somfai, 'Nineteenth-Century Ideas Developed in Bartók's Piano Notation, 1907–1914', in Joseph Kerman (ed.), *Music at the turn of the Century: a Nineteenth-Century Music Reader* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 181–200, here p. 189, on the influence of Tausig's edition on Bartók.

<sup>72</sup> Piccioli's 'Preface' to Casella/Piccioli.

<sup>73</sup> Montani 1952, p. i.

<sup>74</sup> 'Preface', in Montani 1960.

<sup>75</sup> Scarpellini, 'Il testo della Waldstein-Sonate di Beethoven', p. 168.

<sup>76</sup> Perhaps Montani was quoting the Italian artist De Pisis here; cf. Filippo De Pisis, *All'ombra delle modelle in fiore*, available online at [archiviostorico.corriere.it/2001/giugno/30/PISIS\\_All\\_ombra\\_delle\\_modelle\\_co\\_0\\_01063011040.shtml](http://archiviostorico.corriere.it/2001/giugno/30/PISIS_All_ombra_delle_modelle_co_0_01063011040.shtml) (accessed 13 October 2013).

<sup>77</sup> 'Preface', in Montani 1960.

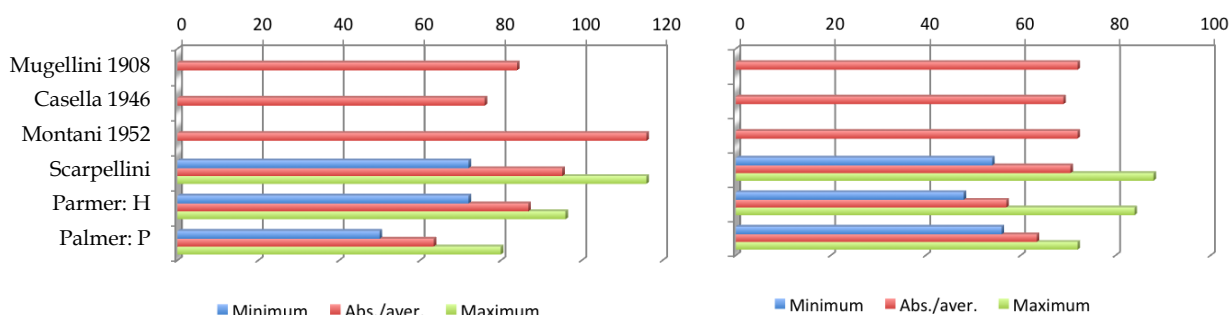
## Prelude and Fugue n. 8 (WTC I)

In order to highlight the relationships between different IEs of the same work, all added indications by the four editors under analysis are quoted on the BGA's text (see Figures 1–4): this allows immediate comparison and – sometimes – the identification of tradition genealogies.

The following graphs and tables provide a short summary of some data gathered from the graphical analyses: a detailed discussion is available in my dissertation.<sup>78</sup> Table 3 and Graph 1 relate the tempo and metronome indications found in the IEs with those resulting from Scarpellini Pancrazi's and Palmer's comparisons:

Source	Prelude		Fugue	
	Absolute or average value	Range limit	Absolute or average value	Range limit
Mugellini 1908	[84] (42 for the minim)		72	
Casella 1946	76		69	
Montani 1952	[116] (58 for the minim)		72	
Scarpellini	(ca. 95.2)	72-116	(ca. 70.5)	54-88
Palmer: harpsichordists	(ca 86.8)	72-96	(57)	48-84
Palmer: pianists	(ca. 63.4)	50-80	(63.4)	56-72

Table 3: Metronomic ranges for Prelude and Fugue 8, WTC I



Graph 1: Metronomic ranges for Prelude and Fugue 8, WTC I

As shown by the tempo comparisons, rather predictably, metronomic tempi in recordings made by harpsichordists are normally quicker than in those realised by pianists;<sup>79</sup> surprisingly, tempi in IEs are even quicker.

<sup>78</sup> Bertoglio, 'Instructive Editions of Bach's Wohltemperirtes Klavier', pp. 207–69 and 321–43.

<sup>79</sup> The reasons for this predictability are (a) acoustical (the sound vanishes more quickly on the harpsichord and therefore very slow tempi cannot be applied) and (b) cultural (although pianists might decide to choose quicker tempi to pay homage to historically informed performance, their knowledge in this field is normally inferior to the harpsichordists').

**Busoni - Mugellini**  
**Casella - Montani**  
*weich, zart*

### PRAELUDIUM VIII.

*pp pp dolcissimo*  
*dolcissimo, una corda*

*espress. poco espress. sentito*

*mf etwas voller poco più spinto*

*voller f*

*dim.*

*mit breitem Ton*

*violente*

*mf mf*

*tr. tr.*

*ten. dim.*

*con larga espressione*

*f*

*3 corde marc.*

*arisc. steigend. cresc.*

*mf cresc.*

*f non legato*

*f largamente più deciso ma sempre largamente sempre f*

*non legato senza Pedale*

*oder ohne Pedal*

③ C, Mu, Ho:

④ B:

⑤ C, Mu, Ho:

⑥

⑦ B:

⑧ B: rh Eb: o. lh arp. in full

⑨

⑩

⑪

⑫

⑬

⑭

⑮

Figure 1: Bach, WTC I, Prelude 8, page 1

The image displays a handwritten musical score for the second page of Bach's Well-Tempered Clavier I, Prelude No. 8. The score is heavily annotated with performance instructions and dynamic markings in various colors (purple, green, red, blue). The main score consists of six systems of music, each with a treble and bass clef staff. The annotations include:

- System 1:** 'Mu.', 'B', 'C, Mo.', 'od.', 'C, Mo., Mu.', '33'.
- System 2:** 'molto dim.', 'fz', 'p', 'dim.', 'p', 'piu dim.', 'dim. dolce', 'Ped. (wie oben)', 'non troppo legato'.
- System 3:** 'cresc. subito', 'pp', 'mf', 'f', 'dramatico', 'f deciso', 'f solenne', 'espress. intenso', 'appassionato', 'ritenuto', 'Ped.', 'fz. ten.', 'dolce', 'P', 'P', 'espress.', 'pp'.
- System 4:** 'pp', 'pp', 'sottovoce', 'misterioso', 'marc.', 'cresc. un poco', 'allargando'.
- System 5:** 'espress. liberamente', 'mf', 'f', '3 corde', 'un poco largam.', 'f poco ardente', 'a tempo', 'pp', 'pp', 'dolcissimo', 'dolce', 'ppp una corda', 'Ped.', 'rall.', 'mp', 'dim.', 'ppp'.
- System 6:** 'd', 'B.W. XIV.', 'B: rh, Cp: et d.', 'Mu.', 'Mo.', 'C.', 'Mu.', '(40)'.

At the bottom, there are two smaller diagrams labeled 'b' and 'd'. Diagram 'b' shows a sequence of notes: Mu., Mo., C. Diagram 'd' shows a sequence of notes: Mu., Mu.

Figure 2: Bach, WTC I, Prelude 8, page 2



31

*p* mezza voce  
*p* senza coloriti, come organo  
a 3 *p* legato, senza coloriti  
*p* sotto voce ed incoloro

### FUGA VIII.

*f* meno *f*  
un poco più di voce

5

*sempre legatissimo*  
*legato*

*mf dolce*      *poco espress.*

*sempre legatissimo*

*cresc. poco al poco*      *poco*

15

*più distintamente*  
*mf*

*un poco più di voce*  
*più marc.*

20

*molto dolce*      *molto espr.*      *dim.*

25

30

*mf*      *mf*

35

*cresc.*      *dim.*      *dim.*

40

B.W. V. 1.

*f*  
*p* ma marc.  
*p* araramente

Figure 3: Bach, WTC I, Fugue 8, page 1

The image shows a handwritten musical score for the second page of Fugue 8 from the Well-Tempered Clavier, Book I, by J.S. Bach. The score is written in G major and 3/4 time. It features two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The score is annotated with various performance instructions and dynamics in green and purple ink. At the top, three circled letters (a, b, c) are placed above specific musical phrases. The score is divided into measures, with measure numbers 45, 50, 55, 60, 65, 70, 75, and 80 clearly marked. Annotations include dynamics such as *mf espress.*, *marc.*, *cresc. cresc.*, *molto marcato*, *marcato*, *molto marcato*, *f marcato*, *f di ruoto*, *meno f*, *meno f*, *espres.*, *dim. dim.*, *molto marcato*, *f marcato*, *p*, and *ff*. Performance directions include *sa tempo f subito*, *largamente*, *sempre f*, *molto marcato*, *marcato*, *molto marcato*, *cresc. a poco a poco*, *espres.*, *molto marcato*, *f marcato*, *f di ruoto*, *allarg.*, and *allargando*. The piece concludes with the signature "B.W. XIV." and a final *ff* dynamic marking.

Figure 4: Bach, WTC I, Fugue 8, page 2

As concerns the interpretive style, Hamilton rightly points out how this Prelude brings Busoni's theories to a contradiction: whereas he seemed to be a 'complete opponent of the striving after *cantabile* effects'<sup>80</sup> in his discussion of Prelude 6 of WTC I,<sup>81</sup> in this instance he goes so far as to state that 'the soprano ought fairly to "sing"'.<sup>82</sup>

Casella's passionate remarks try to convey the editor's admiration for and concept of this piece through superlatives ('sublime', 'complete and perfect') and examples taken from other cultural fields—philosophy, religion ('mystical and religious atmosphere'; a 'biblical' procession), visual art ('Grecian' purity of lines, Giotto's 'Descent from the Cross' at Padua's Scrovegni chapel) and theatre ('tragedy' of the 'unusual and gloomy key', 'pathetic and dramatic recitation')<sup>83</sup>.

In the four editions under analysis, trills and mordents are almost always<sup>84</sup> realised from the main note; however, the peculiar musical qualities of this Prelude, which was very often seen as an anticipation of romanticism, may have fostered romanticised interpretations in a much earlier work (Busoni mentioned Chopin explicitly in his remarks to this Prelude). The Fugue is transposed by all but Mugellini into E-flat minor;<sup>85</sup> for Busoni, it is the most important of the first eight of WTC I<sup>86</sup> and possibly of the entire first volume. Casella's commentary is descriptive and reveals the editor's agreement with a 'teleological' concept of the Fugue,<sup>87</sup> oriented 'towards the final catharsis'. This concept inspires Casella's dynamic choices, as the 'one real *forte* of the piece is only reached in the final thematic synthesis (bar 77ff.): the 'catharsis' must be draped with adequate solemnity. Curiously, in a contrapuntal work such as a fugue Casella suggests stressing 'the Wagnerian chord' (bar 83), which 'gives one a glimpse, in the germ, of the scene of the Norns in the Prologue to the *Götterdämmerung*'<sup>88</sup> (which is both an anachronistic and a harmonic concept).

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Kenneth L. Hamilton, *After the Golden Age: Romantic Pianism and Modern Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 163–6.

<sup>81</sup> Busoni 1894, WTC I, Prelude 6. Cf. discussion of Busoni's not-too-espressivo performance in Kogan, *Busoni as Pianist*, p. 38ff.

<sup>82</sup> Busoni 1894, p. 48. Cf. Tovey, for whom one should not approach Bach through Czerny and Clementi but rather through Mozart and Chopin, because the only other way to phrase Bach naturally is to sing it. 'Preface', in Tovey 1924.

<sup>83</sup> 'Preface' to Prelude 8 of WTC I in Casella 1946.

<sup>84</sup> Mugellini 1908, bb. 14 and 29; Mugellini 1908 and Montani 1952, b. 19: from the upper note.

<sup>85</sup> For Casella, it would be a 'pointless trouble' for the student were the piece printed in the original key ('Preface' to Fugue 8, WTC I, in Casella 1946).

<sup>86</sup> Casella quotes Busoni's statement, but imprecisely translates Busoni's 'Heft' as 'volume': volume I (WTC I) of Busoni's edition was issued in four separate booklets. Busoni actually states that Fugue 8 of WTC I was 'the most important in the volume -- perhaps in the whole volume 1' (die bedeutendste des Heftes und vielleicht des ganzen ersten Bandes überhaupt). Busoni 1916, p. 50.

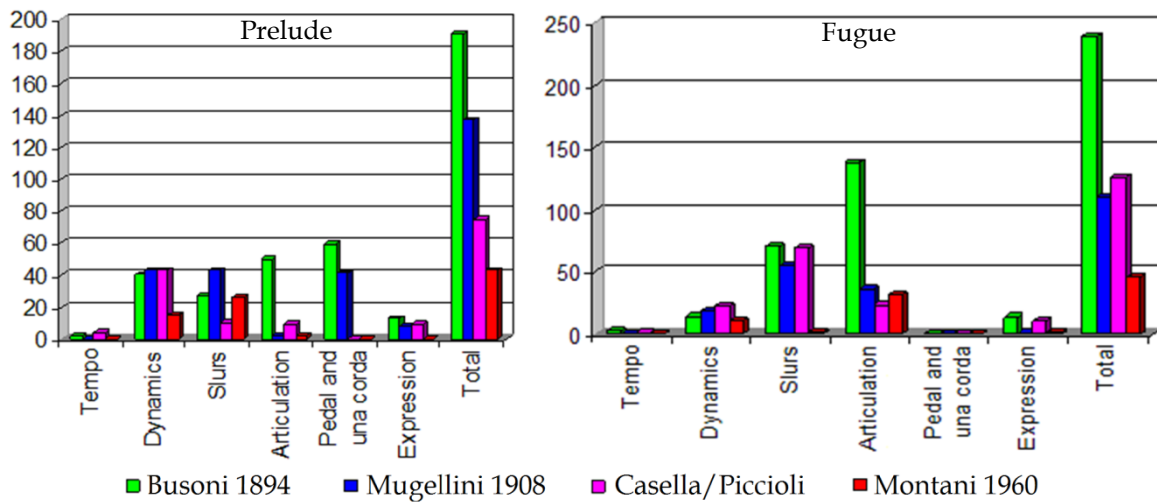
<sup>87</sup> Cf. Matthew Charles Dirst, 'Bach's Well-Tempered Clavier in Musical Thought and Practice, 1750-1850', PhD dissertation, Stanford University (1996), p. 130; Bertoglio, 'Instructive Editions of Bach's Wohltemperirtes Klavier', Chapter Five.

<sup>88</sup> 'Preface' to Fugue 8, WTC I, in Casella 1946.

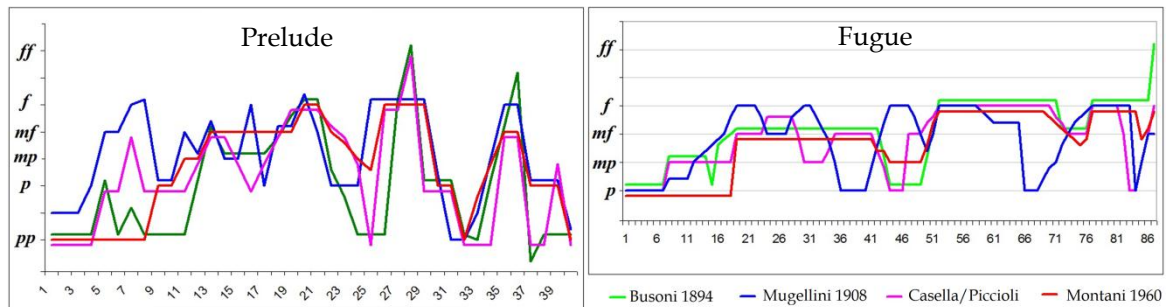
The expressive quality of this Prelude and Fugue encouraged the addition of many interpretive indications by the editors, as summarised in Table 4 and Graph 2. Dynamic trends are shown in Graph 3.

Sources	Tempo		Dynamics		Slurs		Articulation		Pedal/1c		Expression		Total		
	P	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	P	F	Total
Busoni 1894	2	3	40	14	27	70	50	138	59	0	13	14	191	239	430
Mugellini 1908	0	0	43	19	43	55	2	36	41	0	8	1	137	111	248
Casella/Piccioli	4	1	43	22	10	69	9	23	0	0	9	11	75	126	201
Montani 1960	0	0	15	11	26	2	2	31	0	0	0	2	43	46	89

Table 4: Number of added indications in Prelude and Fugue 8, WTC I



Graph 2: Number of added indications in Bach, WTC I, Prelude and Fugue 8



Graph 3: Dynamic trends in Bach, WTC I, Prelude and Fugue 8

In Busoni, almost all melodic fourths and fifths have *appoggiatos*, especially but not exclusively in the subject,<sup>89</sup> these intervals therefore acquire a motivic value. In bar 39, left hand (lh), he highlights the characterising fourth (Figure 5).



Figure 5: Bach, WTC I, Fugue 8, bar 39 (Busoni)

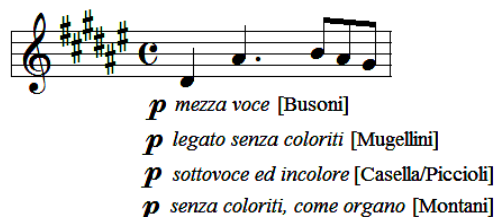
<sup>89</sup> Friskin and Freundlich defined Busoni's articulation for this Fugue as the only non sensible phrasing in his entire edition. James Friskin and Irwin Freundlich, *Music for the piano* (New York: Dover, 1973), p. 52.

This introduces a fourth part in the texture and produces an odd syncopation; however, it makes clear the thinly disguised inversion of the answer, already identified in his analysis. At the end (bar 86ff.) he doubles the bass in lower octaves, adding a chordal filling in the last bar:<sup>90</sup> this combination with *ff* and *allargando* produces a powerful, effective and Busonian conclusion.<sup>91</sup> His phrasing, sometimes hardly realisable, is, however, consistently deduced from formal analysis.

Mugellini always highlights the subject with slurs (except at bar 36), both to help with visualisation of the form and for musical reasons: his slurring of WTC Fugues is always abundant, corresponding to the shared concept of Bach's polyphony as the best training in *legato*.<sup>92</sup> His slurs cross often (because of the coincidence of concluding and starting notes), resulting in a continuous *legato*. Casella/Piccioli's slurs are similarly numerous, but much shorter and more articulated.

## Comparing IEs

The most interesting contribution of graphical analyses to the study of performance practice trends comes from the attempt to trace the IEs' influence on each other. When identical or very similar indications are present, it is likely that an IE became a model for the others, or that there is a general consensus about that detail (determination of the correct option is not always possible). Similar verbal expressions are symptomatic of interdependence:



*p* mezza voce [Busoni]  
*p* legato senza coloriti [Mugellini]  
*p* sottovoce ed incolore [Casella/Piccioli]  
*p* senza coloriti, come organo [Montani]

Figure 6: Bach, WTC I, Fugue 8, bar 1 - Dynamics

Mugellini and Montani's *senza coloriti* (an uncommon expression)<sup>93</sup> corresponds to Casella/Piccioli's *incolore*; Busoni's *mezza voce* is 'quoted' by Casella/Piccioli (*sotto voce*).

<sup>90</sup> Other textual variants, more important for philology but less relevant for the study of performance style and interpretation: at b. 30, rh, Busoni changes Bach's B (=C-flat) into B-sharp (C), following Czerny's edition (this variant is not cited in Philippsborn, 'Die Frühdrücke der Werke Johann Sebastian Bachs'). At b. 48 Busoni and Casella (as an *ossia*) follow the autograph's reading (possibly through Czerny's edition), whereas the other editors follow the textual variant adopted in the BGA. For a thorough discussion, cf. Philippsborn, 'Die Frühdrücke der Werke Johann Sebastian Bachs', pp. 124–8.

<sup>91</sup> A similar enhancement of the conclusions is a constant habit of Busoni, cf. for example his version of the *Goldberg-Variations*. On the importance of 'conclusions' in public performance, cf. Friedrich August Kanne, 'B und C', *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den österreichischen Kaiserstaat*, 6/8 (26 January 1822), cols. 62–3.

<sup>92</sup> On the frequent recommendation of using a continuous *legato* in this Fugue, cf. Dykstra, 'The Interpretation of Bach's Well-Tempered Clavier, Book One', p. 183.

<sup>93</sup> Similarly, both Busoni and d'Albert used the word 'flebile' for Prelude 22 in WTC I: this is a rather uncommon word even among Italian native speakers, and it is very rarely found as a



Figure 7: Bach, WTC I, Prelude 8, bar 5

Here too (Figure 7) Casella/Piccioli simply translate Busoni's German indication, making their connection clear; although only general agreement can be assumed, it is also determined by performance tradition.



Figure 8: Bach, WTC I, Prelude 8, bar 1

In Figure 8 the light nuance is unsurprising, and so is the *cantabile*/all-*legato* understanding of the soprano's melody (especially in the early twentieth century). Sometimes the situation is debatable, and editors' interdependence hard to define; some help may come from quantitative comparisons. To this end, the Prelude and Fugue were thoroughly analysed<sup>94</sup> to establish which indications were shared and by whom. In doubtful cases, for example:



Figure 9: Bach, WTC I, Fugue 8, bars 77-8

*appoggiatos* (-) and accents (>) were considered as non-identical, although this does not exclude Mugellini's possible influence on Montani (Figure 9).

Data regarding editorial additions are very different for the Prelude and the Fugue, although some common elements recur. Moreover, three performance elements are present in the Prelude but missing in the Fugue: pedalling (only in Busoni and Mugellini), realised embellishments, and added *arpeggios*.

Although the Fugue is twice as long as the Prelude (87 rather than 40 bars), they have similar numbers of indications on tempo and expression. Slurs and articulation are very dissimilar: 68 slurs and 62 articulations in the Prelude, 156 and 192 in the Fugue. This is typical of all-*legato*, organ-like polyphony, particularly unsurprising in a *cantabile* fugue like this. Articulation is functional to

musical indication. As regards the possible influence of Busoni on Bartók, cf. Somfai, 'Nineteenth-Century Ideas Developed in Bartók's Piano Notation' (e.g. p. 195); cf. Denijs Dille, 'Dokumente über Bartóks Beziehungen zu Busoni', in *Dokumenta Bartókiana*, 2 (Mainz: Schott, 1965), pp. 62-76.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Bertoglio, 'Instructive Editions of Bach's Wohltemperirtes Klavier', pp. 326-8 (Prelude) and pp. 329-35 (Fugue).

polyphonic clearness: it marks the subject, or highlights the conclusion of long phrasing, besides indicating interesting details for students, such as imitations or syncopations in hidden voices (Figure 10).

Figure 10: Bach, WTC I, Fugue 8, bars 21–22, Busoni (above) and Casella (below) – coloured rectangles added

It should be pointed out, however, that Busoni consistently highlights both ‘motivic’ intervals of the subject, whereas Casella normally adds *appoggiato* marks only on the subject’s syncopation, which is also the summit of the ascending interval.

The Prelude has more dynamics (97) than the Fugue (53), perhaps due to its perceived expressiveness (the Fugue requires more sobriety); dynamic differentiation of polyphony was entrusted more to *appoggiatos* than to dynamics, as seen here in the alto subject:

Figure 11: Bach, WTC I, Fugue 8, bar 27–8, Busoni

Data analysis<sup>95</sup> shows Casella/Piccioli’s large (and declared) debt towards Busoni: 63 identical indications in the Prelude (11 slurs, 10 articulations, and 19 dynamics), 79 in the Fugue (43 slurs, 24 articulations). Mugellini and Montani share 17 slurs and 9 dynamics (Prelude) and 13 articulations (Fugue).

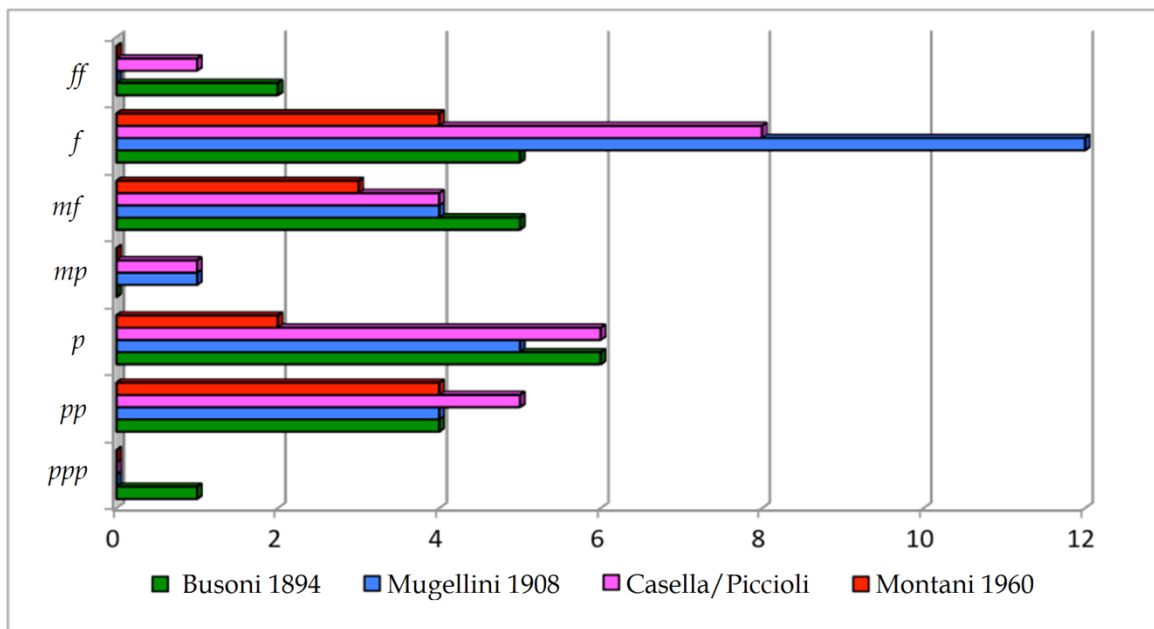
Busoni’s edition of WTC I is the only one in which pedalling is indicated frequently in the Preludes, although Prelude 8 is rather exceptional even for his standards – this piece is one of the few to have pedal indications in Mugellini.<sup>96</sup> Agogic alterations are rare and always connected with formal elements (in most

<sup>95</sup> See Bertoglio, ‘Instructive Editions of Bach’s Wohltemperirtes Klavier’: Tables A25–A27 and Graph A17, pp. 327–8 for the Prelude; Tables A29–A31 and Graph A18, pp. 334–5 for the Fugue.

<sup>96</sup> Casella explicitly admits this possibility, and not only for ‘musical’ reasons. Cf. Casella, *Il pianoforte*, p. 143.

cases *ritenutos* towards the end of pieces,<sup>97</sup> *allargando/largamente* at phrase endings), although sometimes editors explicitly forbade them (at climaxes, cadential passages, or at section changes in fugues etc.). The Prelude's 'romantic' quality fosters a more flexible treatment of tempo, especially in the older editions.

Symmetry is always favoured over variety for articulation and phrasing: elements with the same structural function must always be performed in the same manner. Mugellini ensures this by simply covering repeated elements with long slurs; Casella/Piccioli's subtler and shorter phrasing and slurring are constantly repeated, for example at each fugue subject entry. However, the main articulation or phrasing is often combined with optional *appoggiato* or *marcato* indications. Variety was rather created through dynamics and (rarely) agogic, sometimes strictly determined by the piece's form (climaxes or section changes) and sometimes only by the editor's creativity. Dynamics louder than *mf* are indicated more often, perhaps to emphasise climactic passages (Graph 4).



Graph 4: Distribution of dynamics in Prelude and Fugue 8 of WTC I

Realisations of ornaments are arbitrary and irregular: Busoni's are quick and rich, starting mostly with auxiliary notes; Casella/Piccioli's are slow and rhythmically regular; Montani prefers short and quick mordents with stops and syncopations. Sometimes realisations are rather pedantic, using irregular groups (such as triplets) in a binary context, without suggesting the possibility of a more flexible performance. In many cases, however, editors did suggest starting embellishments from the principal note.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>97</sup> As Scarpellini Pancrazi points out, Busoni (and Casella: probably not by chance!) prescribes *ritardandos* at the end of almost half the pieces in WTC I, whereas Mugellini does so in 'most' cases and Montani in 'precisely' half of the pieces. Busoni and Casella (paired again...), plus Montani, further enhance this effect with *forte* or *crescendo* conclusions. Cf. Scarpellini, 'Edizioni a confronto', pp. 142, 160, 151 and 168.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Scarpellini, 'Edizioni a confronto', pp. 142, 160 and 151.



All this demonstrates the unquestionable influence of Busoni's IE on the later editions, both explicitly (for example the statements about fingering in Casella's preface) and implicitly (transfer of indications from his IE to the later ones). However, many interesting features of his interpretation were progressively reduced to a standard Bach performance: subtly differentiated articulation was replaced by long slurs or uniform *staccatos*; rather modern tempi were tempered by later editors; Busoni's analytical concept was not imitated, and only his conclusions were enthusiastically adopted.

## Conclusion

The main editing approaches described in this article can be related to the principal steps of Bach performance and reception;<sup>99</sup> moreover, the peculiarities of the Italian IEs studied here can define particular stylistic approaches consistent with the prevailing aesthetics of their time.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the objectivist interpretive trend (fostered, among others, by Ehlert), promoted the utmost tempo regularity in Bach performance, with the only exception being cadential passages; consistency in dynamics and articulation were encouraged, with dutiful highlighting of subject and countersubject.<sup>100</sup> Against this, Bülow proposed a late-Romantic approach to agogic, dynamics and expression, highlighting the modern qualities of Bach's music;<sup>101</sup> this approach is found in other IEs.<sup>102</sup> Moderate objectivism, already oriented towards the authenticist approach, was preached by Rubinstein,<sup>103</sup> for whom Bach's music was far from the arid and soulless architecture described by another editor, d'Albert.<sup>104</sup> Such a structuralist attitude was fostered by the increasing interest in analysis and analytic interpretation.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Rattalino, *Pianisti e Fortisti*, pp. 444–76, 491–534, and Emiliano Giannetti, 'Das Wohltemperierte Klavier nell'Ottocento pianistico', *Note su Note*, 11–12 (2004), 57–82.

<sup>100</sup> Louis Ehlert, 'Preface' to Tausig 1869.

<sup>101</sup> Marie von Bülow (eds.), *Hans von Bülow – Briefe und Schriften*, 8 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1895–1908), vol. VII, p. 280 (letter to Siegfried Ochs, 2 January 1890): Bach as a 'musician of the future'. Cf. Schweitzer, for whom such editions made Bach 'talk like a modern': Schweitzer, *J. S. Bach*, vol. I, pp. 355–6. Cf. Hinrichsen, *Bach-Rezeption im Umkreis Franz Liszts*, pp. 40 and 44.

<sup>102</sup> For example, Fauré's has 'countless cantabile, tranquillo, playful, grandioso, deciso, plaintive etc. directions, which aimed to free preludes and fugues from the 'dullness' of a performance that respects the absence of expression indications'. Luigi Pestalozza, 'J. S. Bach: Il clavicembalo, il pianoforte', in Daniela Iotti (ed.), *Bach tra '700 e '900. Aspetti tecnici e teorici* (Milan: Edizioni Unicopli, 1988), pp. 19–35, here p. 22.

<sup>103</sup> Anton Grigor'evič Rubinstein (Антон Григорьевич Рубинштейн), *Istoria literatury fortepiannoj muzyki (Istoria literatury fortepiannoj muzyki)* (St. Petersburg: Muzykal'nogo obozrenija, n.d.); German translation by M. Bessmertny as *Die Meister des Klaviers: Musikalische Vorträge über die Entwicklung der Klavier-Komposition* (Berlin: Harmonie, 1899), pp. 12–13; cf. Carruthers, 'Bach and the Piano', pp. 24–25 and 36–37.

<sup>104</sup> For d'Albert, 'Bach knew nothing about the gradations of passions, of sorrow, of love, and he did not suspect the possibility of expressing them through music'. 'Preface' in d'Albert 1906; (cf. however Levy, 'The Well-Tempered Clavier', p. 31). Cf. Hughes: 'Bach's range on the emotional side is far from being all-embracing'. Edwin Hughes, 'The "Forty-Eight" from the Player's Standpoint', *The Musical Quarterly*, 11/3 (July 1925), 444–53, here 451.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Riemann 1894; Brook Sampson, *The Forty-eight Fugues in the Well-Tempered Clavier by Johann Sebastian Bach* (London: The Vincent Music Co., 1907); cf. Levy 'The Well-Tempered Clavier', pp. 30 and 34.

Busoni's approach was unique, as it unified subjectivism with structuralism, and was marked by his concert experience. His interpretation involved 'terraced' dynamics and a focus on endings; it was inspired by organ sonorities and reduced rubato, asynchronisation and *legato*, adding a 'gestural' component<sup>106</sup> and favouring articulation and *staccato*: all of these elements can be found in his WTC edition.

A further approach to Bach performance is suggested by analysis of the Italian IEs, and is typical of the Italian context, marked by the philosophical features of Gentile's neo-idealism. The rejection of textual philology, historicism and historically informed performance as scientific 'contaminations' of art excluded the authenticist approach from the Italian editors' horizon. Bach was seen as the model of objectivity, rigour, order and architectural balance.<sup>107</sup> At the same time, their approach was not a mere abstract objectivism: the copious 'sentimental' indications did not represent the typical Romantic expression of the self, but expressed the feelings of a community. The standardised Bach performance found by Scarpellini in Casella's IE<sup>108</sup> is therefore not only a pedagogic option but also the appropriate expression of a super-individual feeling, defined by Pestalozza as 'sentimental nationalism':<sup>109</sup> the musical expression of 'Italian-ness' could not clash too strongly with the lyrical values traditionally associated with the country's music.<sup>110</sup>

It should be clear by now that the value of IEs for performance practice studies is undeniable, with the proviso that they should be constantly contextualised: their relationship with performance is bidirectional and their study can be highly profitable and illuminating, not least to shed light on a work's reception. Obviously, it is fundamental to clarify as much as possible the peculiarities of IEs in order to mould exegetic tools tailored specifically to them. In comparison with other editing methodologies, it can be said that critical editions aim at the fixing of a 'final', 'untouchable' and definitive text; critical editions properly relate to the text's history (the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of the text in its written identity) and IEs deal with the work's reception history. In other words, critical editions (and the whole approach behind them) aim at 'editing a text', whereas IEs aim at 'presenting a work'. Thus IEs are part of the 'dynamic net' of relationships, influences and creative processes that constitutes the work's *Wirkungsgeschichte*. As such, they are formidable interpretive tools for understanding the evolution in the concept of Bach's music through the centuries.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. Bertoglio, 'Instructive Editions of Bach's Wohltemperirtes Klavier', p. 221.

<sup>107</sup> Pestalozza, 'J. S. Bach: Il clavicembalo, il pianoforte', p. 22.

<sup>108</sup> Scarpellini, 'Il testo della Waldstein-Sonate di Beethoven', pp. 12 and 140.

<sup>109</sup> Pestalozza, 'J. S. Bach: Il clavicembalo, il pianoforte', p. 24.

<sup>110</sup> Luigi Alberto Villanis, *L'arte del pianoforte in Italia* (Turin: Fratelli Bocca, 1907; photographic reprint: Bologna: Forni Editore, 1969), p. 92.