

WOLFGANG AMADEUS MOZART

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VOLUME 1: THE NOTEBOOKS

PRESENTED BY WOLFGANG PLATH

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WOLFGANG AMADEUS MOZART

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* Hereafter referred to as the NMA. The predecessor, the "Alte Mozart-Edition" (Old Mozart Edition) is referred to as the AMA.

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EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES

The New Mozart Edition (NMA) provides for research purposes a music text based on impeccable scholarship applied to all available sources – principally Mozart's autographs – while at the same time serving the needs of practising musicians. The NMA appears in 10 Series subdivided into 35 Work Groups:

- I: Sacred Vocal Works (1–4)
- II: Theatrical Works (5–7)
- III: Songs, Part-Songs, Canons (8–10)
- IV: Orchestral Works (11–13)
- V: Concertos (14–15)
- VI: Church Sonatas (16)
- VII: Large Solo Instrument Ensembles (17–18)
- VIII: Chamber Music (19–23)
- IX: Keyboard Music (24–27)
- X: Supplement (28–35)

For every volume of music a Critical Commentary (Kritischer Bericht) in German is available, in which the source situation, variant readings or Mozart's corrections are presented and all other special problems discussed.

Within the volumes and Work Groups the completed works appear in their order of composition. Sketches, draughts and fragments are placed in an Appendix at the end of the relevant volume. Sketches etc. which cannot be assigned to a particular work, but only to a genre or group of works, generally appear in chronological order at the end of the final volume of the relevant Work Group. Where an identification regarding genre is not possible, the sketches etc. are published in Series X, Supplement (Work Group 30: Studies, Sketches, Draughts, Fragments, Various). Lost compositions are mentioned in the relevant Critical Commentary in German. Works of doubtful authenticity appear in Series X (Work Group 29). Works which are almost certainly spurious have not been included.

Of the various versions of a work or part of a work, that version has generally been chosen as the basis for editing which is regarded as final and definitive. Previous or alternative forms are reproduced in the Appendix.

The NMA uses the numbering of the Köchel Catalogue (KV); those numberings which differ in the third and expanded edition (KV³ or KV^{3a}) are given in brackets; occasional differing numberings in the sixth edition (KV⁶) are indicated.

With the exception of work titles, entries in the score margin, dates of composition and the footnotes, all additions and completions in the music volumes are indicated, for which the following scheme

applies: letters (words, dynamic markings, *tr* signs and numbers in italics; principal notes, accidentals before principal notes, dashes, dots, fermatas, ornaments and smaller rests (half notes, quarters, etc.) in small print; slurs and crescendo marks in broken lines; grace and ornamental notes in square brackets. An exception to the rule for numbers is the case of those grouping triplets, sextuplets, etc. together, which are always in italics, those added editorially in smaller print. Whole measure rests missing in the source have been completed tacitly.

The title of each work as well as the specification in italics of the instruments and voices at the beginning of each piece have been normalised, the disposition of the score follows today's practice. The wording of the original titles and score disposition are provided in the Critical Commentary in German. The original notation for transposing instruments has been retained. C-clefs used in the sources have been replaced by modern clefs. Mozart always notated singly occurring sixteenth, thirty-second notes etc. crossed-through, (i.e.  instead of ); the notation therefore does not distinguish between long or short realisations. The NMA generally renders these in the modern notation  etc.; if a grace note of this kind should be interpreted as "short" an additional indication "[" is given over the relevant grace note. Missing slurs at grace notes or grace note groups as well as articulation signs on ornamental notes have generally been added without comment. Dynamic markings are rendered in the modern form, e.g. *f* and *p* instead of *for:* and *pia:*

The texts of vocal works have been adjusted following modern orthography. The realisation of the bass continuo, in small print, is as a rule only provided for *secco* recitatives. For any editorial departures from these guidelines refer to the relevant Foreword and to the Critical Commentary in German.

A comprehensive representation of the editorial guidelines for the NMA (3rd version, 1962) has been published in *Editionsrichtlinien musikalischer Denkmäler und Gesamtausgaben* [Editorial Guidelines for Musical Heritage and Complete Editions]. Commissioned by the Gesellschaft für Forschung and edited by Georg von Dadelsen, Kassel etc., 1963, pp. 99-129. Offprints of this as well as the *Bericht über die Mitarbeitertagung und Kassel, 29. – 30. 1981*, published privately in 1984, can be obtained from the Editorial Board of the NMA.

The Editorial Board

Foreword

It was not the original intention of the NMA to dedicate a volume purely to the notebooks of the Mozart children; the opinion was that the three notebooks were of such different contents and character that their publication together was out of the question. It seemed only natural to remove the pieces by the young child prodigy Wolfgang (known as “Wolfgangerl”) found in his sister’s notebook (the *Notebook for Maria Anna (Nannerl) Mozart* of 1759) from their original context and publish them in the volume of KEYBOARD Pieces, in which — just as obviously — the contents of the *London Sketchbook* of 1764 would also have their place. It was deemed that the NMA could not be responsible for all the remaining “non-Mozartian” contents of the 1759 notebook, let alone for the notebook compiled for Wolfgang in 1762, which consisted entirely of a collection of pieces by other composers.

As the work on the edition progressed, however, there was more time to reflect on its contents and organization, and some opinions changed. Would the entire complex material relating to “the earliest Mozart” perhaps remain incomprehensible in terms of its nature and origins if all the greater and lesser easy pieces by other composers which the boy had grown up playing, which he first imitated and then surpassed, were surgically removed from their living context? Would the failure to treat the notebooks as unities in their own right not simultaneously mean missing their real significance? Could a complete edition with its declared aims afford to do this? In the light of these questions, the Editorial Board of the NMA sought and found a solution which finally came down to abiding by the original decision regarding the grouping of Wolfgang’s keyboard pieces, while additionally publishing the notebooks for Nannerl (1759) and Wolfgang (1762) in their entirety in the Supplement to the NMA (Series X/30: Studies, Sketches, Drafts, Fragments, Various).¹

¹ We read the following in the Foreword to NMA X/30/1 (*Thomas Attwood’s Theory and Composition Studies with Mozart*), presented by Erich Herzmann and C.B. Oldmann, completed by Alfred Mann and Daniel Heartz, Kassel etc., 1965, p. VII):

“Work Group 30 (*Studies, Sketches, Drafts, Fragments, Varia*) brings together a large collection of heterogeneous material [...] But this material varies not only in terms of content but even in the outward appearance: on the one side are the relatively large and self-contained manuscripts or collections such as e.g. the keyboard notebooks for Nannerl (1759) and

This decision in turn was revised. Not that new approaches were adopted: this time research itself created a new situation. The notebook for Wolfgang of 1762, discussed often in the literature since Hermann Abert² and known to almost every piano student enjoying beginner’s instruction of the better sort, was not what it seemed to be. The dedication found in the notebook, supposedly by Leopold Mozart and dated 31 October 1762, has been revealed as a simple forgery: what was left was nothing more than an anonymous keyboard and music notebook of central German origin from around 1750 without any connection whatsoever to Mozart.³ Mozart scholarship and Mozart scholars had allowed themselves to be duped, in the simplest manner imaginable, for over half a century.

This new situation forced the Editorial Board into a new decision regarding the notebooks. This volume is the result.

*

It is fitting that a foreword to a scholarly edition — this is the first scholarly edition in which both notebooks appear — should be introduced with this somewhat academic-sounding question: How many such notebooks are there with links to the young Mozart? Is what we present here everything there has ever been, or must we reckon that other material has been lost?

There is a genuine reason for this question. Between — very roughly — 1765 and 1774 we find a huge gap in the Mozart transmission: keyboard compositions are absent to such an extent that one might think that he had not devoted any more attention to the instrument. Did Mozart really prefer the violin to the keyboard during these years? Or is it perhaps the case that he constantly composed for the keyboard — as was his later practice — but that

Wolfgang (1762) [...], on the other an almost countless number of loose leaves and mixed entries [...].”

² Hermann Abert, *Leopold Mozarts Notenbuch von 1762*, in: *Gluck-Jahrbuch III* (1916), pp. 51-87; see also Abert’s printed edition of the notebook (Leipzig, no date [1922]).

³ For more detail see my article *Leopold Mozarts Notenbuch für Wolfgang (1762) — eine Fälschung?* in: *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1971/92*, Salzburg, 1971, pp. 337-341. My argumentation against the authenticity of the notebook has remained unchallenged; the forgery hypothesis can therefore be considered as generally accepted.

such autographs were lost in astonishing numbers? Indeed, the idea that he might have, say, produced an entire notebook of such compositions around 1770 is so attractive that it might well be worth remaining alert for evidence that this is the case.

The true facts of the matter, however, are complicated. Although there are grounds to suspect that there was in fact once a third keyboard notebook that has since been lost — we will expand on these presently — all the evidence suggests that the existence of such a notebook alone would not explain the gap in transmission around 1770. Let us now leave this on one side; it is sufficient to have pointed out that the problem is there.

Only a little surviving documentation relates directly to the problem of the original number of notebooks.⁴ The earliest mention of the term itself is to be found in Leopold's catalogue of his son's earliest works, compiled in Vienna in 1768. Towards the end of the list he noted "*two handwritten books with pieces for keyboard which he wrote gradually, piece by piece, in London, Holland, etc.*"⁵ If we take this entry literally, it means that Leopold did not mention Nannerl's notebook, but obviously the "London sketchbook" and another notebook, since lost. But this statement itself a matter of interpretation, or is in fact an arbitrary assumption, since it cannot be proved that the pieces in the "London sketchbook" were all written in that city and not in "*Holland, etc.*" And if Leopold's entry in the catalogue is then perhaps not to be taken literally, one could interpret it as referring, although somewhat imprecisely phrased, to the two books which have come down to us.

But even the second piece of documentary evidence, Constanze Mozart's letter of 13 February 1799 to Breitkopf and Härtel in Leipzig, is not as clear as

⁴ The following citations from the Mozarts' correspondence are all taken, without more precise reference, from Cf. *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*. Complete edition, compiled (and elucidated) by Wilhelm A. Bauer and Otto Erich Deutsch, (4 volumes of text, hereafter Bauer–Deutsch I–IV, Kassel etc., 1962/63), with commentary based on their preceding work by Joseph Heinz Eibl (2 volumes of commentary, hereafter Eibl V and VI, Kassel etc., 1972), register, compiled by Joseph Heinz Eibl (hereafter Eibl VII, Kassel etc., 1975).

⁵ Bauer-Deutsch I, No. 144, p. 289, lines 58–59. Cited thus also in Georg Nikolaus Nissen's Mozart biography, appendix, p. 5, No. 21. The statement in the sixth edition of the *Köchel-Verzeichnis* (Wiesbaden, 1964), at the end of the remarks on KV 1^a, that Nissen, op. cit., was "*the first to mention the London notebook*" is misleading and ought to be removed.

some like to portray it. The central passage in this letter — lines 19–29 — is as follows:

"I possess a little book with the label *Capricci di W. Mozart a Londra nel mese December 1764* (that is, when he was aged eight), containing short pieces of various kinds *of his own composition*, and an aria: *Quel destrier che all'albergo è vicino*, of which the original is worth too much to me that I would let it leave my hands. I would, however, send it to you, at your expense, that you may *copy it*, if you wish, and I leave the price up to you. I am certainly aware that in itself it cannot be of any great interest, but as a rarity, as a ray of light from the dawn of his genius, it does remain very remarkable. It is amusing to see that he was already composing at a time when he wrote the numbers 20 and 30 as 02 and 03 — the pagination is in his hand."⁶

If we take this very detailed description at face value, which apparently does not refer to the surviving "London sketchbook," then it seems that there can be no more doubt that she is describing a third, lost, sketchbook, or, to be more exact, it must be a *second*, lost, "London sketchbook" On the other hand, if we consider the details point by point critically, we are forced to ask a number of new questions.

1. Constanze refers to a title in Leopold's hand, which does not coincide with the title of the *first* "London sketchbook" we know, the title of which is also in Leopold's hand.⁷ Yet this surviving sketchbook, as can be easily shown, has been altered, sometimes considerably, in its external appearance many times over the years.⁸ It seems to have been sown together at least once, then bound, then finally bound again and restored; The sowing could well date from the eighteenth century, but the binding from not before the nineteenth. The title page (in facsimile on page XXIX below) is on thin, low quality paper, which can at most have served as a kind of temporary cover, but was certainly never adequate as a permanent cover; the manuscript itself, however is on high quality paper. Thus the possibility that the notebook Constanze describes in her 1799 letter is the surviving notebook in an earlier state (that is with another cover which would

⁶ In a later letter to Breitkopf & Härtel (2 March 1799; Bauer-Deutsch IV, No. 1237, p. 232, lines 87–88), Constanze is more precise about the title: "*here the Capricci follow: the title is not in his [Mozart's] but probably in his father's hand.*"

⁷ Cf. the lower facsimile on page XXIX.

⁸ More details are given in the description of the manuscripts in the *Kritischer Bericht* [Critical report, available in German only].

have been removed in a later binding and with another title on the outside) should not be discounted too readily.

2. In this context, the pagination which Constanze mentioned as a special feature must also be examined. It cannot be denied, however, that the pages in the first “London sketchbook” are *not* numbered in the manner she describes. Yet it must be pointed out that on pages 3–62, below the modern pagination by a librarian, one can make out the indistinct remains of an erased earlier pagination in pencil – perhaps in Mozart’s hand? Once again, Constanze could have been describing the book in an earlier or original condition.

3. The (most important) point of the reference to the aria “*Quel destrier che all'albergo è vicino*” (KV deest), remains. The aria has disappeared without a trace,⁹ which would of course be no surprise if one assumes that it was originally in a second, now lost, “London sketchbook.” But even if this were the case, a further, perhaps minor, question must be asked. How exactly are we to understand Constanze’s description? Taken as “*I possess a little book [...] and an aria [...] of which the original is worth too much to me [...]*”, the book and the aria have nothing to do with one another. If, however, we read “*I possess a little book [...] containing small pieces of various kinds of his own composition [...] and an aria*”; in this case — and only in this case — can the aria be seen as in fact belonging to the pieces in the book, thus providing the decisive argument in the debate. Unfortunately, since the aria appears only once in the correspondence, nothing more can be said on the matter.

Here we leave Constanze’s description, which, one would be entitled to say, is far from illuminating the whole question. She mentions the “Capricci” several times again in her correspondence, for the last time on 3 April 1802 in a letter to Johan Anton André in Offenbach, who had returned the book, in which he apparently showed little interest, to her at her request.¹⁰ It is never referred to again, not even, strangely enough, in Nissen’s biography. Sometime between 1802 and 1828,¹¹ but probably at such an

⁹ Nor has the text of the aria so far been identified. The words given by Constanze are certainly from the beginning of a preceding secco recitative and not from the aria itself.

¹⁰ Cf. Eibl VI for individual references. None of these later mentions tells us anything new, so we can pass over them here.

¹¹ Constanze began to keep a diary in September 1828 (cf. Hermann Abert, *Konstanze Nissens Tagebuch aus*

early date that Nissen did not remember it while writing his biography, Constanze apparently either sold the notebook or gave it away.

Our discussion of the problem of the second London notebook (“*Capricci*”) is, however, not yet at an end, for there are other objections to the “three book theory” (if we may be permitted the expression) that earn our attention.

The first objection: Leopold Mozart mentions — as reported above — only *two* notebooks; Constanze refers to only one book in her possession, the “*Capricci*.” Although Maria Anna (“Nannerl”) Mozart never referred to it, there is however no doubt that the notebook (“Nannerl’s Notebook”) remained in her possession from 1759 until her death in 1829, as one might naturally expect.¹² Thus Constanze had the “*Capricci*” and Maria Anna the “Nannerl notebook” — but who in the world had the “London sketchbook”? If there really had been three books, than one of the ladies must have had *two* notebooks. Yet neither admitted to such a thing, although there would have been no good reason to keep quiet about it. Both Alfred Einstein in KV³ and — somewhat less forcefully — the editors of KV⁶ make it much too simple for themselves when they assume, without any evidence, that Maria Anna was also in possession of the first “London Sketchbook.”¹³ There is simply no evidence for such

den Jahren 1824 [sic]-1838, in: *Mozarteums-Mitteilungen* 2/2, [February 1920], pp. 38 ff). Her entries are so conscientious and comprehensive that she surely would have mentioned any transactions involving the “*Capricci*.”

¹² Here are two pieces of evidence: In the February issue of the nineteenth volume of the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* (1817), the music scholar Joseph Fröhlich from Würzburg (1780-1862) writes the following in a wide-ranging review of Abbé Vogler’s *Grande Sinfonie* (p. 96): “*The reviewer was fortunate enough, through the efforts of a friend of the great Mozart’s much-admired sister, to obtain that book which contains the first pieces that this hero of musical art studied at the age of four and also his own first attempts compositions from his fifth year, in his own hand.*” In addition, Constanze wrote the following in a letter of 28 October 1825 to Johann Anton André: “*It had been my hope to find much in the possession of my sister-in-law in the native city of my late husband. Yet the most intensive searching has yielded no results [...] In copies the very first compositions of the child M., from (Jan.) 1762 and 1763, written by his father in a special notebook consisting of only a few lines; a few, from Paris and Brussels, are considerably bigger. Among these are two originals, of a few lines, which probably date from after 1763.*”

¹³ Cf. the commentary below on KV 15^a (“*The Autograph.*”)

a claim, and even the assumption that this was the case can hardly be regarded to be a serious argument, because such an argument obviously depends entirely on a *petitio principii*, or “begging the question”.

The second objection: The surviving first “London sketchbook” is dated — authentically — “London 1764.” The unfortunately lost, and in any case quite problematic, second “London sketchbook” is dated — supposedly, but also apparently authentically — “London, December 1764.” Is it really necessary to point out how unlikely it is that two such notebooks were compiled in the same, limited time? In the event of such a combination of strange circumstances, the least strange is that the “first” notebook — assuming that it really is the first — has no fewer than nine blank pages at its conclusion, which really ought to have been used up before the family moved on to a new notebook.

To bring our discussion in this chapter to an end: it is impossible to determine with reliable scholarly methods if there were two or three notebooks, or one or two London notebooks. But beyond such a strict approach to the evidence it remains highly likely that the two London notebooks were really one and the same source.

The Notebook for Maria Anna (Nannerl) Mozart

According to the label on its cover, this notebook was begun in 1759.¹⁴ It likely that Leopold would have presented it to his daughter not on her eighth birthday, 30 or 31 July, but, in good Catholic fashion, on her name day (26 July); a small difference, but worth noting.¹⁵ It was to remain her book always (even if, as we will see shortly, her brother annexed at times); she treated it in later years like a relic – and also exploited it. After her death in 1829 it was passed on to her nephew Franz Xaver Mozart (Wolfgang Amadeus jun.), and from him to his heir, Josephine von Baroni-Cavalcabò. From there — just how is not quite clear¹⁶ — it made its way in 1864 into the hands of the Russian Grand Duchess Helene Pawlowa, who then donated it to the Salzburg “Cathedral Music Association and

Mozarteum”, the forerunner of today’s International Mozart Foundation.¹⁷

It would appear impossible to establish an even tolerably reliable chronology for the entries in Nannerl’s notebook. What is clear is that a large number of the primary, or original, entries had already been made by 1760/1761 (according to Leopold, Wolfgang learned No. 41, which lies quite far into the second half the notebook, “*at the age of four*.”). It also clear that entries were made in groups and that in between the individual groups pages, sometimes in large numbers, were left blank. Other, secondary material was gradually put into these gaps: that is, everything not connected with the notebook’s original pedagogical purposes. That is the reason why Leopold added his son’s first compositions scattered irregularly here and there throughout the notebook. As late as 1764/65 there were still blank pages in the book, on which Wolfgang, by this time himself able to write music, wrote his own pieces. By this time, however, he must have already been in possession of his own “London sketchbook.” If he used his sister’s book anyway, it was probably at her express request and not an attempt to annoy her. Altogether, if one counts all of the works by Wolfgang either in his hand or in copies by Leopold that must originally have been in the notebook — we will turn presently to the dividing up of the book — one comes to the respectable sum of eighteen compositions. It is thus no exaggeration to say that Wolfgang occasionally “annexed” his sister’s, or, perhaps more accurately, that the notebook belonged for a number of years to both of them.

Today, “Nannerl’s Notebook” is not in its original condition. Apparently, in the last decades of her life, Maria Anna distributed relics from the book — the last documented occasion was in 1815 — to friends and admirers of her brother. The notebook suffered further losses in the 1880s (see below). Many of these single leaves, either cut out of the book or removed from the binding, have resurfaced in private collections or in public libraries, while some have never reappeared and must count as permanently lost. Attempts to reconstruct the original condition of the notebook must remain hypothetical, not only on account of such permanent

¹⁴ Cf. the facsimile on p. XXIX.

¹⁵ In Catholic areas of southern Germany the tradition has always been that the day of baptism, or name-day, is more important than the birthday; this was naturally also so for the Mozart family. Saint Anne’s day, the name day of both Mozart’s mother and sister, seems always to have been the occasion for celebration.

¹⁶ Cf. Walter Hummel, *Mozarts Söhne*, Kassel etc., 1956, pp. 295 f. (fn. 425).

¹⁷ KV¹⁻⁶ and the rest of the standard literature report that the gift was made in 1864; Hummel, on the other hand, gives the year 1865 but without stating any reasons. The gift was announced, however, by the Viennese periodical *Recensionen und Mittheilungen über Theater und Musik* as early as 6 August 1864, see “*Kleine Chronik — ein Notenheft Mozart’s*” in *ibid.*, vol.10, No. 32, p. 512.

losses, but also because it is not always possible to say with certainty in which part of the book individual leaves were originally placed.¹⁸ The present edition makes no attempt of any kind at a reconstruction; all single manuscripts whose position in the original is not securely identifiable will be gathered together as a group of their own at the end of the edition.

I have already discussed the question of the handwriting in the notebook elsewhere; more exact information must be left to the *Kritischer Bericht* [*Critical Report*, available in German only].¹⁹ The following information will, I hope, suffice for the moment. Numbers 9, 10, 12-15, 17, 18, 23-26, 33, 34, 37, 38, 40-42, 44-57, 59 and 60 are in Leopold Mozart's hand. Numbers 1-8, 11, 16, 19, 22, 27-32, and 36 are in the hand of an anonymous Salzburg copyist ("Anonymous I"). Two other anonymous hands ("Anonymous II" and "Anonymous III") appear from time to time, responsible for Nos. 21 und 35 and for Nos. 39 and 43 respectively. Wolfgang wrote numbers 20 and 62-64. For two of the numbers (58, 61), there is no autograph transmission (see below).

I turn now, in a detailed excursus, to the question of the authorship of the pieces (apart from Wolfgang's works, of course) in the notebook.

The Problem of the Authors in Nannerl's Notebook

Previous research has not exactly ignored the problem of identifying the authors and works in Nannerl's notebook, consisting on the one hand of the predominantly anonymous pieces and, on the other hand, of questions surrounding the few precisely named composers, but it has tended to examine the matter in passing, without taking it very seriously. The confusion surrounding the name "Fischer" is typical. It is a false reading (the name is really *Tischer*), and has been repeated in the

¹⁸ Alan Tyson has recently attempted such a reconstruction, based on careful investigation of paper types and gatherings: cf. his article *A Reconstruction of Nannerl Mozart's Music Book (Notenbuch)* in: *Music & Letters* LX (1979), No. 4, pp. 389-400.

¹⁹ Cf. Wolfgang Plath, *Beiträge zur Mozart-Autographie I: Die Handschrift Leopold Mozarts*, in: *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1960/1961*, pp. 82-117 (86 f). I retract the statement made there regarding Anonymus I in footnote 12, with the result that one must now reckon with three anonymous hands instead of two in the notebook. I believe Anonymus I and Anonymus III, according to the new numeration sketched here, to be Salzburg copyists; Anonymus II is a "guest scribe" hitherto unknown in Mozart scholarship.

scholarly literature for years, making its way from, of all places, Hermann Abert's monumental Mozart biography (in all of its seven editions, in the last in volume I on p. 26) via Theodore de Wyzewa and Georges de Saint-Foix to Erich Schenck. As late as 1958, an American study stated that the composers represented in Nannerl's notebook included "*Johann Christian Fischer (1732 to 1800), oboist and composer who had been active in the court of Frederick the Great and in London*".²⁰ Under such circumstances it is not surprising that it seemed impossible to identify the relevant composition precisely.

If we start at the beginning of the Notebook, the first composer's name we encounter is in Leopold's hand ("*del Sgr. Wagenseil*") over the opening of the Scherzo in C (= No. 31). In its substance, the piece is identical to the second movement ("*Menuet*") of the Divertimento for Keyboard op. I,2 by Georg Christoph Wagenseil (1715-1777), the famous Viennese Court Composer and later keyboard teacher to the Emperor's children.²¹ In contrast with the richly embellished original version, the text of the menuett in the Notebook is much more bare and unadorned.²² It is impossible to tell at this stage if this is an arrangement *ad usum delphini* (specially for children) or if the piece reached Leopold via another path of transmission. The first measures of the Scherzo cite the then universally known coarse folk song about the eight "Sauschneider" ["pig castrators"] that was to play a role some years later in Mozart's *Gallimathias musicum* KV 32.²³

According to Leopold the Presto in A (= No. 43) is a composition by "*Sgr. Tischer*." The composer behind the name is Johann Nikolaus Tischer (1707-1774), city organist in Schmalkaden before also

²⁰ Cf. Dominique-René de Lerma, *The Nannerl Notebook* in: *The Music Review* 19, No. 1, (February 1958), pp. 1-5 (2). This article is an excerpt from the author's typewritten PhD dissertation, *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: The Works and Influences of his First Ten Years* (Indiana University, 1958).

²¹ Cf. Helga Mischelitsch, *Das Klavierwerk von Georg Christoph Wagenseil. Thematischer Katalog (= Tabulae Musicae Austriacae... Vol. III)*, Vienna, 1966, p. 29: *Zyklische Werke: C-Dur No. 1*; cf. further Helga Scholz-Michelitsch's article *Wagenseil* in: MGG 14, cols. 68-74.

²² Michelitsch, op. cit. (in her *Katalog*, p. 30), describes Leopold's version as "*dekoloriert*" ("*ornaments removed*"), which suggests that it was a later arrangement.

²³ Cf. the Allegro No. 10 (= numeration following KV⁶); No. 9 in the numeration in NMA IV/12: *Cassations, Serenades and Divertimentos for Orchestra • Volume I* (Günter Hauswald and Wolfgang Plath), pp. 10 ff.

becoming Concert Master to the Prince in Coburg-Meiningen in Saxony. Tischer was productive; his keyboard works — all of which were printed by the Nuremberg firm of Haffner and Schmid — were disseminated very widely.²⁴ The piece in the notebook is the same as the movement marked “*Fanfare*” in Tischer’s *Suite in A* op. III, 1.²⁵ It shows the composer at his best; posterity, which has criticised him as “*devoid of content*” and “*trivial*,” seems to have been unfair and too hard on him.²⁶

Finally, the Allegro in E minor (= No. 45), copied personally by Leopold into the notebook, is a composition by the Swedish-born *Johann Joachim Agrell* (1701-1765), who, after many years of service to the court music at Kassel, spent the last two decades of his life as *director musices* in Nuremberg.²⁷ The Allegro in question is, as Dominique-René de Lerma has shown,²⁸ the third movement of Agrell’s *Sonata in E minor* op. II, 4.²⁹ This is surely one of the most interesting works in the entire notebook, and, in addition, a piece that must have made a deep impression on Mozart: the *minore* variations from the Finale of the G major Piano Concerto KV 453 can be nothing other than the memory (conscious or unconscious) of Agrell’s Allegro. The similarities between the two compositions are obvious.

There are, finally, two further questions of authorship among the anonymous pieces to be discussed. The first (the F major Menuett No. 17) is relatively simple and tends to confirm the generally-held suspicion that most of the anonymous pieces in Nannerl’s notebook are in fact by Leopold.³⁰ This

²⁴ Cf. Lilian Pibernik Pruetz’s article *Tischer* in: MGG 13, col. 430-431. Tischer was valued by his contemporaries not only as a composer of works for the keyboard, but also for his church music. An impressive number of Masses and other works are to be found e.g. in the music catalogue in Lambach Monastery in Upper Austria.

²⁵ “Divertissement musical contenant VI. Suites [A, C minor, D, B^b, E^b, F] pour le clavessin...œuvre III – Nürnberg, Johann Ulrich Haffner, No. LVI” (=RISM A/I: T 816).

²⁶ Cf. Preutz, art. *Tischer*, op. cit.

²⁷ Cf. Horst Heußner, art. *Agrell* in MGG 15 (Supplement), cols. 59-63.

²⁸ Cf. footnote 20.

²⁹ “Sei sonate [B^b, G, F, e minor, D, G minor] per il cembalo solo, accompagnate de alcune arriette, polonesi e menuetti...opera seconda – Nürnberg, Haffner No. LVI” (=RISM A/I: A 422).

³⁰ The first and so far only scholar to have gone beyond tentative hypotheses and offer concrete, if limited, conclusions on the basis of stylistic congruence is once again Lerma (op. cit.). His method of stylistic criticism

(including the trio) turns out to be an arrangement for keyboard of Menuetts Nos. 9 and 10 from Leopold’s so-called “*Wedding Menuetts*.”³¹ I have written elsewhere about the identity of these two pieces.³²

This simple observation already brings with it the almost unavoidable conclusion that the Menuett-Trio pair No. 18 is also a composition of Leopold’s. It is also in his hand, and, in addition, the final measures of both parts of the trio in No. 18 are closely related, in a so-called *chiasmus*, to the corresponding passages in No. 17; it is obvious to both ear and eye that they are musically related. But can one then conclude that No. 18 is, as No. 17 has been shown to be, a keyboard arrangement of another piece? And figures (or motifs, however one wishes to express this) in other pieces from the opening series of Menuetts (Nos. 1-19) also display links to Nos. 17 and 18, for instance the F-major Menuett (= No. 2), which is, by the way, in a copyist’s hand and not in Leopold’s. Are all of these pieces likewise compositions by Mozart’s father, and likewise keyboard reductions of dance pieces originally for orchestra? I believe, at least in regard to the question of their status as reductions, that the answer must be a cautious “yes.”³³ It is only No. 11 (Menuett and Trio) that stands out from all the Menuetts in this opening section of the notebook on account of its much more idiomatically pianistic figuration. On the other hand, we have in No. 19, which incidentally seems closely related to No. 12, not only a further “orchestral” impression, but also a work that in fact appears fully orchestrated elsewhere.³⁴ I hold this to be another argument for the assumption that, if not all, then at least the majority of the first 19 pieces are to be understood as keyboard reductions of orchestral menuetts by Leopold Mozart. The original compositions in the notebook begin only after No. 19.

It can only be suggested here, without any detailed argumentation, that in many of the later works in the

seems promising and, in principle, a sound path for research.

³¹ Cf. *Hochzeits-Menuette... von Leopold Mozart*, edited for the first time and arranged by Ernst Fritz Schmid, Augsburg, 1941 (2/1950).

³² Cf. Wolfgang Plath, *Leopold Mozart*, in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 12, pp. 675-679.

³³ De Lerma (op. cit.) reaches a similar conclusion, that the first 19 minuets are the work of a single author — and that also means, in his opinion, Leopold Mozart. He does not notice the problem of differentiating between arranged and genuine minuets for the keyboard.

³⁴ Cf. the indication in the musical text (p. 17).

notebook, i.e. in the genuine keyboard pieces, one can find hints of musical relationships that support the style-critical contention that they belong to one and the same composer. Once again, we must ask if Leopold is this composer. For example, a kind of second idea in the first, very small-scale F major March (= No. 22, mm. 3–6) returns literally in the formally far more sophisticated second F major March (= No. 23, mm. 9–12). The openings of the two Marches could not be more dissimilar, yet the two pieces are obviously related, since one quotes the other. And there is more. The opening theme of the March No. 23 returns almost unchanged, apart from a slight formal difference, in the Allegro in C (= No. 27, mm. 1–4; compare with No. 23, mm. 1–8). One must perceive the connections between these three pieces before evaluating Alfred Einstein's conjecture that No. 23 may be a composition by Wolfgang and not Leopold.³⁵ One objection to this theory is that Leopold would most certainly not have written a composition of his son's into the notebook without labelling it as such, which was in other cases his usual practice. A second is that hocket-like off-beat figures such as those at the opening of the March also appear in Leopold's works;³⁶ they are not at all, as Einstein seems to argue, a technique exclusive to Wolfgang. Thus the reference to the initially striking similarities between No. 23 and the opening of the aria No. 6 from *Bastien und Bastienne* KV 50 (46^b) is not a decisive argument for one or the other author. And if we assume for a moment that Einstein is correct: would one not then have to continue along this path and maintain that the similarity of the incipits of No. 14 in *La Finta Semplice* KV 51 (46^a) and the C

³⁵ Cf. Einstein's comment in his 1947 supplement to KV³ (Ann Arbor, 1947): "*The assumption that the March recently printed here [i.e. No. 23 from Nannerl's book] could be by Mozart gains in plausibility when one compares it to KV 46^b (50) No. 6. In any case, Mozart had the March clearly in his memory when composing the aria.*" (p. 986). While Erich Valentin, in the foreword to his 1956 edition of Nannerl's Notebook, takes over Einstein's theory without any real criticism, the editors of KV⁶ (Wiesbaden 1963) show more caution in their note on KV 8: "*Whether the piece [= Marche No. 23] is by Wolfgang is unclear, although the similarities to KV 1^b and the Aria No. 6 from KV 46^b (50) would seem to support this.*"

³⁶ Cf. e.g. the opening of the *Benedictus* (soprano aria) from Leopold's *Missa solemnis* in C (Seiffert 4/2, Carlson IA2b), which comes very close to the beginning of the March No. 23 in the Notebook. The Mass was written at the latest in 1764 (but probably some years earlier). Cf. David M. Carlson, *The Vocal Music of Leopold Mozart (1719–1787): Authenticity, Chronology, and Thematic Catalogue*, PhD Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1976 (typewritten).

major Allegro No. 27 in Nannerl's notebook means that it also is by Wolfgang? Why then not all three, Nos. 22, 23, and 27? So far, no-one has come up with this idea.

Unfortunately, one must say, Einstein has spread a certain confusion in this matter with his perhaps premature commentary to the March No. 23. Erich Valentin, for instance, notes quite correctly in the Foreword³⁷ from which we have already quoted that there is, in the second half of the notebook, another pair of movements that are thematically and motivically related, the two neighbouring Andantes in B-flat and C major (here Nos. 37 and 38, in Valentin's divergent numbering Nos. 33 and 34). But, in the same breath, so to speak, as the case No. 23 discussed above, he suggests that both of these pieces are by Leopold and perhaps even by Wolfgang.³⁸ The latter theory, if Valentin really means it, is absurd and need not be discussed further. In our opinion, all the stylistic characteristics in these two rhythmically complicated, strangely disorderly and yet, at the same time, fascinating "pedagogical" pieces point to Leopold.

As a conclusion to this subsection devoted to Leopold Mozart I would like to add an further incidental observation that may at some point in the future yield fruit in the course of a more methodical investigation. The playful Allegro in C (= No. 40), which one at first, and even second, glance would not associate with Leopold, displays an odd similarity to a movement from a keyboard sonata by Baldassarre Galuppi.³⁹ The affinity is based on the fact that both pieces display the same characteristic, if not unusual, figures which underpin the whole musical framework: on the one hand the trills in parallel thirds in both hands, descending in leaps, in the descant register (No. 40, mm. 1–4), and, on the other hand, the sixteenth-note appoggiaturas, appearing alternately in separate octaves in each hand, that characterise a secondary theme (No. 40, m. 13). In Galuppi's Sonata, both figures are not only technically more involved, but also developed more broadly, just as Galuppi's compositional style is more sweeping and, in any case, more pretentious. But one cannot escape the feeling, when

³⁷ Cf. footnote 35.

³⁸ Valentin's formulation is not clear, however. What he really means must be left open.

³⁹ The third movement in Sonate No. 2 in the new edition by Giacomo Benvenuti (Bologna, 1920) = No. 34 in the *Indice tematico* of Hedda Illy's edition (*Sonate per Cembalo*, Vol. 1, Rome, 1969 = *Musiche vocali e strumentali ...* No. 37, Edizioni De Santis).

reading and playing the little piece from the notebook, that its author knew the Galuppi piece very well, and indeed must have used it as a direct inspiration for his own composition, so powerful are the references described above, although the differences between the pieces are otherwise great. As it happens, the Galuppi sonata did indeed appear in print in Germany just before Leopold started keeping the notebook for his daughter, in Nuremberg in 1757, as the second piece in the second volume of Johan Ulrich Haffner's famous *Raccolta musicale*.⁴⁰ That establishes a clear line of connection to Leopold Mozart, who, like every educated musician of the time, knew Haffner's collection as a matter of course. It must therefore be possible at least to conjecture that the pieces in Italianate style, imitating Italian models, are in fact by Leopold. This possibility, and nothing more, is what I would like to suggest here. Beyond this, it might well be worthwhile to examine all of the Haffner collections systematically, in the hope of finding other compositions that might have served as models or inspirations, hypothetical or factual, for pieces in Nannerl's notebooks.

The second case of debated attribution within the anonymous pieces within the notebook is a good opportunity to underline the need of further investigation of the content of the book. The work in question is the *Arietta con Variazioni* in A (= No. 39), for which our edition names Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach as composer, whereas Helga Michelitsch considers it a work by Georg Christoph Wagenseil.⁴¹ In concert programmes today, these variations appear almost always under the name of Leopold Mozart. There is therefore obviously need for fundamental clarification.

1. The attribution to Leopold Mozart is not serious. It is thoughtlessly based on the naive assumption (which we have already touched on) that anonymous pieces in Nannerl's Notebook are most likely to be by Leopold Mozart, an assumption, which – as we have seen – is generally not completely unfounded or senseless, but, in the present case, far off the mark.

2. The attribution to Wagenseil appears essentially more trustworthy. Yet the only evidence Ms. Scholz-Michelitsch can offer is an incipit list from the catalogue of the Vienna editorial office of *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*; the relevant music manuscript was destroyed by fire in

Darmstadt at the end of WW II. The claim that the anonymous variation in Nannerl's Notebook is to all intents and purposes identical to the series of variations under Wagenseil's name destroyed in Darmstadt can be argued, but not proved. The incipit even shows differences here and there,⁴² so the identification of the anonymous cycle must be considered methodologically contestable and factually doubtful.⁴³

3. In contrast, our ascription of the A major Variations to Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach⁴⁴ can be supported by direct evidence. A comparison of the Variations from Nannerl's Notebook mit Bach's A major Variations (*Clavierstück mit [22] Veränderungen*) [*Keyboard Piece with [22] Variations*] Wq 118,2⁴⁵ – our interest extends only to the Variations 1 to 10 – can be summarised as follows:⁴⁶

Nannerl's Notebook (1759)		C. P. E. Bach, Wq 118,2 (<i>Musikalisches Allerley</i> , 1762)
"Arietta"	Version of the theme not identical	"Satz"
Var. I	(essentially) identical	= 1 ^{te} Veränderung

⁴² Cf. the critical remarks on this subject by Manfred Hermann Schmid, *Klaviermusik in Salzburg um 1770*, in: *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1978/79*, Kassel etc., 1979, pp. 102–112 (109, footnote 34).

⁴³ In general it must be objected that Michelitsch (or Scholz-Michelitsch) (op. cit.) is too absolute in her formulations on the question of authorship.

⁴⁴ Cf. the remark already made in the *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1971/72*, Salzburg, 1973, p. 339, footnote 17.

⁴⁵ *Thematisches Verzeichnis der Werke von Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach* [...], ed. Alfred Wotquenne, Leipzig etc., 1905, p. 50. – On the A major Variations Wq 118,2, two important studies are: Kurt von Fischer, *C. Ph. E. Bachs Variationenwerke*, in: *Revue Belge de Musicologie VI* (1952), pp. 190–218 and especially, IDEM, *Arietta Variata*, in: *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Music. A Tribute to Karl Geiringer*, New York, 1970, pp. 224–235. In both studies the author fails to notice that the A major Variations in Nannerl's Notebook belong to this context. (I would not wish to miss the chance of thanking heartily Prof. Dr. von Fischer (Erlenbach/Zürich) for advice and help in all questions concerning source and transmission relating to Wq 118, 2.)

⁴⁶ The phrase "(essentially) identical" used in what follows refers to small differences in detail which are insufficient to undermine the impression of factual identity. Even the "major divergences" observed in the case of Var. IV can hardly call the ultimate identity into question.

⁴⁰ Cf. RISM B/II, p. 299.

⁴¹ Michelitsch, op. cit. (Wagenseil catalogue), p. 108, No. 96.

II	(essentially) identical	= 2 ^{te}
III	(essentially) identical	= 3 ^{te}
IV	(with major divergences)	= 5 ^{te}
V	(essentially) identical	= 4 ^{te}
VI	---	Missing
VII	(essentially) identical	= 6 ^{te}
missing	---	= 7 ^{te}
VIII	(essentially) identical	= 8 ^{te}
IX	(essentially) identical	= 9 ^{te}
X	(essentially) identical	= 10 ^{te}
XI ⁴⁷	---	Missing
XII	---	Missing

Realistically, these facts allow only one interpretation: that we are dealing with two different versions of one and the same composition and that the composition is by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach. Although one must theoretically concede the possibility that Bach could have made use of an earlier work by Georg Christoph Wagenseil, in practice this is highly improbable. One can hardly imagine that one composer would plagiarise a still living and famous colleague – Wagenseil died only in 1777 – so shamelessly and comprehensively while simultaneously expressly stating that three variations from the second half of the cycle (Variations 12, 15 and 16) were the work of another: “by Mr. C. Fasch”.⁴⁸ We may therefore definitively rule out Wagenseil as composer of the Variations, leaving only Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach. Of course, it is possible to enquire about the relationship between the version of the Variations in Nannerl’s Notebook and the “official” printed version in *Musikalisches Allerley* (1762). Should one then see Leopold Mozart as the composer of the Notebook version – in the sense that he arranged Bach’s original series of Variations, changing and simplifying, adding and removing, to produce a short cycle suited to the abilities of his daughter at that time? Or, rather, should one see the Notebook version as an equally authentic but simply earlier form of the set of variations? If, in order to settle

this question, one consults not only the original printed versions but also the manuscript transmission of the Variations Wq 118,2,⁴⁹ the decision is no longer difficult. It then becomes clear that, in keeping with the second alternative in our question, the Variations were already in circulation in an early manuscript version before the printed publication, and that the copy in the Notebook was only one part of this particular transmission. It is not possible to be more precise about this, however: the immediate source of the copy is unknown, with the consequence that we must for the moment manage without an explanation for Variations VI, XI, XII, which do not appear in Wq 118,2 at all. The situation here may be very complicated. Variation XI in the Notebook recurs with insignificant divergences as Variation 7 in Christian Gottlob Neefe’s variations on the same theme.⁵⁰ It is a safe assumption that Neefe (1748–1798) cannot have known Nannerl’s notebook. He could hardly, however, have been the “original” composer of this 7th variation, for otherwise the piece could not have appeared in the notebook around or shortly after 1760 – when Neefe was about 12 years old.⁵¹ One is forced to conclude that Leopold Mozart (or his copyist) and Neefe must, independently of each other, have drawn on the same reservoir of sources, where the early versions of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach’s A major Variations were transmitted in varying and, so to speak, unstable states as far as the number and sequence of the individual variations is concerned; it is also possible that, in one or other of the sources, apocryphal additions, i.e. not belonging to the authentic body of variations, may have been

⁴⁹ Consisting essentially of the manuscripts preserved in the State Library Berlin – Prussian Cultural Heritage (Music Department) with the signatures *Mus. ms. Bach P 367* and *P 735*. The relationship between these copies and the version of the Variations contained in Nannerl’s Notebook cannot be discussed at more length here. Nor is it our task to introduce new considerations regarding the dating of C. Ph. E. Bach’s cycle of Variations, placed probably too late by Kurt von Fischer (op. cit.) as “1760”. 1760 can probably only apply to the definitive version of the work disseminated in print.

⁵⁰ “Sechs Neue Klaviersonaten, nebst Veränderungen [...] über ein bekanntes Arioso, Leipzig, Schwickert, 1774” (= RISM A/I: N 354).

⁵¹ The date of the entry cannot be determined exactly. As the scribe is a Salzburg copyist, the probability is that the copy was made before Mozart’s departure on the grand tour of Europe (on 9 June 1763). There is no evidence at all that any entries were made in Nannerl’s Notebook after their return to Salzburg (29 November 1767) – if there were any, then it is unlikely that the relatively easy Variations would have been involved.

⁴⁷ This variation also appears, in almost identical form, in the A major Variations on the same theme by Christian Gottlob Neefe. On the resulting problem cf. below.

⁴⁸ Thus the additions to the title in the 52nd piece in the *Musikalisches Allerley*, Berlin, 1762, pp. 194–196.

made to the work.⁵² All these possibilities are fundamentally more plausible than the assumption that Variation XI is genuinely by Neefe, as this leads – as we have already attempted to indicate – to very dubious chronological constructions. Until further evidence is available for assessment, we will consider Variations VI, XI, XII as apocryphal: possibly the work, later rejected, of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, but also possibly simply of another, unknown provenance. – Here we leave the A major Variations in Nannerl's Notebook and their authorship.

Remarks on individual pieces in the Notebook

No. 11 Menuett in F: This piece is obviously the starting point or, better, the model for a later composition by Mozart, namely the F major Menuett KV 15^m from the London Sketchbook (No. 12 on p. 109 of this volume). More remote relationships exist also with Menuett No. 5, likewise in F major.

No. 20: Keyboard Piece in C KV 9^a (5^a) represents the only Mozart autograph still in Nannerl's Notebook today. The handwriting – cf. facsimile on p. XXXI – is typical of Mozart's earliest autographs. It is hardly admissible to speak of “*childlike uncertainty*” (as in KV⁶) – the writing is no doubt crude and untidy, but shows complete control of pen and hand. It seems at least clear that the calligraphic evidence rules out a dating before the first half of 1764 (i.e. before the London Sketchbook). Since one must also take into consideration the craftsmanship displayed in the formal aspects of the composition – not a single intervention by Leopold Mozart is visible – with its suggestion of substantial experience, the date proposed in Köchel's catalogue – “Summer 1763” – cannot be accepted. Cf. in this context also the remarks on Nos. 62–63 and 64.

⁵² Amongst the Berlin composers in particular, the remarkable phenomenon of the guest or second composer is not unusual, making, at the invitation of the composer or publisher, a more or less modest contribution to a friend's printed work. We have already mentioned something of the kind in connection with the *Veränderungen* 12, 15 and 16 from Wq 118, 2, which were the work of Fasch. If such a practice were also to be discovered in the early manuscript transmission prior to the printed publication – which might require future investigation – it would of course remove all barriers concerning apocryphal contributions in authentic cycles. Difficulties of this kind relating to details of the authorship discussion can only be mentioned here in passing.

Concerning measures 12–13 and 35–36, left hand: It is one of the calligraphic idiosyncrasies of the eight-year-old Mozart in connection with the London Sketchbook⁵³ that slides, turns, and other very rapid figures are written incorrectly (usually with one beam too many). The interpretation we have chosen here (sixteenth-note triplets) makes more musical sense than other equally imaginable solutions.

No. 23 March in F (II): On the question of authorship – Leopold or Wolfgang Mozart? – refer to the excursus on the composers in the Notebook. – The second section of the March (mm. 30ff.) and the entire following number (No. 24 = KV 8/1) are missing in the Notebook; the separated leaves are now to be found in the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, Département de la Musique (formerly Bibliothèque du Conservatoire, Malherbe Collection).

No. 30 Allegro in G: Mozart quotes the opening measures of this piece – which he of course knew and had played, even if Leopold Mozart makes no express remark to this effect – in the London Sketchbook: cf. there No. 14 = KV 15^o (pp. 112f. of this volume).

No. 39 Arietta con Variazioni in A: On the question of authorship cf. the excursus on the composers in the Notebook. One harmonic and melodic figure, particularly obvious e.g. in the middle of Var. X (mm. 5–6), seems to have made a lasting impression on Mozart; it appears many years later, probably as an unconscious quotation in the Concert Rondo – actually likewise Variations – in D KV 382 in an analogous passage.

No. 48 Menuett in F KV 6 (Menuet II): The fact that this little piece, deliberately and carefully marked by Leopold Mozart with composer and date, appeared at roughly the same time as an orchestral piece in the only large Serenade by Leopold Mozart to have come down to us⁵⁴ might raise suspicions of a

⁵³ Cf. the corresponding excursion on the manuscript in the *Kritischer Bericht*.

⁵⁴ The work is noted neither by Max Seiffert nor Ernst Ludwig Theiß, but has recently appeared in print: *Leopold Mozart, Serenata D-dur / D major für Orchester (mit je einem Konzert für Trompete und Posaune)*, ed. Alexander Weinmann. First edition: Eulenburg Octavo Edition, No. 10137. – The editor is grateful to the publishers Eulenburg, Zürich for kind permission to print the movement in question from their edition as Appendix I (pp. 171f.) of this volume. (Weinmann, incidentally, does not mention the identity of the movement discussed here.) The approximate date of composition of this orchestral serenade by Leopold Mozart is deduced from the fact that the Trumpet Concerto included here (Seiffert

problem of authenticity or authorship. But here there was neither an intention on Leopold Mozart's part to disguise one of his own works as the boy's work nor – as is at least imaginable – to see one of his own works treasured more by putting the name of his ingenious son to it; both ideas are ridiculous and unworthy of discussion. The present Menuett is the last and most successful link in a chain of pieces whose similarity, indeed uniformity, is striking even at a casual glance. Wyzewa and Saint-Foix have already pointed out that the three Menuetts KV 4, 5 and 6 (II) share an essentially identical bass line.⁵⁵ It is probably too simple, however, to conclude that the three numbers belong together as “exercises”.⁵⁶ Instead, one should see in the three members of this group further evidence for the direction taken by Leopold Mozart in composition teaching. Beside the melodic relationships with familiar material and the variation and re-use of formula-like phrases – the pieces in the Notebook offer plentiful examples of these – there is here also the additional element of composing with pre-existing basses and the use of established compositional and formal models; all of this is, in a manner of speaking, trained systematically. With the present Menuett, the six-year-old boy – even if with the supervision and help of his father – has produced a masterly composition, and it is less a patronising gesture, but rather the praise of a colleague, a sign of recognition by fellow musician, that father Leopold incorporated this piece in his great Serenade.⁵⁷ A proud and moving moment for both musicians. – Amongst all the other “earliest” keyboard pieces written in Salzburg, this one has a special place: it is no longer restricted to the range of the clavichord (C – c^{'''}), but is already conceived for a larger piano or harpsichord (F – f^{'''}). Although there is no mention anywhere that the six-year-old Mozart played this Menuett in public, it can be easily imagined. And one need not be possessed of great fantasy to picture Deputy Music Director Leopold Mozart suddenly interrupting the solemn performance of his latest Serenata in Salzburg and saying: “*What you have just heard, and have found so appealing, was not mine, but by my little son. He*

3/34 = movements IV and V of the Serenade) is transmitted in a separate autograph score of Leopold Mozart's dated August 1762.

⁵⁵ Théodore de Wyzewa and Georges de Saint-Foix, *W.-A. Mozart. Sa vie musicale et son œuvre ...*, Volume 1, Paris ³/1936, p. 17.

⁵⁶ Cf. KV⁶, *Anmerkung* [footnote] to KV 5.

⁵⁷ The fact that Mozart's name is missing in the relevant Menuett & Trio in the only extant source for the printed mentioned above (footnote 54) certainly does not justify the assumption that his father wished to suppress his son's name. In the autograph, sadly untraceable, it is unlikely to have been absent.

will now play you the piece as he originally conceived it at the keyboard [...]”

No. 50 Keyboard Piece in G: This piece was used to fill a space which was fortuitously left blank as a *recto* side between No. 49 and No. 51. The second part of the piece is not lost, but was not notated due to lack of space.

No. 51 Concerto Movement in G: This is the solo part of an otherwise unknown (first) movement of a piano concerto. The orchestral *tutti* passages, i.e. the introductory, intervening and closing passages, have been omitted – mostly without use of rests – so that “gaps” and impossible juxtapositions etc. occur in the continuous notation: the piece cannot be performed as it stands. Despite some early pencil corrections which reveal the fact that the piece was in fact practised, the notation can be considered playable only in a limited sense; the harmonic development in the study-like unfolding of the central section (mm. 31ff.) is at least dubious in the original notation, making cautious suggestions for retouching of the accidentals necessary.

No. 52 Five Technical Exercises: Studies of this and similar kinds are usually written on loose leaves and seldom preserved beyond the period of their immediate use – we therefore have difficulty today in forming a picture of how keyboard teaching was structured at the time. The exercises entered by chance on the last page of Nannerl's Notebook give us some information on Leopold Mozart the keyboard teacher; at the same time they remind us of what we like to forget: that even child prodigies had to practise.

No. 53–57: This part of the manuscript, separated at an early date from the Notebook – in Leopold Mozart's hand throughout – was first discovered in London in 1954; its publication constituted one of the biggest surprises of the Mozart jubilee year 1956. The manuscript is today in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. – Only the numbers 55 and 56 (= KV 1^c and KV 1^d) are precisely dated by Leopold Mozart. On the genesis of the first two pieces (No. 53 and 54 = KV 1^a and KV 1^b), KV⁶ makes the same comment: “*composed in Salzburg at the end of January or beginning of February 1761*”. This is not consistent with the blanket dating entered at the top by Leopold Mozart (“[...] *in the first three months after his 5th year*”) and must therefore be rejected. – The carefully annotated table of intervals (= No. 57, in facsimile on p. 89 of this volume) shows how soon Leopold Mozart introduced his children to the elements of music theory.

No. 58 Menuett in F KV 2: This piece is known to us only from the printed version in Nissen's Mozart biography (No. 15 in the musical examples to p. 15); the dating remark supplied by Nissen is not an exact quote of the original, but its content can hardly be doubted. The leaf bearing the piece, lost since Nissen's day, had certainly originally belonged to Nannerl's book; it is to be assumed that Leopold Mozart was the scribe.

No. 59 Allegro in B^b KV 3: The single leaf containing KV 3 was separated from the Notebook and is today in the Municipal and Regional Library of the city of Leipzig. On the reverse side of the leaf, Leopold Mozart had notated a series of simple figured bass lines (= No. 60, in facsimile on p. 92 of this volume): short, modulating pieces in figured bass notation which give us an impression of the way in which the Mozart children learned harmony and modulation on the basis of Baroque figured bass practice.⁵⁸

No. 61 Menuett in F KV 5: As far as the transmission of this piece is concerned (Nissen, op. cit., No. 18), one can refer to the remarks on No. 58. Otherwise cf. also the comments on No. 48, where the musical links between Menuetts KV 4, 5 and 6 (II) are referred to.

No. 62 and 63 Menuett in G KV 1 (KV⁶:I^e) and Menuett in C KV 1, Trio (KV⁶:I^f): The autograph leaf with these pieces was removed from the Notebook and is today in the possession of the Museum Carolino Augusteum in Salzburg. As can be gathered from an attestation in Nannerl's own hand, she gave the leaf away to a Mozart admirer in 1815. – The undeniably correct observation that both short pieces are related musically and motivically has led to a largely unproductive debate on the question of whether they are two single Menuetts with thematic links or whether they form a pair in the sense of Menuett and Trio or Menuett I and II. The first is certainly possible, and it is equally certain that the latter could be intended. The only thing missing are the titles. More significant, on the other hand, is the question of how exactly the date noted on Nannerl's attestation is to be taken. She had expressly "*testified that this piece was composed and written out personally by her brother*

⁵⁸ On this cf. the Foreword to NMA IX/27/2: *Single Pieces for Piano (and Organ, Barrel Organ, Glass Harmonica)*, p. XII, where there is mention of modulating figured basses from later years. Modulation exercises of this kind, as is suggested there, must have had a special significance for the Mozart children.

at the age of five"⁵⁹. This was initially taken at face value and a corresponding date of composition fixed as "*probably 1761 or 1762, in Salzburg*",⁶⁰ so that the pieces were for a long time considered to be the earliest of all compositions by Mozart – KV 1, to put it concisely. Wyzewa and Saint-Foix⁶¹, who, contrary to Nannerl's statement, wished to date it no less than a year later (1762/63), had to bear criticism from Hermann Abert (^I, p. 29, footnote 3) that it "*must first be proved*" that not only father Leopold, but also Nannerl "*had deliberately depicted her brother as a year younger*". No thought was given to the possibility that Nannerl, who had reached a substantial age in 1815, could simply have erred after such a long time. Nor did anybody notice how strange it is that Mozart's first two compositions – as Nannerl wants to have it – are apparently preserved in his own hand, while the subsequent pieces were in his father's hand. This was always – convincingly – interpreted as showing that the pieces were dictated to the father because the son had not yet mastered notation.⁶² Only today are we in a position to maintain firmly that there is not a single document in Mozart's hand, not a single autograph, that can be dated as being certainly, or even probably, from before 1764. For the calligraphy of these two Menuetts, the remarks on this subject made concerning No. 20 (= KV 9^a/5^a) apply. Nothing needs to be added to that here.

No. 64 Keyboard Piece in B^b KV 9^b (5^b): This leaf with autograph notation of the first part (mm. 1–38) of the piece was in 1871/72 still in the International Mozart Foundation in Salzburg,⁶³ although probably no longer as part of the Notebook, but already separated.⁶⁴ Only after the death of Franz Xaver Jelinek (1818–1880), the first archivist at the Mozart Foundation, do we lose the traces.⁶⁵ The rest of the fragment – a second leaf with measures 39–43, afterwards breaking off in the uppermost staff system – re-appeared to everyone's surprise in 1973;

⁵⁹ More details are provided in the description of the manuscript in the *Kritischer Bericht*.

⁶⁰ Thus the remark concerning the genesis in KV³⁻⁶.

⁶¹ Op. cit., pp. 28 f.

⁶² As it was previously not possible to distinguish definitively between the handwritings of father and son, this argument, with all its consequences, has received too little attention in the past.

⁶³ This part appears in facsimile in Max Glonner's *Salzburger Mozart-Album*, Salzburg, 1871.

⁶⁴ A copy of the Notebook made for Köchel, which certainly originated before 1871/72 (more on this in the *Kritischer Bericht*), no longer contained KV 9^b (5^b).

⁶⁵ Cf. Wolfgang Plath, *Gefälschte Mozart-Autographe (II): Der Fall Jelinek*, in: *Acta Mozartiana* 26 (1979), Issue 4, pp. 72–80.

this fragment is today in private ownership. – Our new dating for the composition is based primarily on the characteristics of the handwriting itself, to which everything applies that has already been said in connection with No. 20 (= KV 9^a/ 5^a). As an additional argument, however, it must be pointed out that a directly comparable case to such a striking phenomenon as the parallel motion of chromatic chords in measures 23–25 (33–35) is to be found in the London Sketchbook: here one can compare measures 40–42 from the keyboard piece KV 15^v (= No. 21 on pp. 130ff. of the present volume).

The London Sketchbook

Nannerl received her Notebook in 1759; she was then eight years old. Now, at last, her brother received his own book: “*di Wolfgango Mozart / à Londra / 1764*” [“*by Wolfgang Mozart / in London / 1764*”], Leopold Mozart wrote on it;⁶⁶ Wolfgang was at that point also eight years old. But receiving a book of one’s own was not just a question of age. It had been necessary to compile Nannerl’s book because she had passed the age at which she was given her first, regular keyboard lessons, and she now needed a book in which her technical and musical exercises could be kept. In the Mozarts’ house they therefore already had a book for a beginner’s use, and this was of course put into service when the four-year-old had his first regular teaching under the gaze of his astonished father, and began to learn keyboard pieces in such an unbelievably short time. Why then should a new book be needed? The boy began to compose; he spontaneously played little pieces as a matter of course, playing them to his father simply because they were pleasing, and the father decided that such things must be preserved on paper. But the little boy was still a long way from being able to write. So the father wrote down what was played to him: initially exactly what he heard, even if this was sometimes quite facetious. Later, the pieces may have been discussed in some detail, and the father showed why one should do this or that differently, better, and how one can make many pieces, sounding different each time, from one idea – and, unnoticeably, composition teaching began. Might this not have been the time to give Wolfgang a book of his own? But Leopold Mozart prefers to fill the empty pages in Nannerl’s book with her brother’s compositions. Nannerl no longer needs the book – she had long ago left these lessons behind her – and Wolfgang was not yet able to write and was therefore still dependent on his father. Only during the further course of the great educational journey around

Europe did the breakthrough with pen and ink take place. This is not, and cannot be, the place to explain how decisive this phase in his development must have been for a child composer. Someone who had previously been accustomed to composed only at the instrument or to transferring his ideas immediately onto the keyboard, a person who had so far only been familiar with the phases of composing, realising and reproducing, is suddenly faced with the task of giving the composed material a fixed form, i.e. converting into notation what he has imagined or heard. Everything that up till then had been left to his father must now be carried out by himself.

To put it banally: not the fact that Nannerl’s Notebook was now full and could not accommodate any more compositions by the child prodigy, but the fact that the child prodigy himself could now write music, prompted the father to dedicate a notebook to Wolfgang alone. This book was not only the personal property of the eight-year-old, but also represented, like a diary, his private domain, which the others, i.e. his father and sister, respected strictly. This, and not such possible reasons as Leopold Mozart’s illness in July 1764, must be the real explanation of why this London Sketchbook genuinely does not contain a single note in a foreign hand. It is probably also the explanation of another fact, which is sometimes observed with astonishment, namely, that not one of the pieces in this book re-appeared later in “official”, i.e. tidily written-out compositions. (Perhaps the term “Sketchbook” perhaps awakes too many expectations in this direction.) Private composing – that is something that only takes place in the notebook and which concerns only its owner. “Official” composing is a completely different matter and continues to take place under the supervision and intervention of the father, but with the difference that now it is Mozart himself who writes out the first “raw” score (if this expression is permissible); this is then revised by the father or written out completely again, depending on what circumstances dictated.⁶⁷ – It is evidence of wisdom

⁶⁷ One should remember in this context the only apparently complicated circumstances of the transmission of some early Mozart arias from the time around 1765 – e.g. “*Va dal furor portata*” KV 21 (19^c) or “*Conservati fedele*” KV 23 – where, roughly speaking, in addition to the autograph (sometimes there are even two autographs), there are also one or even two copies made by Leopold Mozart, and where each of these primary sources transmits an individual version of the work. These characteristics are typical of such “official” compositional products of the cooperation between father and son; it is no less typical that phenomena of this kind

⁶⁶ Cf. the facsimile at the bottom of p. XXIX.

that the father allowed his son his own way in his book, and of cleverness, that he insisted that – initially, at least, – all work there was in pencil.

Wolfgang's Sketchbook of 1764, today preserved in the Biblioteka Jagiellońska in Kraków, is a leather-bound book in small format whose varied history can be read in the different bindings and their nature – the latter is unfortunately not as clear as one would wish. The book in its present condition, for example, contains no indication of any kind relating to its previous owners: all extant indications in this regard or other entries were obviously lost along with an original cover removed during later binding.⁶⁸ The external appearance of the book is today unnaturally neutral: it does not even display a library stamp or signatures entered by librarians. Of the history of the book we know only this much: that Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy received it from Heinrich Beer in 1830 as a birthday present;⁶⁹ from whom, and when, Beer acquired it is not known.⁷⁰ The book remained in the possession of the Mendelssohn family, was then forgotten (Ludwig von Köchel and Otto Jahn, for example, knew nothing about it), was rediscovered for the general public only at the end of the 19th century⁷¹ and finally became, in 1908, as part of the so-called Mendelssohn Foundation, the property of the German Kaiser, who transferred it to what was then the Royal Library, later the Prussian State Library in Berlin.⁷²

were particularly frequent and especially obvious around 1765.

⁶⁸ I refer to the discussion conducted above concerning the identity of the second London Sketchbook ("Capricci") KV 32^a.

⁶⁹ Cf. KV⁶, footnote ("Autograph") to KV 15^a.

⁷⁰ Heinrich Beer (1794–1842), a younger brother of Giacomo Meyerbeer, was possessed by a nothing less than compulsive obsession for collecting. Neither records nor catalogues of collections belonging to this strange and eccentric man have survived; nor can anything be said regarding the provenance of individual pieces. (I am most indebted to Prof. Dr. Heinz Becker, Bochum, for kindly providing this information.)

⁷¹ A pioneer in this matter was Rudolph Genée; cf. his publications *13 Stücke aus dem Notenskizzenbuch von W. A. Mozart aus London 1764*, in: *Mitteilungen für die Mozartgemeinde in Berlin, Beilage zum 5. Heft* (February 1898); *Mozart als Knabe in London und sein Notenskizzenbuch vom Jahre 1764*, op. cit., 3 (1898), Issue 5, pp. 147ff., and Issue 6, pp. 184ff.; further, *Das Notenskizzenbuch Mozarts aus London 1764*, in: *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde* 2 (1898/99), Volume 1, Issue 2 (May 1898), pp. 79–82.

⁷² On this cf. also Karl Heinz Köhler, *Die Erwerbungen der Mozart-Autographe der Berliner Staatsbibliothek – ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Nachlasses*, in: *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1962/63*, Salzburg, 1964, pp. 55–67. – The

The Sketchbook really became known to the world of music specialists and music lovers through the printed edition produced by Georg Schünemann in 1909,⁷³ although this was subjected – rightly, one has to say – to harsh criticism from Alfred Heuss.⁷⁴ The expectation with which Heuss' comments closed, that "*a second edition [...] would no doubt take care of all the weakness of a probably unduly hurried publication*" has not been fulfilled.⁷⁵ One cannot spare Schünemann accusations that he did not acquaint himself sufficiently with the idiosyncracies of the young Mozart's handwriting around 1764/65, that he did not devote enough thought to the intended musical sense of various – admittedly really hardly decipherable – entries, that he obviously did not hesitate to impute to the eight-year-old composer, who indeed had notated in parts of the book not only daring, but also simply unsuccessful, ideas, a further number of plainly nonsensical items which, with closer attention, could have been transformed into more satisfactory readings. In a word, he did not take the composing boy seriously enough, but rather treated him as a curiosity; this undermined the entire edition.

The present edition is the first since Schünemann to be able to refer directly to the original manuscript again – it was lost for a long time after WW II. The editor found himself in an advantageous position compared to Schünemann, however: he could use not only the original, but also photographs of the original. In this way, some details which appeared completely illegible in the original – especially if the lighting conditions were unfavourable – could in fact be read with tolerable certainty. It must added here, in explanation, that more than half of the book, namely the first 27 numbers, is written in pencil; from page 63 on (= No. 28) all notation is in ink. The pencil used by Mozart must have been a soft, coarse carpenter's marker, seldom sharpened, usually blunt, sometimes even worn down to the wood. If then, in addition, the writer's hand is clumsy and makes imprecise signs, one can picture how inexact and difficult to read these pencil entries are. But even in places where the notation seems, to the naked eye, obliterated to the point of

matter is dealt with only very briefly by Köhler, however (p. 65).

⁷³ *Mozart als achtjähriger Komponist. Ein Notenbuch Wolfgangs. Zum ersten Male vollständig und kritisch herausgegeben von [...]*, Leipzig, 1909.

⁷⁴ In: *Zeitschrift der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 10 (1908/1909), pp. 181–182.

⁷⁵ The essential difference from the first edition is that the "*revised, corrected edition*" (Leipzig, no date) had to dispense with the original accompanying facsimiles.

unrecognisability, much can still be rescued with the help of photography.

Here it is not possible to mention all aspects of the London Sketchbook, let alone discuss them. One point, however, one question, requires clarification: to what extent are the collected pieces really keyboard pieces? A first answer might be to point to the notation in keyboard manner; furthermore, many of the shorter and some of the substantial “Sturm und Drang” [“Storm and Urgency”, applied particularly to a German literary movement at the end of the 18th century] pieces make a very good impression performed on the piano: there is no reason not to accept them as piano pieces. Some, however, clearly show the signs of a piano reduction: in these, Mozart hears the orchestral sound so intensively in his mind that it even comes through in the piano version. Representing a number of other pieces as well, let us name the Menuett No. 28 (= KV 15^{cc}). And then there is also the magnificent E^b major piece No. 35 (= KV 15^{kk}), which indeed genuinely transcends the piano and signifies something completely different – but what? Chamber music in the style, perhaps, of the Adagio from the Keyboard/Violin Sonata KV 7? Or rather an orchestral piece, the central movement of a symphony? The ideas and interpretations are in all cases subjective; even the sparse suggestions in this regard placed in square brackets in the Köchel catalogue would not meet with approval on all sides.⁷⁶ One is tempted to think that Mozart composed in such a private sphere at that time that it seems that the elements of genre and diverse instrumental forces were left open, as if all of this could still be represented on the keyboard. Perhaps it was indeed father Leopold who first pressed his son to put the music into the “right” instrumental garments?

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⁷⁶ Here attention should be drawn to a gramophone record, unfortunately out of print, on which about two thirds of the pieces in the London book are presented in very valuable and skilfully arranged orchestral version by Erik Smith: *Mozart auf der Reise nach London. Geniestreiche eines Achtjährigen*. Academy of St. Martin-in-the-Fields / Neville Marriner. Philips 6833 222 (= Einführung in die Philips Mozart Edition). – Anyone listening to this recording with an open mind will think that the pieces in the London Sketchbook represent nothing less than a large-scale ballet music in several sections. Presented in such a way, this music could indeed be awakened to new life.

This is not the place to comment comprehensively on the pieces in the London book. But some remarks on individual numbers are at least permissible:

No. 7 (KV 15^s): Normally, even in the second half of the 18th century, the chord notation in the opening measures of this piece would mean that the notes are not to be sounded simultaneously, but arpeggiated repeatedly up and down. This rule can generally only be considered valid for clavichord, harpsichord, hammerklavier etc.; whether, and to what extent, this could be done on the organ is indeed very open to doubt. In the present case it is hardly possible to decide what kind of realisation is intended. Yet this question becomes almost insignificant compared to the fact that it is not possible to present a sensible text on the basis of Mozart’s notation. The sequence of chords in the opening section may sound harsh and alienating, but, in the final analysis, they are in keeping with the typical “harmonic surprises” of the free keyboard fantasy around 1760; the developments in the following imitative section, however, are – as in m. 16 – devoid of any musical sense at all. Mozart had probably intended something quite different from what he put on paper; what he intended, however, cannot be guessed. It is hardly possible to perform the piece in this form.

Nos. 9 and 10 (KV 15ⁱ and KV 15^k): On the model of the pieces paired in No. 11, one could likewise interpret these two compositions as a Menuett *da capo* with *minore* central section or else as Menuetts I and II. The notation, however, reveals clearly that they are individual compositions.

No. 12 (KV 15^m): Cf. the remark above on No. 11 in Nannerl’s Notebook.

No. 13 (KV 15ⁿ): The parallel passages mm. 8ff. (16ff.) are amongst the most amusing or, if one will, most impressive episodes in the Sketchbook. Mozart loses, where the cadenza is introduced at the end of sections, his overview of the mensural structure and emphasis, and his notation is displaced relative to the barlines, over long stretches, by a quarter-note. We have left the notation in its original form and have attempted to clarify the relationships with the help of additional reading aids. On this cf. also the facsimiles on p. XXXIV.

No. 14 (KV 15^o): Besides the resemblance between the incipit of this work and that of No. 30 in Nannerl’s book, there is also an astonishing similarity between the quasi ostinato structure of the repetitions in mm. 6ff. (19–20) and a passage in *Sonata III^{za}* from the six chamber sonatas by Franz

Xaver Richter⁷⁷ (cf. I. *Andante affettuoso*: mm. 17ff./25ff. and mm. 61ff./67ff.).

No. 20 (KV 15^u): Practical editions have been published which reproduce the rhythms notated by Mozart and therefore praise themselves for being true to the original. It is even occasionally possible to hear the opinion that Mozart obviously “experimented” here with rhythms somewhat out of the ordinary. These are not experiments, however: he simply could not yet notate the rhythm he had in mind, the well-known Siciliano rhythm. Even in later days – as in the *Gallimathias musicum* KV 32 of 1766 – he sometimes relapsed into his old way of writing.

No. 21 (KV 15^v): Parallel, chromatic chord progressions such as in measures 40–42 (98–100) are amongst the most idiosyncratic, indeed “badly-behaved”, musical utterances of Mozart as a boy. They are entirely confined – as one need hardly emphasise – to the “private” area of his composing. They also seem to have been a chronologically very limited phenomenon. Analogous material in Mozart is otherwise found in the fragmentary keyboard piece KV 9^b (5^b) = No. 64 in Nannerl’s Notebook; cf. the relevant remarks above. – The two incompletely notated fermata measures (58, 59) are reproduced faithfully from the original. Other editions contract the passage to a single measure by suppressing the barline. – Another notational mannerism of the young Mozart was to write fermatas not above, but beside, the note in question. In the present case – in view of the missing rests for the second quarter-note in each measure – it cannot be ruled out that Mozart had in mind an ornamentation of the fermatas (perhaps a thirty-second-note run *g'–g''* or similar). – Whether the connecting measures 60–62, in their nature anacrustic but in their notation full measures, were really intended this way by Mozart is open to doubt. Whoever wishes to play an anacrusis here must then correspondingly extend the quarter-notes *d + d''* in measure 62 to half-notes.

No. 22 (KV 15^w): Mozart notated the sixteenth-note tremolo figures in the right hand in measures 16–21 in abbreviature (as half-notes with double cross-strokes) from the beginning of the passage, but gives no indication of the realisation he intended. In cases of this kind, one usually begins the tremolo with the bottom note; this is also the interpretation suggested by Schünemann and in the practical editions based on him. We have chosen in the present case a resolution in the opposite direction, that is, starting with the top note, because this interpretation enables

a better realisation of the line entering in the middle voice and moving parallel to the left hand. Who wishes (and can) may however play



Less satisfactory, in contrast, is the traditional resolution:



No. 35 (KV 15^{kk}): In the review of Schünemann’s edition mentioned above,⁷⁸ Alfred Heuß points out the uneven standard of the pieces in the London Sketchbook. (For pieces of “*bad and illogical writing*” he even considers the possibility that Nannerl may have played a part in their composition.) Concerning our No. 35, Heuß continues: “[...] *some pieces, again, are completely in order [...] What is the reason for this? I consider No. 35, for example, to be an arrangement of an Andante from a symphony by some contemporary composer.*” – We share Heuß’ judgement of the material, but not the conjectures with which he follows this up.

Remarks on the Appendix to this Volume

Concerning *Appendix I: Trio of Menuett I (= 3rd movement) from the Serenata in D by Leopold Mozart*, cf. the remarks above on No. 48 (= KV 6, Menuett II) from the Notebook for Nannerl.

Anhang II: Two keyboard pieces of indefinite authorship, mentioned in KV Anh. 20^a (KV⁶: 626^b/25): These two pieces, often supposed to be written by Leopold Mozart, are on the reverse side of a leaf on which Mozart wrote in his own hand a probably later version of measures 182–195 (“*in remissionem peccatorum*”) from the Credo of the *Missa brevis* in G KV 49 (47^d).⁷⁹ The original was lost a long time ago, but a copy from the 19th century still exists, and it is from this that we have based our text.⁸⁰ It can be ruled out that these compositions are by Leopold Mozart: one reason is the general style, but more significant are a series of compositional liberties or errors which Leopold Mozart would never have allowed himself, but which are perfectly conceivable for Mozart in the

⁷⁸ Cf. footnote 75.

⁷⁹ Cf. NMA I/1/Abt. 1: *Masses • Volume 1* (Walter Senn), Foreword (p. IX) and Appendix (p. 316).

⁸⁰ Cf. my study mentioned in footnote 19, pp. 116f. The two pieces in question were printed there for the first time.

⁷⁷ New edition by Walter Upmeyer in *Hortus Musicus* 86.

middle to later years of the 1760s. An example of such a compositional liberty is the disturbed periodicity in the 2nd part of the piece in B^b major (mm. 17f.): this cannot be corrected, and was obviously quite deliberately composed this way, as the consistent voice-leading indicates. The beginning of this exceptionally fascinating piece is strongly reminiscent of Polidoro's aria (No. 17: "*Sposa cara, sposa bella*") in *La finta semplice* KV 51 (46^a), which in turn could suggest a genesis in Vienna in 1768, a possibility which is further supported by the transmission context of the Credo fragment from the Mass KV 49 (47^d), likewise written in Vienna. The second piece (E^b major, fragment) makes, in comparison, a very un-pianistic impression; it is easier to imagine something of this kind as an intermezzo in a wind divertimento or the like. A portion – but not more than a portion – of the obvious errors and weaknesses in this compositionally hardly significant piece are probably to be blamed on copyist's errors. If this piece is also by Mozart – the assumption of two different composers for the two different keyboard pieces would be, for various reasons, less than likely – it must then have originated at a substantially earlier date, around 1764/65, where we can find (as the London Sketchbook shows) pieces of quite different natures immediately adjacent to one another. – The decision to include both of these pieces in the appendix to the present volume was made at a time when the editor was still convinced of the existence of the problematical second London Sketchbook ("*Capricci*") KV 32^a; he is no longer of this opinion and would therefore prefer to see these two pieces placed in the appendix of NMA volume IX/27/2: *Single Pieces for Piano (and Organ, Mechanical Organ, Glass Harmonica)*, where their presence would be more appropriate.

Remarks on the Editing

Regarding the editing of the *Notebook for Maria Anna (Nannerl) Mozart* of 1759, one point should be particularly noted: the original versions found there of works later encountered as keyboard/violin sonata movements by Mozart – i.e. numbers 24–26 and 46–48 – have been edited in the present volume as keyboard pieces in their own right and not treated retrospectively in the light of their later keyboard/violin versions. The music text we offer is therefore not fully identical with the keyboard part of the corresponding movements from Sonatas KV 6, 7 and 8 as they are presented in NMA VII/23: *Sonatas and Variations for Piano and Violin • Volume I* (Eduard Reeser). A fundamental point, however, of which the user of this volume should be aware is that no typographical differentiation has

been made in the case of this Notebook between "Mozart" and "non-Mozart". Both of these appear in the same type-face; the only difference is that the titles of Mozart compositions are distinguished by the presence of the KV (Köchel Catalogue) number, while other work headings display the name of the composer or, in anonymous pieces, are left blank.

Original additions to the text in the source are printed, as is customary, in normal type, while all additions by the editor appear in italics. Remarks by Leopold Mozart concerning the pieces learnt by Wolfgang and, further, attributions he made for the pieces are reproduced in the original wording and orthography in order to impart to the whole edition the character of a documentation.

For Nannerl's *Notebook* and the *London Sketchbook* of 1764, the following is equally applicable:

1. The guiding principle behind this edition was the concept that the idiosyncrasies of both books should, as far as possible, be preserved. In practice, this means that the rule generally valid elsewhere in the NMA, according to which complete pieces should appear in the main text, while incomplete pieces, sketches and drafts should be presented in the appendix to the volume, has not been applied.
2. A further consequence of this is that the contents of the notebooks have not been subjected to a redaction in the generally accepted sense of the word. Apart from the emendation of obvious notational errors in the source – which has as a rule been carried out not tacitly, but with a comment in the footnotes – the text has been reproduced strictly following the original.
3. Adherence to these principles would normally have made the present volume a "dead book", at best a volume for music scholars and without immediate value for practising musicians. To avoid this danger, an editorial form hitherto unknown in the NMA has been used: the "commentated edition", which is to be understood as a music text faithful to the original, as outlined above, with *ossia* versions supplied either above or below and/or explanations and commentary provided in footnotes.
4. The *ossia* versions sometimes present to the reader parallel passages from the same piece, where other, possibly better, readings are to be found and which should be considered in the passage in question. More frequently, however, the editor attempts to suggest in *ossia* versions and/or footnotes a better solution to be substituted for a poor, musically unsatisfactory or otherwise dubious

part of the text; these suggestions, one must once again emphasise, are not usually supported by the source, but are free inventions for which the editor bears the responsibility.

5. One of the most difficult problems in editing the London Sketchbook (and, correspondingly, the autograph parts of Nannerl's Notebook) lies not in the correct reading of the text, but in the editorial decision required where, despite the most correct reading possible of an unintelligible text, one must still pose this question: "That is what is written there; but what did Mozart really mean to say?" The editor finds himself in the most embarrassing position when he is forced to suspect that the factually written notation may not be what the composer really intended. This situation occurs – as the user of this volume will very soon notice – not seldom; it then depends on the musical context in each case whether one accepts without protest the notated "roughness", whether one spontaneously finds a relatively simple emendation which Mozart for some reason failed to notice (it is sometimes like chess, where one may or may not notice certain possible moves), or whether, confronted by a hopelessly obfuscated situation (No. 7 (KV 15^e) in the London book is probably to be described this way), one drops one's hands in despair.

6. Those users of this volume whose intention from the very beginning is to play rather than study should likewise from the very beginning try the *ossia* readings; the original notation would probably offer only frustration.

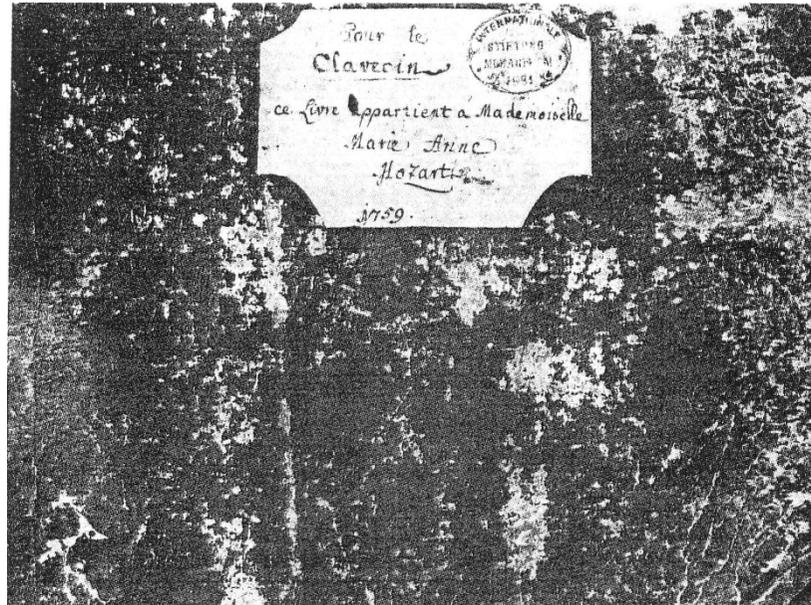
*

To all libraries, institutions and persons (listed individually in the *Kritischer Bericht*) who have assisted the editor by making material available, providing information or other help, my thanks are due, above all to the Biblioteka Jagiellońska Kraków and the International Mozart Foundation, Salzburg. Professors Dr. Marius Flothuis (Amsterdam) and Karl-Heinz Füssl (Vienna) read the proofs of the music text and offered in the process much useful advice which has been gratefully acted on. – The drawing-up of the Foreword proved especially difficult and protracted. The editor is very much aware that, during this time, he stretched the patience of his colleagues Dr. Dietrich Berke (Kassel) and Dr. Wolfgang Rehm (Munich/Salzburg) to the limit. Especially hearty thanks are due to both not only for their endurance, but also for support on both musicological and personal levels.

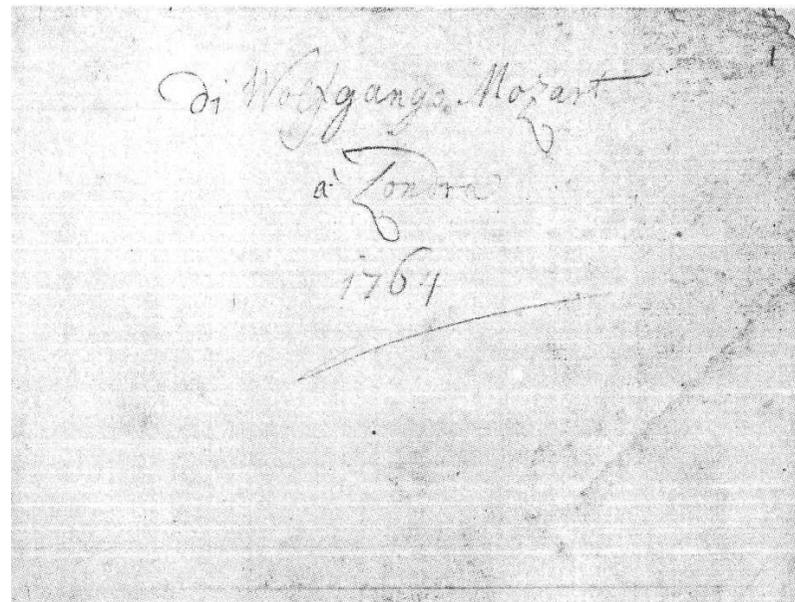
Wolfgang Plath

Augsburg/Salzburg, August, 1982

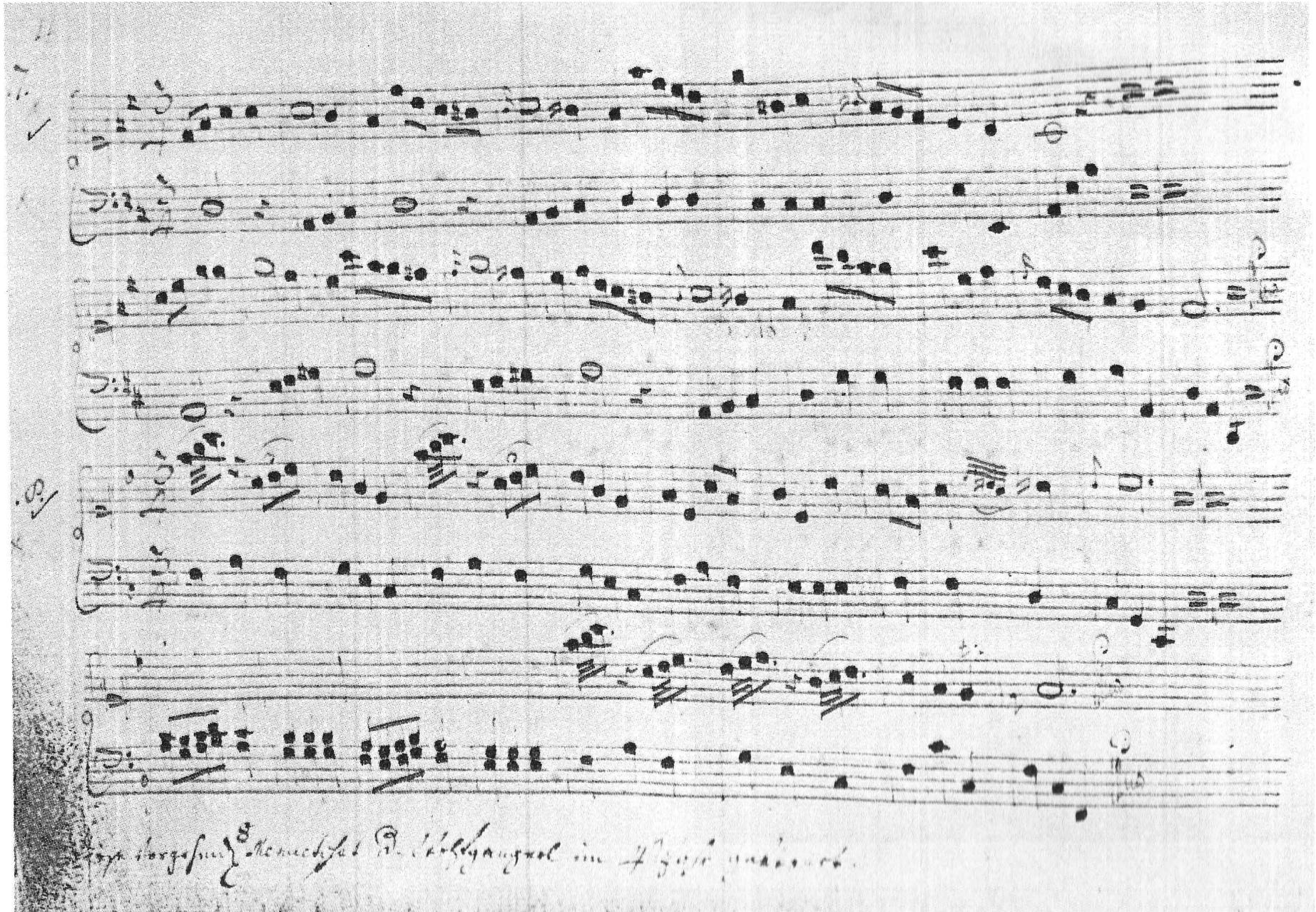
Translation: William Buchanan



Facs. 1: Notebook for Maria Anna (Nannerl) Mozart: Title label in Leopold Mozart's hand (original of the Notebook: International Mozart Foundation, Salzburg).



Facs. 2: London Sketchbook: Title page in Leopold Mozart's hand (original of the Notebook: Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Kraków).



Facs. 3: Notebook for Maria Anna (Nannerl) Mozart: page 4 with Menuetts Nos. 7 and 8 (in a copyist's hand). Cf. pages 6 and 7.



Facs. 4: Notebook for Maria Anna (Nannerl) Mozart: page 14 with the beginning of No. 20 = Keyboard piece in C KV 9^a (5^a), autograph by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. Cf. pages 18–19, measures 1–23.

Arietta
Con
Variatione

Variatio
1ma

Variatio
2da

Da Capo

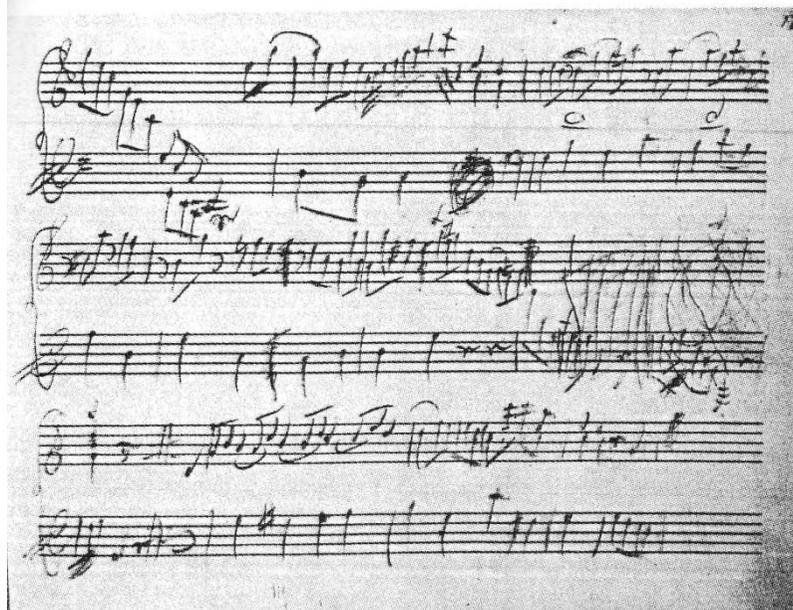
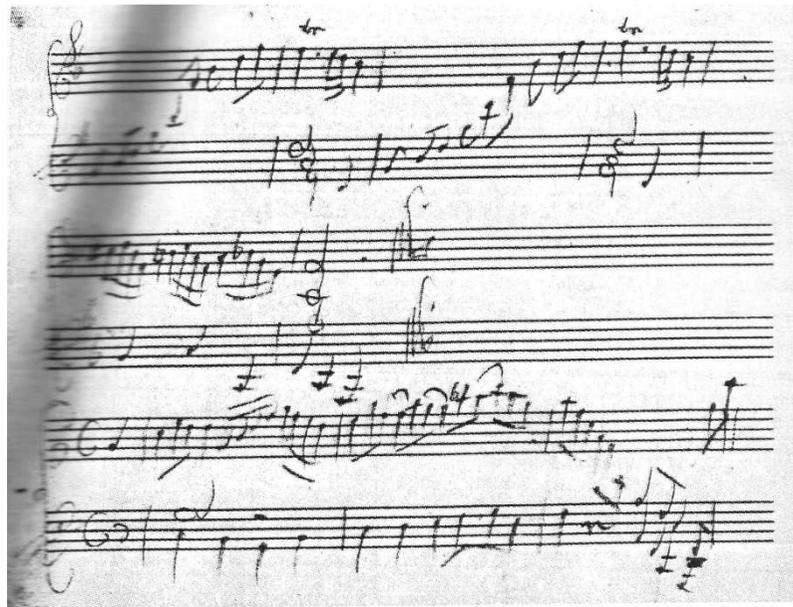
Da Capo

Da Capo

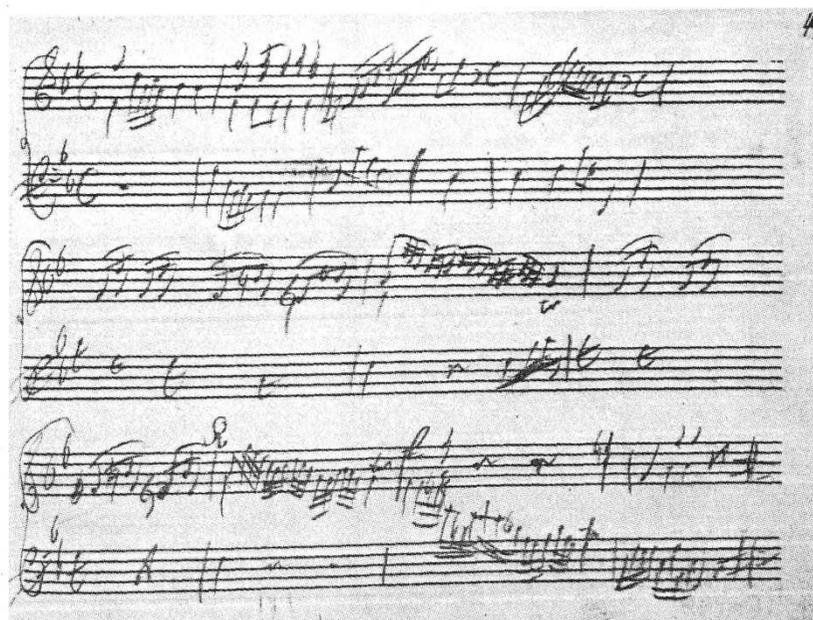
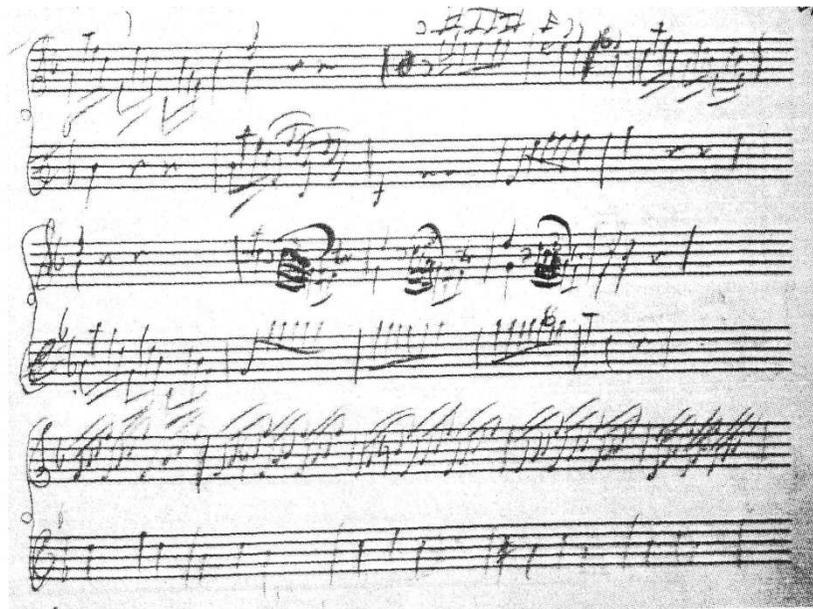
Facs. 5: Notebook for Maria Anna (Nannerl) Mozart: page 46 with the beginning of the *Arietta con Variazioni* in A (Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach) = No. 39 (in a copyist's hand). Cf. page 56.

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for the first movement of Mozart's KV 6. The manuscript is written on aged paper with several staves. At the top, there is a title in cursive: "Finis W. A. Mozart 1781 in Bruxelles". The tempo marking "Allegro." is written in the upper left corner. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, notes, rests, and ornaments. A circular stamp is visible in the bottom left corner, containing the text "INTERNATIONALE STIFTUNG MOZARTSTIFTUNG 1981".

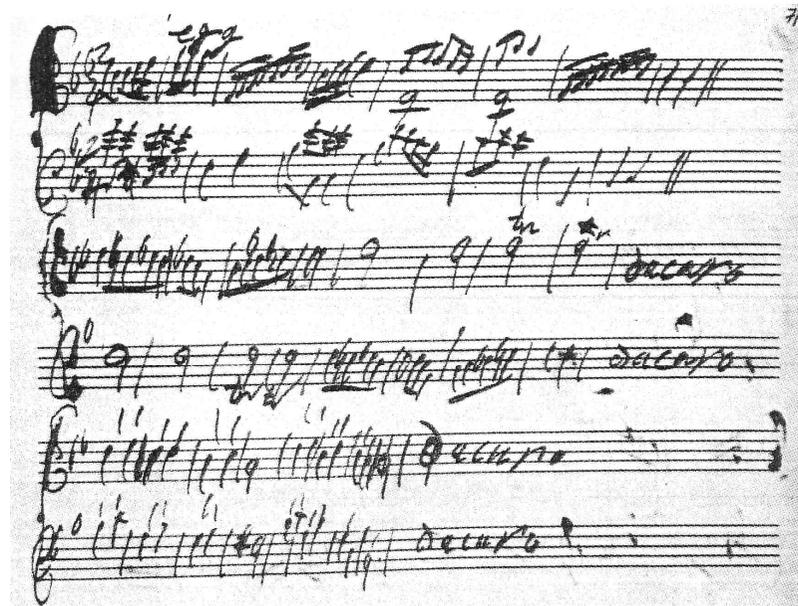
Facs. 6: Notebook for Maria Anna (Nannerl) Mozart: page 60 with the beginning of KV 6, 1st movement (keyboard version) = No. 46 (in Leopold Mozart's hand). Cf. pages 71–73, measures 1–29.



Facs. 7, 8: London Sketchbook: Above: page 16 with the end of No. 12 = KV Appendix 109^b No. 4 (15^m) and beginning of No. 13 = KV 15ⁿ. Cf. page 109, measures 15–20, and page 110, measures 1–3. – Below: page 17 with the continuation of No. 13 = KV 15ⁿ. Cf. pages 110–111, measures 4–13.



Facs. 9, 10: London Sketchbook: Above: page 37 with measures 19–33 from No. 19 = KV Appendix 109^b No. 5 (15^l). Cf. pages 123 f. – Below: page 49 with the beginning of No. 22 = KV 15^w. Cf. page 134, measures 1–10.



Facs. 11, 12: London Sketchbook: Above: page 66 with the beginning of No. 29 = KV 15^{dd}. Cf. page 149, measures 1 bis 19. – Below: page 71 with the beginning of No. 32 = KV 15^{sg}. Cf. pages 154–155, measures 1–32.