

# WOLFGANG AMADEUS MOZART

Series X

## SUPPLEMENT

WORK GROUP 29: WORKS OF DUBIOUS AUTHENTICITY  
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PRESENTED BY DIETRICH BERKE

2000

Neue Mozart-Ausgabe (New Mozart Edition)\*

WOLFGANG AMADEUS MOZART

## The Complete Works

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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 (KV<sup>3</sup> or KV<sup>3a</sup>) are given in brackets; occasional differing numberings in the sixth edition (KV<sup>6</sup>) 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 "[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 (3<sup>rd</sup> 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 und 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

Work Group 29 (Works of Dubious Authenticity) has the task of presenting those works whose authenticity is seriously debatable as a collection of examples for future exercises in stylistic criticism. This third volume comprises *dubiosa* from two genres: the first section contains Symphonies and Dances for Orchestra and also a cadenza for a Keyboard Concerto, the second a selection of vocal compositions whose authenticity is

doubted. The Editorial Board considers that this volume concludes for the moment the editing of *incerta* within the framework of Work Group 29. Regarding further dubious works whose appearance this final volume may have been expected, the reader is referred to Section II of the Foreword (p. XVIII ff.)

The Editorial Board

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

Abert = Hermann Abert, *W. A. Mozart. Herausgegeben als fünfte, vollständig neu bearbeitete und erweiterte Ausgabe von Otto Jahns Mozart*, two volumes, Leipzig, 1919–1921

AMA = Alte Mozart-Ausgabe [Old Mozart Complete Edition]: *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozarts Werke. Kritisch durchgesehene Gesamtausgabe*, 24 Series, Leipzig, 1876–1907, Breitkopf & Härtel

Bauer-Deutsch = *Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*. Complete edition, compiled (and elucidated) by Wilhelm A. Bauer and Otto Erich Deutsch, (4 volumes of text = Bauer–Deutsch I–IV, Kassel etc., 1962/63), with commentary based on their preceding work by Joseph Heinz Eibl (2 volumes of commentary = Eibl V and VI, Kassel etc., 1972), register, compiled by Joseph Heinz Eibl (= Eibl VII, Kassel etc., 1975)

HaberkampED = Getraut Haberkamp, *Die Erstdrucke der Werke von Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart*. Two volumes: *Bibliographie: Textband* and *Bibliographie: Bildband* (= *Musikbibliographische Arbeiten*, edited by Rudolf Elvers, vols. 10/I and II), Tutzing, 1986

KleinWAM = *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. Autographe und Abschriften*. Catalogue prepared by Hans-Günter Klein (= State Library Berlin – Prussian Cultural Heritage. Catalogue of the Music Department, ed. Rudolf Elvers. First Series: Manuscripts, vol. 6: *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart*), Kassel, 1982

KV = Köchel-Verzeichnis: Ludwig Ritter von Köchel, *Chronologisch-thematisches Verzeichnis sämtlicher Tonwerke W. A. Mozarts*. The editions are distinguished by superscript numbers 1, 2, 3, 3a (= edition of 1947 with Supplement) and 6.

MJb = *Mozart-Jahrbuch*, 1950ff.

MH = [Johann] Michael Haydn Work Catalogue (see SherWV)

NMA = Neue Mozart-Ausgabe [New Mozart Edition], Kassel etc., 1955ff.

Op. inc. = *Opera incerta. Echtheitsfragen als Problem musikwissenschaftlicher Gesamtausgaben. Kolloquium*

Mainz 1988. *Bericht* [...], edd. Hanspeter Bannwitz, Gabriele Buschmeier, Georg Feder, Klaus Hofmann and Wolfgang Plath, Mainz, 1991

PlathE<sub>1</sub> = Wolfgang Plath, *Zur Echtheitsfrage bei Mozart*, in: MJb 1971/72, Salzburg 1973, pp. 19–36, and in: PlathMS, pp. 179–196

PlathE<sub>2</sub> = Wolfgang Plath, *Echtheitsfragen bei Mozart*, in: Op. inc., pp. 207–214 (Part I), p. 237–270 (Part II)

PlathM<sub>1</sub> = Wolfgang Plath, *Beiträge zur Mozart-Autographie I. Die Handschrift Leopold Mozarts*, in: MJb 1960/61, Salzburg, 1961, pp. 82–117, and in: PlathMS, pp. 28–73

PlathM<sub>2</sub> = Wolfgang Plath, *Beiträge zur Mozart-Autographie II. Schriftchronologie 1770–1780*, in: MJb 1976/77, Kassel etc., 1978, pp. 131–173, and in: PlathMS, pp. 221–265

PlathMS = Wolfgang Plath, *Mozart-Schriften. Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, ed. Marianne Danckwardt (= *Schriftenreihe der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg* 9), Kassel etc., 1991

PlathOd = Wolfgang Plath, *Die Überlieferung von KV 16a unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Schreiber*, in: *Die Sinfonie KV 16a «del Sigr. Mozart». Bericht über das Symposium in Odense anlässlich der Erstaufführung des wiedergefundenen Werkes Dezember 1984*. Ed. Jens Peter Larsen and Kamma Wedin, Odense, 1987, pp. 45–49

SherWV = Charles H. Sherman and T. Donley Thomas, *Johann Michael Haydn (1737–1806). A Chronological Thematic Catalogue of His Works*, Stuyvesant/NY 1993 (= *Thematic Catalogues*, no. 17)

TysonWK = *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe*, Series X, Work Group 33, Section 2: Watermark Catalogue by Alan Tyson. Two volumes: Illustrations and Text, Kassel etc., 1992

WSF = Théodore de Wyzewa/Georges de Saint-Foix, *W.-A. Mozart. Sa vie musicale et son œuvre*, 5 vols. (work numbers), Paris, 1936–1946

For further abbreviations see the *Abkürzungsverzeichnis* for the *Kritischer Bericht* [*Critical Report*, available in German only], p. 82.



## FOREWORD

With the present, third volume of Work Group 29 (*Works of dubious Authenticity*), the Editorial Board considers the editing of *incerta* within the framework of the *New Mozart Edition* as, provisionally at least, complete – provisionally inasmuch as any *incerta* which might turn up in the future, and which it would be sensible or necessary to edit as part of the NMA, would be assigned to Work Group 31: *Addenda*.

The completion of this Work Group does not, of course, mean that authenticity problems in the Mozart transmission as whole can be regarded as solved, and certainly not that the associated debate must be considered closed. Amongst the factors speaking against this view is, most importantly, the extraordinary complexity of the material itself, as Wolfgang Plath has demonstrated in several papers on the subject.<sup>1</sup> In his essay *Zur Echtheitsfrage bei Mozart* [*On the question of authenticity in Mozart*] (PlathE<sub>1</sub>), Plath differentiates between questions on the “periphery of the transmission” and those “which lie at the centre of the transmission” with the distinguishing feature “that they have a clearly recognisable relation to Mozart and to the quite special characteristics of his way of working, to the transmission etc.”. While the “non-specific questions of authenticity” located on the periphery of the transmission are numerous, they are uninteresting and also unproblematical in the true sense of the word; he sees the real task of *incerta* research as the solving of the “specific questions” lying close to the centre of the transmission (p. 19). Plath has compiled and discussed a “catalogue” of specific questions on authenticity and has concluded that the essential prerequisite for their solution is a “concept of the possible range of variation in the authenticity question”: “If I adhere to the rigid basic concept of ‘genuine – non-genuine, with nothing in between’, I will indeed usually be able to decide, but seldom to understand, let alone solve.” (p. 36) As an example for considerations of this kind, let us take what seem at first sight the highly complicated questions surrounding the transmission of the *Missa brevis* in G KV 140 (Appendix 235<sup>d</sup>; KV<sup>6</sup> Appendix C 1.12), for which Walter Senn (1904–1981) discovered, in the 1960s, a set of parts copies in the Dominican Monastery of the Holy Cross in Augsburg; the parts originated from Salzburg and contain entries in Mozart’s hand. Senn, who was to edit all the Mass volumes in the NMA, pleaded immediately and vehemently that this Mass be adopted into the main corpus of the NMA, although bitter opposition came from Wilhelm Fischer and Rudolf Steglich, who ruled out Mozart’s authorship on

stylistic grounds.<sup>2</sup> The final decision that the work should indeed be included in NMA I/1/Section 1: *Masses • Volume 1* could not be taken without reservations, for it was none other than Walter Senn himself who provided evidence that entire sections of the Mass were, in their substance, intimately related to individual movements of the ballet music *Le gelosie del Serraglio* [*The Jealousies of the Seraglio*] KV 135<sup>a</sup>; while Mozart’s sketches for this ballet music have down to us,<sup>3</sup> they are however at least partially derived from ballet movements by Joseph Starzer. One would be entirely justified in raising the question of whether the rest of it may not also be based on foreign compositions.

Wolfgang Plath has offered a solution for these confusing pieces of evidence which resolves not only the contradictory facts surrounding the authorship, but also the controversy “stylistic criticism/transmission”: “the Mass would then be seen not as an original composition of Mozart’s, but nevertheless (probably) as a parody or pasticcio Mass created by Mozart on the basis of individual ballet movements by Starzer (et al. ?); at the same time, the amount (if any) of the work composed by Mozart would have to be more precisely assessed. The view that the transmission speaks for Mozart would be confirmed, Mozart’s own entries in the performance would be explained, but one would also concede that the stylistic judgement against Mozart was justified – the difference is simply that the two conclusions would no longer be opposed to each other, but would be mutually reconcilable.” (PlathE<sub>2</sub>, p. 261)

No matter how complicated the solution of authenticity questions may be in individual cases and how much these problems may bear on the preparation of modern scientific and critical editions – and it was above all the editorial teams of the large practical editions who led the battle for the solution of questions of *incerta*, in the process refining their methods and achieving respectable results<sup>4</sup> – the current view cannot be that editorial work on an *incertum* is simultaneously the task of solving the problem of its authenticity. A question of authenticity can really only be considered “definitively solved” when a convincing answer has been found to this simple question: “If not Mozart, who was it?”, or “If not Mozart alone, who else was involved?”. That pure chance may under certain circumstances do the work faster than the most detailed research was something that Plath himself was

<sup>2</sup> On this cf. in detail and with a list further literature PlathE<sub>2</sub>, pp. 260ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. NMA X/30/3: *Skizzen* (Ulrich Konrad), Skb 1773<sub>a</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ludwig Finscher, *Incerta-Kolloquium der Konferenz der Akademien der Wissenschaften in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, in: *Op. inc.*, p. 7.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. PlathE<sub>1</sub>, PlathE<sub>2</sub> and PlathM<sub>1</sub> – Concerning further studies by Wolfgang Plath on questions of authenticity cf. *Bibliographie Wolfgang Plath*, in: PlathMS, pp. 391–395.



able to show in the case of the two Mozart Canons KV 233 (382<sup>d</sup>) and 234 (382<sup>e</sup>) (on this cf. also p. XIV below).

It is of course a characteristic feature of the editing of *incerta* that it takes place, so to speak, in a phase of uncertainty in the relevant research, i.e. at a time when the question of authenticity is not, or not yet, solved. For none of the works edited in Work Group 29 has it been possible to identify another composer. This is even true of the so-called Romantic Sonatas for Piano and Violin KV 55–60 (KV<sup>6</sup> Appendix C 23.01 to 23.06), although the source in which they are transmitted – an anonymous “compositional autograph” – shows quite definitely that Mozart cannot have been the composer.<sup>5</sup> Confronted by the plenitude of *incerta* that have come down to us bearing Mozart’s name, it is indeed necessary to make a decision as a preliminary to the editing, not so much as to whether the works are authentic or non-authentic, but rather as to which compositions to select as a basis for the edition and which to rule out. The criterion for the decision, according to Ludwig Finscher, is the “*degree of authenticity that I grant to the incertum*”; it is apparent that for Finscher philological arguments have priority over stylistic considerations (Op. inc., p. 7). Otherwise, the principles applied in compiling Work Group 29 are still those formulated by Wolfgang Plath in 1988 and are almost identical with Finscher’s approach, namely that those “*works should be selected for which one could most easily imagine Mozart’s authorship as a possibility*” (PlathE<sub>2</sub>, p. 270). It must be admitted that a principle of this kind cannot be free of subjectivity and is therefore open to criticism, but this is a consequence one must accept.

The purpose of this Foreword to the final volume of Work Group 29 is, in Section I, to examine the authenticity of the corpus of compositions already published in the NMA in the light of the most recent research; in Section II, a number of significant *incerta* are discussed which, even if they have not been accepted for the NMA – especially those which were still being treated as Mozart works in KV<sup>6</sup> (1964); Section III deals exclusively with the *incerta* edited in the present volume.

#### WORKS ALREADY EDITED IN THE NMA

NMA I/1/Section 1/1: *Missa brevis in G KV 140* (Appendix 235<sup>d</sup>; KV<sup>6</sup> Appendix C 1.12)

After the publication of this edition in 1968 (on the authenticity debate cf. p. XI above), Robert Münster discovered a previously unknown set of parts copies

from the monastery in Seon (Bavaria)<sup>6</sup> which, while naming Mozart as the composer, does nothing to change the problems of authenticity for this work as outlined above.

#### NMA I/1/Section 2: *Requiem KV 626*

Following the edition of this work in two volumes (1: *Mozart’s Fragment*, 2: *Mozart’s Fragment with the completion work by Eybler and Süßmayr*) by Leopold Nowak in 1965, the discussion surrounding its “authenticity” became singularly concentrated on the question of precisely which portions of the work can be attributed to Mozart, and who, besides Eybler and Süßmayr, was also involved in completing Mozart’s fragment.<sup>7</sup> An answer (for the moment at least) from the NMA is presented in the *Kritischer Bericht* [Critical Report, available in German only] (prepared by Christoph Wolff on behalf of Leopold Nowak).

NMA II/5/12: *No. 5a Marcia*, from: *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* [The Abduction from the Seraglio] KV 384

Gerhard Croll found this stage music in a copy of the score of the opera at the end of the 1970s. The NMA immediately accepted this previously unknown piece, a March of the Janissaries for nine wind instruments and two drums,<sup>8</sup> into its corpus without voicing any doubts (even from the Editorial Board) regarding its authenticity; instead, the editors simply touched on the question with a short parenthetical note: “– *there is no doubt concerning Mozart’s authorship* –” (Foreword, p. XXVII). The quite blatant weaknesses of the piece – which in other cases had often sufficed as a criterium telling against authenticity – had no doubt been noticed by Croll, but he saw precisely these weaknesses – completely in keeping with his postulation of authenticity – as a particularly imaginative dramaturgical intention on the composer’s part: “*In comparison with the Chorus into which it leads, the March of the Janissaries is in many ways a musical light-weight; the Chorus, and thus also the first appearance of the Bassa, resultingly have the effect of a stepping-up to a striking and effective climax. Only in considering these together do we have a sequence amounting to a great scene for the “Sovereign”:*

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Robert Münster, *Eine neue Mozart-Quelle. Zur Handschrift der Messe KV 140/Anh. 235d aus Kloster Seon*, in: *Acta Mozartiana* 33 (1986), pp. 19f.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. also Christoph Wolff, *Mozarts Requiem. Geschichte • Musik • Dokumente • Partitur des Fragments*, Kassel etc. and Munich, 1991, p. 13.

<sup>8</sup> This March has also been published as a single edition (advanced printing from NMA II/5/12): Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Marsch der Janitscharen für 9 Bläser und 2 Trommeln*, aus “*Die Entführung aus dem Serail*”, KV 384, presented by Gerhard Croll (BA 4792), Kassel etc., 1980.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. NMA X/29/2, pp. 108ff., as well as the *Foreword* there (Wolfgang Plath), pp. XII–XIV.

landing and deployment of the Janissaries (March) — approach and greeting of the Bassa (Chorus) — withdrawal of the Janissaries (orchestral reprise of the Chorus).” (Foreword, p. XXVII). Croll tried to deflate objections, made in live discussion, questioning the authenticity of the March on internal, musical grounds with Wolfgang Plath’s oft-quoted quip, “We have no idea how badly, under given circumstances, Mozart was capable of composing.” This comment has, no doubt, its profound side, for it is in fact difficult to point to even one authenticated Mozart piece written after about 1780 of which it can be said that it is badly composed, apart, of course, from clearly parodistic works such as the *Musikalischer Spaß* [Musical Joke] KV 522, leaving us genuinely unable to judge how badly Mozart may have been capable of composing. It is doubtful, however, whether such an argumentation “per negationem” constitutes an adequate basis for maintaining the authenticity of what is acknowledged to be a weak composition. It must also be emphasised that the March is transmitted in only one source, in a score copy once in the possession in Aloys Fuchs and dated 1802,<sup>9</sup> thus twenty years later than the première of the *Entführung* [Abduction from the Seraglio].

NMA III/9: *Six Notturmi (Canzonette)* KV 439, 438, 436, 437, 346 (439<sup>a</sup>) and 549

The comparatively complex problem of the possible authenticity or perhaps even only partial authenticity of this cycle has been outlined in detail by the editor of the NMA edition (1971), C.-G. Stellan.<sup>10</sup> The questions of authenticity implied here take us to the centre of the Mozart transmission in that all six pieces seem to be certified genuine in one way or another, while, on the other hand, other copies transmitting the whole cycle name Mozart’s friend Gottfried von Jacquin alone as composer and Countess Hortensia Hatzfeld as dedicatee. Even Constanze Mozart maintained firmly that the vocal parts of numbers 1 to 5 were by Jacquin.<sup>11</sup> From the mutual contradictions presented by these facts and statements, Wolfgang Plath concluded that the cycle was possibly, in parts at least, the product of “a little favour” by Mozart for his friend Gottfried von Jacquin: “*Since it is noticeable that the series is not completely uniform (KV 439 and 439<sup>a</sup> have texts not by Metastasio; the composition is kept very simple in both pieces), it can in no way be ruled out that that Jacquin may in fact have been involved. It is quite possible that in both KV 439 and 439<sup>a</sup> the musical substance originated with him and not with Mozart.*” (PlathE<sub>1</sub>, p. 35) Plath linked this hypothesis to further-reaching thoughts on the dating

of the *Notturmi* 1 to 5, whose autographs are undated (the autograph of KV 549 is lost, but Mozart had entered the work in his handwritten work catalogue under 16 July 1788): “*I furthermore believe that the traditional dating [supposedly Vienna, 1783] is not incontestable. The fact that only KV 549 appears in Mozart’s catalogue (1788) does not necessarily mean that the other pieces must be placed before the beginning of the catalogue (1783). An explanation is lacking of why an almost complete series should only have been completed five years later. And, finally, all the other works by Mozart with an attested link to the Jacquin family are from the time about 1786.*” (PlathE<sub>1</sub>, p. 35). On this, however, we must add, in the light of our present knowledge of the transmission, that the autograph of the accompanying parts (in the case of KV 437, of the vocal parts as well) for *Notturmi* 1 to 5, long thought lost and not available to the NMA editors in 1971 (nor to Plath during his work), is today known to be in private ownership and was examined by Alan Tyson in the course of preparations for his *Wasserzeichen-Katalog* [Watermark Catalogue] in 1992 (TysonWK).<sup>12</sup> Tyson shows the paper of this autograph to be from “Salzburg/Munich 1780/81”, while identifying that of the autograph draft of the vocal parts of KV 438 and 436 – the latter were used as one of the main sources for the NMA edition of 1971 – as “Vienna, 1787” (TysonWK, *Text Volume*, pp. 24 and 43). In view of Plath’s hypothesis that Gottfried von Jacquin had worked on the cycle, the early date put on the paper by Tyson, if this is indeed the same as that of the writing of the autograph, certainly presents a not inconsiderable complication (quite apart from the fact that so far no evidence has been found that Mozart was on friendly terms or even acquainted with the Jacquin family during Mozart’s very first year in Vienna)<sup>13</sup>, since the period of time between the first concept for the series and its final completion must now be extended to seven or eight years. Depending how one interprets these facts, and supposing that the dating of the paper provides a more or less direct dating of the autograph, one could consider it at least likely that Mozart alone was responsible for the composition. One could certainly imagine that Mozart, performing these pieces frequently over the long period of their existence (perhaps together with Jacquin), revised them on several occasions, rounding them off as a six-section cycle in 1788 with KV 549 and handing them over to his friend Gottfried von Jacquin, who dedicated them to Countess Hatzfeld – purely as a “favour”, which, if

<sup>9</sup> State Library Berlin – Prussian Cultural Heritage (Music Department with Mendelssohn Archive), signature: *Mus. ms. 15 146*; cf. Klein-WAM, pp. 167f.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. NMA III/9, *Foreword*, pp. Xff., where further literature and documents are mentioned.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Bauer-Deutsch IV, No. 1299, p. 356.

<sup>12</sup> Concerning the transmission cf. also the *Kritischer Bericht* to NMA III/9.

<sup>13</sup> Gottfried von Jacquin’s year of birth is also uncertain. According to one source, he was 17 or 18 years old in 1780/81, while another says he was 12 or 13; cf. NMA III/9, p. IX, footnote 10.

it could be verified in this form, would then hardly impinge on the authenticity debate.

On the other hand – and this hypothesis appears to us more probable – it would certainly be quite conceivable that Mozart's supposed "favour" for Gottfried von Jacquin (i.e. supplementing Jacquin's vocal parts with accompanying instrumental parts and revising the vocal parts of KV 437) was carried out directly in Jacquin's house and on music paper from Jacquin's personal supply. While one would accept Tyson's premise that Mozart was constantly exhausting his own supply of music paper and continually buying new paper to replace it, this does not apply to the same extent to an occasional composer like Jacquin, whose reserves of paper could, depending on the circumstances, lie unused for years after their purchase. Given a separation of this kind between dating of the paper and its use, Plath's supposition of Jacquin's involvement in composing the cycle gains new weight. Even the blatant contradiction of Constanze Mozart's statement that the vocal parts of numbers 1 to 5 were by Jacquin (cf. p. XIII with footnote 11), could be resolved plausibly within this scenario. Whatever the case, a new discussion of the *Notturmi* cycle and the circumstances of its origin – taking into account Mozart's autograph for numbers 1 to 5 – seems inevitable.<sup>14</sup>

NMA III/10: "*Leck mir den Arsch fein recht schön sauber*" ("*Nichts labt mich mehr als Wein*") [*"Lick my arse right fine and clean*" ("*Nothing refreshes me more than wine*")] KV 233 (382<sup>d</sup>) and "*Bei der Hitz im Sommer eß ich*" ("*Essen, Trinken*") [*"In the heat of Summer I eat*" ("*Eat, drink*")] KV 234 (382<sup>e</sup>)

These two canons were for a long time accepted as uncontestably genuine compositions by Mozart and found their way as such into all editions of the *Köchel-Verzeichnis*, the AMA and also the NMA (1974), although in the latter a reservation was hinted at: the editor of the volume "Canons" (1974), Albert Dunning, was the first to express doubts about the authenticity of these two canons and of the canon "*Leck mich im Arsch*" ("*Laßt froh uns sein*") [*"Lick my arse*" ("*Let us be merry*")] KV 231 (382<sup>c</sup>).<sup>15</sup> Dunning gave the extremely poor transmission of the two pieces as his reason for the doubts, but also spoke of stylistic considerations. In the meantime, Wolfgang Plath has managed to identify the Bohemian Professor of Medicine and occasional composer Wenzel Trnka von Krzowitz (1739–1791) as the composer of the two canons KV 233 (382<sup>d</sup>) and 234 (382<sup>e</sup>) (PlathE<sub>2</sub>, pp. 237ff.). These pieces are therefore no longer *incerta*, but, as certified foreign compositions, are to be

excluded from the Mozartian œuvre and thus also from the NMA.<sup>16</sup>

NMA IV/13/Section 1, *Dances • Volume 1: Six Menuetts KV 104 (61<sup>e</sup>), Six Menuetts KV 105 (61<sup>f</sup>) and Menuett in C KV 61<sup>g</sup>II*

In examining Mozart's interaction with compositions by his Salzburg contemporary Johann Michael Haydn (1737–1806) – Haydn "*occupied Mozart not only more frequently, but also over a longer period, than any other*"<sup>17</sup> – it becomes clear that questions of authenticity sometimes collide with the phenomenon of "re-working" and that the strands of the problem can thus form an apparently unravellable knot, especially when the transmission is not only bad, but also discontinuous.

While the two series of Orchestral Dances KV 104 (61<sup>e</sup>) and 105 (61<sup>f</sup>) were considered, when Rudolf Elvers edited them for the first volume of dances in the NMA (IV/13/Section 1) in 1961, to be undoubtedly genuine Mozart works, probably written in Salzburg in 1771/72, Walter Senn succeeded only a short time later in showing that the numbers 1 and 2 of KV 104 (61<sup>e</sup>) were quite obviously re-workings of two Menuetts by Michael Haydn (SherWV MH 135 and 136).<sup>18</sup> A first hint that of closer connections to orchestral Menuetts by Haydn had been provided, incidentally, by Mozart and Nannerl themselves, for, in the exchange of letters between Mozart and his sister back in Salzburg during the first major Italian tour (13 December 1769 to 28 March 1771), there were repeated references to series of Menuetts à 6 and à 12 by Michael Haydn, for which Mozart was to write piano reductions,<sup>19</sup> a plan which apparently was never carried out. At the end of 1969, a Trust founded by the collector Alex Cohen, from Gainesville in Florida, was made over to the Jewish National & University Library, Jerusalem. Amongst the valuable Mozartiana in this Trust is a simple piano reduction of the Menuetts KV 105 (61<sup>f</sup>) in Nannerl Mozart's handwriting and headed, by Nannerl herself, "*del signor haiden*"<sup>20</sup>, which can of course only refer

<sup>16</sup> At most, the question of the origins of the "coarse" texts – in Trnka, the canons have Italian texts after Metastasio, cf. PlathE<sub>2</sub>, pp. 247ff. – might be the subject of discussion as "contrafacts" (possibly invented by Mozart or amongst his circle?); on this cf. the *Kritischer Bericht* to NMA III/10.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. PlathE<sub>1</sub>, pp. 32f.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Walter Senn, *Die Menuette KV 104, Nr. 1 und 2*, in: MJB 1964, Salzburg, 1965, pp. 71–82.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. the letters between 24 March and 3 November 1770, Bauer-Deutsch I, pp. 323ff.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Andrea Lindmayr, "*Die 6 Menuett von Haydn gefallen mir besser als die ersten 12*". *Neues zu KV 104 (61e), KV 105 (61f) und KV 61gII*, in: MJB 1991, *Bericht über den Internationalen Mozart-Kongreß Salzburg 1991*, vol. 1, Kassel etc., 1992, pp. 418–430, with a

<sup>14</sup> On this cf. the *Kritischer Bericht* [Critical Report, available in German only] to NMA III/9.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. NMA III/10, *Foreword*, pp. XI f.



to Johann Michael (not Joseph) Haydn.<sup>21</sup> Walter Senn's "*suspicion that under other, especially the earlier, Menuetts by Mozart re-workings [of Haydn compositions] could be hidden*"<sup>22</sup> was thus fully confirmed. There was still the question, however, of "*what share of the orchestral version of the Menuetts transmitted under his name was Mozart's*",<sup>23</sup> which raised at the same time the question of whether to classify it as a re-working or simply as a copy of a foreign work. "*And as far as the open question regarding the series of Menuetts à 12 is concerned, one will have to consider the possibility*", according to Wolfgang Plath,<sup>24</sup> "*that those referred to could be the 2 x 6 Menuetts KV 104 (61<sup>e</sup>) – see Senn's partial evidence – and KV 61<sup>h</sup>. A difficult question, which will be hardly prove soluble by means of stylistic criticism alone.*"

A *Sammlung aller Danzmenuette, des Herrn Michael Haydn zu Salzburg* [*Collection of all dance Menuetts of Mr. Michael Haydn in Salzburg*] acquired at the end of the 1980s by the Museum Carolino Augusteum in Salzburg and which Andrea Lindmayr was able to evaluate, for the first time, in 1991,<sup>25</sup> has made a decisive contribution to solving the questions to be dealt with here. There can now be no doubt that the Menuetts KV 105 (61<sup>f</sup>), transmitted under Mozart's name, were composed as a self-contained group from orchestral Menuetts by Michael Haydn and must therefore be excluded from the Mozartian œuvre. There is still no answer as to how they could have strayed into the Mozart transmission as (genuine) Mozart works when Nannerl expressly named "*signor haiden*" as the composer, for an autograph once in the possession of Josephine Baroni-Cavalcabò is now lost; KV<sup>1</sup> (p. 106), however, described it as "*largely written in a foreign hand*". The situation is somewhat different with the Menuetts KV 104 (61<sup>e</sup>). The models for this entire group of Menuetts are again to be found in the *Collection of all dance Menuetts by Michael Haydn* mentioned above, although in this case it is clear that Mozart drew on three different Haydn work groups and subjected the pieces to a thorough re-working; they should therefore be allocated within the NMA to Work Group 28: *Arrangements, Completions and Transcriptions of Works by other Composers*.<sup>26</sup> The

Menuett in C KV 61<sup>g</sup>II (printed in NMA IX/27/2, p. 117) and known in a Mozart autograph<sup>27</sup> is a piano version of Menuett No. 1 from Michael Haydn's Twelve Orchestral Menuetts (SherWV MH 136).<sup>28</sup> Plath's doubts regarding its authenticity (NMA IX/27/2, Foreword p. XXIII) have thus been confirmed, although at the moment it is not clear whether the piano version originated from Mozart himself (as appears most likely) or whether Mozart's autograph should be seen as simply the copy of a foreign arrangement (by Michael Haydn himself?). In either case, the piece belongs in NMA Work Group 28: *Arrangements, Completions and Transcriptions of Works by other Composers*.

NMA IV/13/Section 1, *Dances • Volume 1: Menuett in E<sup>b</sup> KV 122 (73<sup>i</sup>)*

Walter Senn has shown that this Menuett (which PlathM<sub>2</sub>, p. 133, incidentally, dates as "*around 24–27/28 March 1770*") cannot be a Mozart composition, although it has come down to us in his handwriting.<sup>29</sup>

NMA V/15/8: *Piano Concerto in B<sup>b</sup> KV 595, Eingang* [bridge passage] *in the third movement*

During the preparations for the editing of KV 595 (published in 1960), the volume editors Wolfgang Rehm and the NMA Editorial Board (after consultations with Ernst Hess of Zurich, responsible within the NMA at the time for questions of authenticity) decided not to include the *Eingang* for the third movement (KV 624/626<sup>a</sup>, No. 35; KV<sup>6</sup> No. 63) in the edition and instead to assign it to Work Group 29. The discontinuous and, in addition, visibly corrupt transmission – the entire cadenza material for KV 595, like that for most of Mozart's solo concertos, has been transmitted separately and was available for the editing of this work in the NMA only as an early print of 1801 by Artaria – but also, more importantly, reservations on stylistic points weighed against the authenticity of this *Eingang*; these were outlined with the utmost brevity in the Foreword to NMA music volume, p. XXVI.<sup>30</sup> In the meantime, Mozart's autograph with the complete cadenza material for KV 595, including the "*Eingang*" into the third movement, has been found in

facsimile of the first page of Nannerl's piano reduction of KV 105 (61<sup>f</sup>) on p. 428.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. PlathE<sub>1</sub>, p. 33.

<sup>22</sup> Senn, op. cit., p. 75.

<sup>23</sup> PlathE<sub>1</sub>, p. 33.

<sup>24</sup> PlathE<sub>1</sub>, op. cit.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. footnote 20.

<sup>26</sup> For all other details, especially Mozart's arranging technique, cf. the study by Andrea Lindmayr named in footnote 20. On the transmission of the Menuetts KV 104 (61<sup>e</sup>) and 105 (61<sup>f</sup>), refer to the *Kritischer Bericht* to NMA IV/13/Section 1: *Dances • Volume 1* (Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl), pp. a/40ff.

<sup>27</sup> Not, as KV<sup>6</sup> (p. 85) maintains, in Leopold's handwriting.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, op. cit. (footnote 26), pp. a/95f.; further evidence is presented here.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Walter Senn, *Das Menuett KV 122/73<sup>i</sup> – eine Komposition Mozarts?*, in: *Acta Mozartiana* 8 (1961), pp. 46–52.

<sup>30</sup> A contrary position was then taken by Paul Badura-Skoda, *Ein authentischer Eingang zum Klavierkonzert in B-Dur, KV 595?*, in: *MJb* 1971/72, Salzburg, 1973, pp. 76–80.

Tallin (Estonia) and evaluated for the NMA.<sup>31</sup> The printed transmission of the cadenza material for KV 595 has in fact proved to be partially corrupt, yet there can be no doubt about the authenticity of the *Eingang*. It must therefore be counted as part of the corpus of genuine Mozart works and has correspondingly been included (along with the 1993 revised edition of NMA V/15/8 mentioned in footnote 31) in NMA X/31: *Addenda • Volume 3: Piano Music* (pp. XIV and 112ff.).

NMA VI/16: *Beginning of a Church Sonata in D KV Appendix 65<sup>a</sup> (KV<sup>6</sup> 124<sup>A</sup>)*

The editor of the Church Sonatas (1957), Minos E. Dounias, presented for KV Appendix 65<sup>a</sup> only the incipit, as given in KV<sup>3</sup> (p. 829), of what is a fragment of a total of 15 measures, since the (purported) autograph from the former Prussian State Library in Berlin was at that time considered lost. Yet, as early as 1960/61, Wolfgang Plath, on the basis of, firstly, a critical evaluation of a convolute of copies once in the possession of Otto Jahn<sup>32</sup>, in which the Church Sonata fragment is transmitted along with other works, and, secondly, Jahn's attribution of the autograph of KV Appendix 65<sup>a</sup> to Leopold Mozart, had already practically ruled out Wolfgang's possible authorship.<sup>33</sup> In the meantime, the original has been located in the Biblioteka Jagiellońska Kraków, and there is not a vestige of doubt that both handwriting and composition belong to Leopold (see the upper facsimile on p. XXXV). As the stylistic evidence also speaks against Wolfgang's authorship,<sup>34</sup> the fragment must be eliminated as a foreign composition from the Mozart transmission and thus also from the NMA.

NMA VIII/20/Section 2: *Flute Quartets in G KV 285<sup>a</sup> and in C KV Appendix 171 (285<sup>b</sup>)*

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Wolfgang Rehm, *Der "Eingang" zum 3. Satz des B-Dur-Klavierkonzerts KV 595 ist authentisch! Mozarts Kadenzen-Autograph bringt Klarheit*, in: *Mitteilungen der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum* 34 (1986), pp. 35–40, as well as NMA V/15: *Piano Concertos • Volume 8*, second, revised edition, 1993, Addendum, pp. 201f., and the *Kritischer Bericht* to the same volume, pp. h/43 f. Cf. also Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Klavierkonzert in B-dur [...] KV 595*. Facsimile of the autograph score with a foreword by Nikolaus Harnoncourt and an introduction by Wolfgang Rehm (= *Documenta Musicologica*, second series: manuscript facsimiles XXII), Kassel etc., 1989.

<sup>32</sup> State Library Berlin – Prussian Cultural Heritage (Music Department with Mendelssohn Archive), signature: *Mus. ms. 15 573 II*; cf. Klein-WAM, pp. 391ff.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. PlathM<sub>1</sub>, p. 104, with an edition of the fragment based on the Jahn copy (cf. the preceding footnote) on p. 113.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. PlathM<sub>1</sub>, p. 104.

The discussion surrounding the whole complex of the in total four Mozart Flute Quartets returns continually to two essential and closely related questions: (1) How many and which quartets did Mozart write as a commission for the amateur flautist Ferdinand Dejean, whom he had got to know in Mannheim in 1777, and (2) what is the position regarding the authenticity of the two extremely poorly transmitted quartets KV 285<sup>a</sup> and KV Appendix 171 (285<sup>b</sup>)? Excluded from this discussion is the Flute Quartet in D KV 285, whose autograph is extant and which Mozart himself marked as Mannheim, 25 December 1777, so that it can securely be taken as the "(First) Dejean Quartet". The fourth piece in the series, the Flute Quartet in A KV 298, whose autograph is indeed extant but bears no dating in Mozart's hand, cannot be considered, as has traditionally been done, to have been composed in Paris in 1778. According to the research of Georges de Saint-Foix, whose results were adopted by Jaroslav Pohanka, the editor of these works in the NMA (1962), it dates from the last third of 1786 at the earliest,<sup>35</sup> this quartet therefore has nothing to do with Dejean's commission.

The Flute Quartet traditionally regarded as the "third Dejean Quartet", in C KV Appendix 171 (285<sup>b</sup>), must also be ruled out, following recent research, as a commission for Dejean. In view of the fact that the extant sketch for mm. 149–158 of the 1st movement is

<sup>35</sup> Cf. NMA VIII/20/Section 2, *Foreword*, p. VIII, where there are also references to further literature. The main argument for the late dating (the piece was not entered in the handwritten work catalogue) of this work, in the form of the "Quatuors d'airs dialogués" popular at the time and obviously written and performed by persons in the circle around Gottfried von Jacquin, is provided by the theme of the third movement (*Rondeau*), which is taken from Giovanni Paisiello's opera *Le Gare generose*, premièred in Naples in the Spring of 1786 in Neapel and performed in Vienna for the first time on 1 September 1786. In this context, however, it is necessary to explain the fact that (according to TysonWK) the autograph of the work consists of three kinds of paper, shown by Tyson to date from 1783 (single leaf with the 2nd movement, Menuetto), 1784 (a double folio and a single leaf with the 1st movement) and 1785 (a double folio with the final movement *Rondeau*) (cf. TysonWK, *Text Volume*, pp. 32, 36 and 37). Since, however, this piece is to be seen as of a less serious kind and primarily intended for social entertainments, a compositional process lasting three years and, furthermore, following a complicated path (middle movement written first) is extremely unlikely and is not otherwise suggested by the nature of the autograph (cf. the *Kritischer Bericht* by Wolf-Dieter Seiffert to NMA VIII/20/Section 2, p. 36), one will no doubt have to presume that Mozart notated the quartet on such older left-over sheets and individual leaves as happened to be available to him and were possibly not from his stock of music paper at all (cf. also pp. XIIIff. above regarding NMA III/9).

transmitted on a leaf which also contains sketch material for the *Abduction from the Seraglio* KV 384 and that the second movement moreover appears to be a kind of original version of the Variation movement (6th movement) of the so-called *Gran Partita* KV 361 (370<sup>a</sup>), Jaroslav Pohanka had already considered the possibility of a later date of composition than 1777/78, namely 1781/82.<sup>36</sup> Pohanka's cautiously phrased suspicions have been confirmed in full by Wolfgang Plath's chronological studies of Mozart's handwriting and by Alan Tyson's research on paper and watermarks.<sup>37</sup>

In view of the evidence from current research, further questions surround the authenticity of KV 285<sup>a</sup> and KV Appendix 171 (285<sup>b</sup>). For KV 285<sup>a</sup>, the only source continues to be the 1792 first printed edition by Artaria (a score copy is known, but it in turn is derived from the first printed edition),<sup>38</sup> and, although the source situation for KV Appendix 171 (285<sup>b</sup>) seems as a whole to be more favourable (on this, see above and also the *Kritischer Bericht* [Critical Report, available in German only] to NMA VIII/20/Section 2, pp. 16ff.), internal evidence nevertheless speaks against Mozart's authorship of the whole Quartet in the form in which we know it today.<sup>39</sup>

NMA VIII/21: *Sonata in B<sup>b</sup> for Bassoon and Violoncello* KV 292

For the NMA edition of this work in 1975, an early print by the publisher J. J. Hummel, Berlin (publisher's and plate number 1299) was the only source available (cf. NMA VIII/21, Foreword, p. IX with footnote 16). This extremely scanty source situation has improved in the meantime, inasmuch as the Breitkopf print of 1805 (plate no. 322) mentioned in KV<sup>6</sup> and which served as the basis for the AMA is now available again in a unique example (Austrian National Library, Vienna, Music Collection, Hoboken Collection). This does not mean, however, that the source situation has fundamentally changed: both prints are intimately connected, with the Breitkopf print probably being the

immediate exemplar for the Hummel print.<sup>40</sup> For KV 292, therefore, there is still only one known chain of transmission, in which (until such time as other sources are found)<sup>41</sup> the Breitkopf print of 1805 has to be considered the oldest link.

The unsatisfactory transmission outlined here, as well as the fact that all attempts to anchor the works biographically (which formed the basis for the probable dating in KV<sup>6</sup> of "Munich, beginning of 1775") have failed to find firm ground,<sup>42</sup> have so far not given rise to any doubts on the authenticity of the piece. Nor do we see the least reason for questioning fundamentally Mozart's authorship on stylistic grounds; there are reasons, however, for examining whether the piece, as it has been transmitted, can be considered a fully-developed or even a complete piece of chamber music, i.e. a genuine "Duo Sonata" for Bassoon and Violoncello.<sup>43</sup> It is indisputable that in this pair of voices the bassoon takes the leading role: it is here that the thematic developments take place; the violoncello has an accompanying function over long stretches, but this does not exclude its occasional sharing in motif material. On the whole, however, the bassoon part is the more ambitiously conceived of the two, displaying sometimes thoroughly virtuosic lines, while the violoncello part in no way achieves equality as a duo partner in the sense of, for example, the viola part in the Duos for Violin and Viola KV 423 and 424. But, despite the "accompanying" character of the violoncello part, the two-part texture in some passages appears to have harmonic gaps, as if requiring complementation by one or more additional instruments.<sup>44</sup> It also gives pause that the work is engraved as a score in both prints, a singular case in the early printed transmission of Mozart's chamber music and leading inevitably to questions regarding the nature of the source on which the first print was based. It is conceivable that this original source was derived from a Mozart draft in which the "solo" part (bassoon) and the "accompanying" part (violoncello) had been entirely completed as a pair of parts, while additional parts were still missing; the fact that this was only a draft was then either not recognised or disregarded and the pair of parts thus found its way into the Mozart transmission as a "Duo Sonata".

<sup>36</sup> Cf. NMA VIII/20/Section 2, *Foreword*, pp. IXf.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Plath, *Foreword* to NMA X/29/1, p. X (footnote 8), reprinted in: PlathMS, p. 330 (footnote 8), and TysonWK, *text volume*, p. 27. On this cf. also Wolf-Dieter Seiffert, *Schrieb Mozart drei Flötenquartette für Dejean? Neuere Quellendatierung und Bemerkungen zur Familienkorrespondenz*, in: MJB 1987/88, Salzburg, 1988, pp. 267–275. Beside the philological arguments, Seiffert concludes from a critical examination of Mozart's correspondence before the great Mannheim-Paris journey of 1777/78 that Mozart only wrote two flute quartets for Dejean, KV 285 and (with reservations) KV 285<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. the *Kritischer Bericht* to NMA VIII/20/Section 2, pp. 6f.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Seiffert, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

<sup>40</sup> For further details cf. the *Kritischer Bericht* to NMA VIII/21 (Dietrich Berke), pp. 11f.

<sup>41</sup> So far, not a single example has been found of a print by Sieber listed in André's manuscript catalogue; cf. the *Kritischer Bericht* to NMA VIII/21, p. 11 (footnote 4).

<sup>42</sup> Cf. NMA VIII/21, *Foreword* (Dietrich Berke), p. IX.

<sup>43</sup> On this cf. also the ideas developed in the *Foreword* to NMA VIII/21, p. IX.

<sup>44</sup> A practical edition based on the NMA text of the work (BA 6947, Kassel etc., 1990) attempts to compensate for this defect by adding a piano part.



NMA IX/27/2: *Contredances KV 269<sup>b</sup>, Ballet Music to "Ascanio in Alba" KV 111 (known as Nine Pieces for Piano KV Appendix 207/ KV<sup>6</sup> Appendix C 27.06), "Strahover Fantasy" KV 528<sup>a</sup> (KV<sup>6</sup> Appendix C 27.03)*

The doubts voiced by Wolfgang Plath in the Foreword to NMA IX/27/2, p. VIII, regarding the authenticity of the two pieces have so far not been countered; here we quote them in their entirety:

*Whether the Contredances KV 269<sup>b</sup> [...] can be considered as authentic arrangements by Mozart for piano seems on balance doubtful, and reservations of the same kind can be expressed on the piano version of the ballet music to Ascanio in Alba KV 111 (=KV<sup>6</sup>: Appendix C 27.06) [...]. These are reservations, it must be noted, not regarding the pieces as such, but only concerning the piano versions. Thoroughly problematical, on the other hand, and this to the highest degree, is the so-called 'Strahover Fantasy' KV 528<sup>a</sup> (KV<sup>6</sup>: Appendix C 27.03), a later notation of an organ improvisation by Mozart. Spontaneously, one is tempted to declare that music as bad as this can come from any organist you care to choose, but not from Mozart – but here one has to hesitate, because the circumstances surrounding its origin are described so credibly, and because we cannot determine what, and how much, of it has to be attributed to the possibly not very competent scribe.*

NMA IX/27/2: *Eight Menuetts KV 315<sup>a</sup> (315<sup>g</sup>), No. 8, Trio*

According to research by Wolfgang Plath, this Trio, notated on a separate, autograph leaf, has nothing to do with the series of Menuetts KV 315<sup>a</sup> (315<sup>g</sup>), since the manuscript of the Trio must be dated to 1779/80, the Menuetts KV 315<sup>a</sup>, on the other hand, to the end of 1773 (PlathM<sub>2</sub>, p. 152). This dating is confirmed by investigations by Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl: Mozart communicated the incipit of the Trio in the letter to his father of 5 December 1780 and described it as “*the beginning of the second part of the Menuett [incipit] which I learnt from Bach*”.<sup>45</sup> This permits at least the conclusion that the Trio is copied from a (not yet identified) piece by [Johann Christian] Bach.

Regarding the authenticity of the so-called Veronese Allegro KV 72<sup>a</sup> and also that of the fugue fragments in D minor KV deest and in E, mentioned in KV Appendix 109 VIII (KV<sup>6</sup> Appendix C 27.10), cf. NMA IX/27/2, Foreword, pp. XXVIII and XXXII.

\*

<sup>45</sup> Bauer-Deutsch III, No. 555, pp. 48f. On this cf. the *Kritischer Bericht* by Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl to NMA IV/13/Section 1: *Dances • Volume 1*, p. a/105.

In concluding this section, we note that discussion has recently started regarding the authenticity of a number of other works already edited in the NMA on the grounds of insecure transmission, including the Aria “*Non curo l'affetto*” KV 74<sup>b</sup>, the “*Regina coeli*” KV 276 (321<sup>b</sup>) and the Flute Concerto in G KV 313 (285<sup>c</sup>)<sup>46</sup>.

## II. CONCERNING SOME INCERTA NOT TO BE PUBLISHED IN THE NMA

The reader may be surprised by the comparatively small number of pieces discussed here. After all, a register kept by the Editorial Board lists close to 600 pieces which have been transmitted under Mozart's name or have been attributed to him,<sup>47</sup> including more than 50 Masses and 6 Requiems. In the meantime, it has been possible to attribute a number of Masses to other composers, while other works, such as some minor works for the church from KV<sup>6</sup> Appendix C 3, are so-called parodies, in which new sacred texts or sections of the Mass have been underlaid to music taken from operas (PlathE<sub>2</sub>, pp. 208ff.). For none of these pieces does the Editorial Board see any need for an editorial response (PlathE<sub>2</sub>, p. 210), but, at the same time, it should be remarked that the phenomenon of the sacred parody around 1800 has apparently not yet been researched at all.<sup>48</sup>

*Missa brevis (fragment) in C KV 115 (166<sup>d</sup>) and Missa brevis (fragment) in F KV 116 (90<sup>a</sup>)*

The compilers of KV<sup>6</sup> – without access to the supposed autograph, still deemed lost at the time – considered it not unlikely that the fragmentary *Missa brevis* in C KV 115 (166<sup>d</sup>) could be a “*copy of a Mass by an unknown composer*” (KV<sup>6</sup>: “*footnote*”, p. 180), and, as early as 1971/72, Karl Pfannhauser – likewise without knowledge of any autograph – raised the possibility of Leopold Mozart as the possible

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Cliff Eisen, *Problems of Authenticity among Mozart's Early Symphonies: the Examples of K. Anh. 220 (16a) and 76 (42a)*, in: *Music & Letters* 70 (1989), p. 513.

<sup>47</sup> This register is to an extent congruent with KV<sup>6</sup> Appendix C, but also contains titles not yet listed in KV<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>48</sup> There is, for example, no section devoted to the Parody Mass in the 18th and early 19th century in the article *Messe [Mass]*, in: *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* [...]. Second, revised edition prepared by Ludwig Finscher, *Sachteil* 6, Kassel etc. and Stuttgart, 1997, cols. 174ff. – For a *Catalogue raisonné der zweifelhaften und unterschobenen Messen [Structured Catalogue of the dubious and purportedly authentic Masses]* to be compiled by Max Lütolf (Zurich) as a commission given by the Editorial Board, preparatory (but almost completed) work already existed.



composer of the Mass.<sup>49</sup> The original manuscript, which re-appeared in 1975 (today: André Publisher's Archive, Offenbach on Main) has confirmed Pfannhauser's suspicions completely. The handwriting in this source is indubitably that of Leopold Mozart, so the Mass must be eliminated from the works associated with his son (cf. also PlathM<sub>2</sub>, p. 151, footnote 44). The same applies to the (likewise fragmentary) *Missa brevis* in F KV 116 (90<sup>a</sup>), whose extant partial autograph had already been identified by Wolfgang Plath in 1960/61 as the work of Leopold Mozart.<sup>50</sup>

*Kyrie (fragment) in D KV 91 (186<sup>i</sup>)*

This fragment was not included in NMA I/1/Section 1: *Masses • Volume 6* of 1990 because the volume editor, Monika Holl, had already managed to prove in 1983 that the piece was not an original Mozart composition but rather a copy of a Kyrie by Georg Reutter the younger (1708–1772). For all further details, refer to the Foreword of that volume, p. IX.

*Introit "Cibavit eos" KV 44 (73<sup>u</sup>) and Psalm "In te Domine speravi" KV Appendix 23 (166<sup>h</sup>)*

Hellmut Federhofer, who presented the volume NMA I/3: *Minor Sacred Works* in 1963, assigned both works to NMA Work Group 29 (cf. Foreword to NMA I/3, p. VII), a move he could justify on the basis of evidence from a study he had made in 1958.<sup>51</sup> Regarding the Introit for Corpus Christi, "*Cibavit eos*" KV 44 (73<sup>u</sup>), Federhofer's doubts on its authenticity have been confirmed by recent research by Ernst Hintermaier.<sup>52</sup> This shows that the piece is a score compiled from the performers' parts for a composition by Johann Stadlmayr (ca. 1570–1648), possibly made by Mozart on his father's advice in 1768/69 as a preparatory exercise in strict composition for the intended written examination in 1770 for admission to the "Accademia filarmonica"; for details of this study, see NMA X/30: *Studies, Sketches, Drafts, Fragments, Varia*.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Karl Pfannhauser, *Epilegomena Mozartiana*, in: MJB 1971/72, Salzburg, 1973, pp. 268–312, especially pp. 299ff.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. PlathM<sub>1</sub>, p. 102. – The editors of KV<sup>6</sup> did in fact adopt Plath's observations, but nevertheless kept the work in the primary section of KV<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Hellmut Federhofer, *Probleme der Echtheitsbestimmung der kleineren kirchenmusikalischen Werke W. A. Mozarts*, in: MJB 1958, Salzburg, 1959, pp. 97–108, especially pp. 101f.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Ernst Hintermaier, *Zur Urheberschaft des Introitus "Cibavit eos" KV 44 (73<sup>u</sup>)*, *Mozarts mißglückter Transkriptionsversuch einer mensural notierten Musik*, in: MJB 1991, *Bericht über den Internationalen Mozart-Kongreß Salzburg 1991*, Volume 1, Kassel etc., 1992, pp. 509–517.

Regarding the incomplete four-part fugue on the Psalm text "*In te Domine speravi*" KV Appendix 23 (166<sup>h</sup>), Federhofer developed ideas going in a similar direction once again. Apart from the fact that, when Mozart was young, it was usual for the shaping of themes for four-part fugues to follow a common fundamental pattern, leaving them almost without any element of personal style, the composition is "*technically impeccable and reveals developed contrapuntal abilities*",<sup>53</sup> which cannot automatically be assumed for Mozart at the time when the piece was written (1774).<sup>54</sup> Since, furthermore, the autograph conveys the impression more of a fair copy (even if hurried) than of a sketch, Federhofer argues for its acceptance as a copy of a work by another composer. We have refrained from editing it and refer the reader to NMA X/28/Section 3–5: *Other Arrangements and Copies* and (because it is incomplete) to NMA X/30/4: *Fragments*.

*Die großmütige Gelassenheit [Generous Serenity] KV 149 (125<sup>d</sup>), Geheime Liebe [Secret Love] KV 150 (125<sup>e</sup>), Die Zufriedenheit im niedrigen Stande [Contentment in low Estate] KV 151 (125<sup>f</sup>)*

As early as 1937, Alfred Einstein remarked in KV<sup>3</sup> (p. 182) that "*the doubt cannot be dismissed that perhaps all three were composed by Leopold Mozart*", and in 1961 Ernst August Ballin, who was also responsible for editing Mozart's songs in NMA III/8 (published in 1963), finally succeeded in proving Leopold Mozart's authorship for all three songs.<sup>55</sup>

*Cradle-song ("Schlafe, mein Prinzchen, schlaf ein" ["Fall asleep, my little Prince"]) KV 350 (Appendix 284<sup>f</sup>; KV<sup>6</sup> Appendix C 8.48)*

It is purely for the sake of completeness, and because the cradle song – at least, so long as it was considered a genuine Mozart song – enjoyed great popularity, that the piece is mentioned here. It is not necessary for us to repeat here the in all senses excellent and detailed presentation of Ernst August Ballin's philological arguments in the *Kritischer Bericht* to NMA III/8: *Songs* (pp. 45–48, with *Addendum*, pp. 185–188), where the song is ascribed, with a probability verging on certainty, to the Berlin physician Bernhard Flies.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Federhofer, op. cit., p. 102.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. PlathM<sub>2</sub>, pp. 151f. TysonWK shows on the one hand that the paper of the autographs was in use as early as 1769, but admits (*Text Volume*, p. XX) that Mozart continued using paper of this kind until the beginning of the 1770s.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Ernst August Ballin, *Zu Mozarts Liedschaffen. Die Lieder KV 149–151, KV 52 und Leopold Mozart*, in: *Acta Mozartiana* 8 (1961), pp. 18–24.

<sup>56</sup> On further sources transmitting copies of this song anonymously, but discovered only after the publication of the *Kritischer Bericht* to NMA III/8, cf. Wolfgang Plath, *Mozartiana in Fulda und Frankfurt (Neues zu Heinrich*

Although no forename appears in any of the sources in which the song is transmitted under Flies' name, and although the supposedly autograph Flies manuscript in the Memorial Library of Music, Stanford University Libraries<sup>57</sup> carries only the surname in the title and, incidentally, does not claim to be in his own hand ("Cradle Song by Gotter set to music by Fliess"), so that the identity of Mr. Flies (or Fliess) cannot be considered settled beyond question, this problem belongs to research on Flies and not on Mozart. We adopt in any case Ballin's conclusion that all evidence suggests "that the Cradle Song can only have been composed by Bernhard Flies and not by Mozart"<sup>58</sup> and therefore exclude it from the group of *incerta* to be edited in this volume.

*Symphony KV 16<sup>b</sup> (KV<sup>6</sup> Appendix C 11.01)*

In his Foreword to NMA IV/11: *Symphonies • Volume I*, the volume editor Gerhard Allroggen consigned the supposedly three-movement Symphony KV 16<sup>b</sup>, transmitted only as a copy of a violin part, to Work Group 29 "because doubts regarding the attribution to Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart could not be dismissed" (Foreword, p. IX). The present volume does not offer an edition of this fragment, as no source makes a documentary claim for Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's authorship of any of the three movements, and no evidence of any other kind attributes the work to him. The three movements are transmitted in a violin part from the collection of copies made by the organist Ignaz Kögl, a collection including violin parts from works by various composers.<sup>59</sup> The first two movements, an Allegro in C and an Andante in F, name the composer as *Moz.* and *Mozart* respectively; the third movement, an Allegro in F[!], names no composer. Even the sequence of keys makes it clear that the three movements do not belong together, or at least that the third movement cannot be the final movement of a symphonic cycle in three movements. And, as far as the composer designation *Moz.* or *Mozart* is concerned, Alfred Einstein, who in KV<sup>3</sup> still held that the whole thing was a symphony of Wolfgang's youth, recognised in KV<sup>3a</sup> that the "1st

Allegro" from KV 16<sup>b</sup> corresponded to the opening movement of a lost symphony by Leopold, the incipit of which was known to him from the Breitkopf Catalogue of 1766.<sup>60</sup> From that point on, Einstein argued (KV<sup>3a</sup>, pp. 986f.) for Leopold Mozart as the composer of all three movements. Senn, broadly speaking, followed suit (op. cit., pp. 50f.), but drew attention to the fundamental independence of the "3rd movement", for which no claim of any kind regarding the composer has come down to us.

*Menuett in D for two Violins, Bass and two Horns KV 64*

This piece, consisting of 28 measures, was for a long time accepted unchallenged as a work by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, especially since the supposed autograph marked *Mozart's manuscript*, probably in the hand of Johann Anton André, was seen as a kind of certificate of authenticity issued by a thoroughly competent authority, a view also adopted by Köchel, who included the work in KV<sup>1</sup> without raising any doubts regarding its authenticity. During preparation of the first section of the volume *Dances* in the NMA (IV/13/Section 1, presented by Rudolf Elvers in 1961), caligraphic analysis revealed that the source was written by Leopold throughout and not by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. "Since the nature of some corrections suggests that the scribe may simultaneously also have been the composer of the piece, and as there is no known transmission other than via this manuscript, it seemed advisable to assign KV 64, as at least dubious, to Work Group 29." (Foreword, p. VIII). These conclusions have not lost any of their force today. The high number – in relation to the brevity of the piece – of the sometimes substantial corrections show that this version was the compositional manuscript; the conjecture presented in the entry in KV<sup>6</sup>, where the piece is listed as a work genuinely by Mozart but transmitted in an autograph by Leopold, is far-fetched; nor was the possibility of a connection of this kind ever raised previously. Leopold Mozart's autograph bears neither a title nor instrument specifications (both of these as visible in the source today are probably in Köchel's hand) nor an authentic designation of the composer; the piece only found its way into the Mozart transmission at all because André, Köchel and others after them mistook Leopold's handwriting for that of Wolfgang's. As this Menuett is thus clearly to be considered a composition by Leopold Mozart, it cannot of course be counted amongst the Mozartian *incerta*. We have therefore not provided a formal edition in the present volume, and have limited

*Henkel und seinem Nachlaß*), in: MJb 1968/70, Salzburg, 1970, pp. 333–[386], especially pp. 366f.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. the Kritischer Bericht to NMA III/8, pp. 45 and 185.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. the Kritischer Bericht to NMA III/8, p. 188.

<sup>59</sup> Bavarian State Library, Munich, Music Department, signature: *Mus. ms. 3228*. On this source cf. Walter Senn, *Mozartiana aus Tirol*, in: *Festschrift Wilhelm Fischer zum 70. Geburtstag*, Innsbruck, 1956, pp. 49–59. Kögl notated instrumental sections by various composers so as to use them during the Gloria and Credo. The written-out top part received an accompaniment improvised by the organist. – The first movement of KV 16<sup>b</sup> is rendered in a modern transcription in: MJb 1951, Salzburg, 1953, p. 31.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. *The Breitkopf Thematic Catalogue. The Six Parts and Sixteen Supplements 1762–1787*. Edited with an Introduction and Indexes by Barry S. Brook (facsimile), New York, 1966, col. 214.

ourselves to a documentation of the source (see the facsimile on p. XXXV below).

*Piano Concerto in G KV<sup>6</sup> Appendix C 15.01*

This work is transmitted only in a set of parts in the archive of Kremsier Castle (Czech Republic). A slip of paper inserted into the second movement bears the heading *Adagio variato. Del Concerto De Masi*, and it was probably this reference to the foreign composer Masi in a source otherwise transmitted under Mozart's name that led to the assigning of this concerto to NMA Work Group 28/Section 2: *Arrangements of Works by various Composers – Piano Concertos and Cadenzas*: there (Foreword, p. XI) it was dealt with by Eduard Reeser, who ruled out Mozart's authorship on grounds of insecure transmission and, above all, stylistic considerations, leaving a discussion of the work to the *Kritischer Bericht* to NMA X/28/Section 2; it will not be included in the present volume.

It should be pointed out here, however, that Reeser's attempt to identify the Masi in question, by referring to Mozart's letter of 26 January 1770 to Nannerl from Milan and introducing the composer P. Felice Masi (died in Rome in 1772)<sup>61</sup> as a possible candidate, probably got onto the wrong track. The passage in the letter, which concerns the assigning of roles in an opera, has the wording "*prima Donna, not bad, already as old, I believe, as a dog, does not sing as well as she acts, and is the wife of a violinist who fiddles along with the opera, and she is called Masi*"<sup>62</sup>. The prima donna Masi was thus married to an orchestral violinist whom we do not know, but not to Padre Felice Masi who, as a Minorite monk, was required to be celibate. It therefore seems sensible to separate completely the search for the composer Masi from the letter passage mentioned.

'*Harmonie*' Music for the "*Abduction from the Seraglio*" KV deest (Mus. Ms. 1392 in the Princely Fürstenberg Court Library, Donaueschingen, today in the Baden State Library, Karlsruhe)

The first scientific evaluation of this source, known at the latest since 1964 (cf. KV<sup>6</sup> Appendix B to 384: *Copies*) was by Bastiaan Blomhert in 1983. It contains the Overture and 16 numbers from *The Abduction from the Seraglio* KV 384 in an arrangement for the "classical" 'Harmoniemusik' [~'wind band music'] instrumentation, with two each of oboes, clarinets, horns and bassoons. Blomhert examined the source

systematically in his dissertation and presented a critical edition of the music text as part of the work.<sup>63</sup>

The source in Donaueschingen does not name the arranger, thus transmitting the 'Harmoniemusik' anonymously. Building on a number of criteria, which he described in detail in his dissertation, Blomhert attempted to prove that the Donaueschingen source contains that 'Harmoniemusik' from the *Abduction* which Mozart mentioned in his letter of 20 July 1782 to his father: "*Now I have not a little work. – By Sunday in one week my opera has to be set for Harmonie – otherwise someone else will do it before me – and he will have the profit from it instead of me*".<sup>64</sup> It is questionable, however, whether Mozart ever actually wrote out or even completed the 'Harmoniemusik' from the *Abduction from the Seraglio*. Mozart was under extraordinary pressure of work at the time, as he had promised his father in Salzburg a new composition for the ennobling of Sigmund Haffner (KV 385): "*and now I should create a new symphony as well! How will this be possible! You would not believe how difficult it is to set something of this kind for "Harmonie" so that it is suited to the wind instruments, and at the same time so that none of its effect is lost. – Well then, I must use the night as well, there is no other way – and may it be offered as a sacrifice for your sake, my dearest father.*" (Bauer-Deutsch III, op. cit.). Mozart scholarship has always assumed until now that what Mozart "*offered as a sacrifice*" was not only his nocturnal repose, but also the 'Harmonie' arrangement of the *Abduction*, for, apart from the passage from the letter mentioned, there is no evidence from authentic documents or sources of this arrangement of his own work. The same is true of the source in Donaueschingen as well, for a direct link with Mozart, as Blomhert (p. 337) admits, cannot be established. It is remarkable, however, that the Donaueschingen source transmits an independent arrangement of high musical value, with a concert ending for the Overture and a quantity of new material – more, at any rate, as is otherwise customary in arrangements of the time. Nevertheless, the Editorial Board cannot second Blomhert's conclusion that the work is Mozart's arrangement of his own material, especially since competent authorities have raised substantial doubts regarding the authenticity of the arrangement from a stylistic point of view.<sup>65</sup> We have

<sup>63</sup> Bastiaan Blomhert, *The Harmoniemusik of Die Entführung aus dem Serail by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. Study about its authenticity and Critical Edition*, [Den Haag], 1987. – A practical edition of this arrangement (score and performance material) has been published by Bärenreiter-Verlag, Kassel as hire material (BA 7175).

<sup>64</sup> Bauer-Deutsch III, No. 677, p. 213.

<sup>65</sup> In detail in a review by Robert D. Levin of the dissertation by Blomhert mentioned above (cf. footnote 63), in: MJB 1989/90, Kassel etc., 1990, pp. 268–285.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Robert Eitner, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon*, Volume 6, pp. 367f.

<sup>62</sup> Bauer-Deutsch I, No. 158, p. 310.



therefore not edited of the arrangement in the present volume.

### III. CONCERTING THE *INCERTA* IN THE PRESENT VOLUME

#### Orchestral Works

1. *Symphony in A minor KV Appendix 220 (16<sup>a</sup>)*: Before the discovery in 1982 of a complete set of parts (on this see below), this symphony was known only in the form of the incipit of measures 1–4 of the violins (or oboes) in the old handwritten Breitkopf & Härtel catalogue.<sup>66</sup> Köchel consigned it in KV<sup>1</sup> to the dubious works, while Einstein included it, in KV<sup>3</sup>, without comment and without any doubts on its authenticity, in the primary text as “*composed in London in 1765*”, with grounds given in the “*Anmerkung*” [“*Remark*”]: “*The early date of this composition is immediately apparent, even from the few extant measures. Cf. also 159<sup>b</sup> (186).*” KV<sup>6</sup> followed him in this, although with a slight qualification concerning the dating: “*probably composed in London in 1765*”.

In 1982, the music archivist of the symphony orchestra in the Danish town of Odense, Gunnar Thygesen, discovered during tidying work a complete set of parts for this symphony (with duplicate parts for Violins I and II and Violoncello/Bass). On the basis of the newly discovered source, the work appeared for the first time in 1984 as an advance printing from NMA X/29, revised by Wolfgang Plath, in the form of score and performance material for hire. On the occasion of the première of the work in Odense in December 1984, a symposium took place there, in which the main subject of discussion was the authenticity of the work.<sup>67</sup>

On the title page of the *Violoncello obligato & Basso* part (copy 1), there is a remark *Klubben 1793* at the top right. This club, founded in 1780, was a social institution offering, besides all kinds of entertainments such as billiards and balls, concerts every week in winter. The club continued until 1917, but had already relinquished its concert activities by the beginning of the 19th century.<sup>68</sup> This club appeared to have

acquired the set of parts for KV 16<sup>a</sup> in 1793, most probably from the Hamburg publisher and music dealer Johann Christoph Westphal.<sup>69</sup> Westphal’s sales catalogues were also used by Breitkopf & Härtel as one of a number of sources “*when they tackled, towards the end of the 1790s, the task of producing a systematically ordered catalogue for internal purposes, aiming to list as completely as possible the compositions by Mozart known at that time.*” (PlathOd, p. 46). Twelve times in all, Breitkopf’s old catalogue names Westphal as guarantor, five of these in the section Symphonies, as in the case of KV 16<sup>a</sup>. It is thus clear that there was a close connection between the source in Odense and Breitkopf’s old manuscript catalogue, a connection in the person of Westphal, and the question to be answered is what this connection means for the credibility or even the authenticity of the Odense source.

Plath’s investigation of the handwriting in the source of KV 16<sup>a</sup> has shown that a total of four scribes took part in the work, of whom, however, none has otherwise played any role in the Mozart transmission to date. “*It is certain that the copyists involved here were neither from Salzburg nor Vienna, nor in any way active in southern Germany or Austria*” (PlathOd, p. 49). The parts are written on paper of French provenance, probably not in France, however, but in a professional workshop which obtained paper from all parts of Europe and which could well have been in Hamburg.<sup>70</sup> And, as far as the publisher and music dealer Westphal is concerned (PlathOd, pp. 47f.), he is “*a completely peripheral figure in the context of Mozart transmission*”, and the appearance as a reference in Breitkopf’s old manuscript catalogue “*guarantees nothing, least of all the authenticity or the certainty of the provenance of a work.*” Plath’s conclusion (p. 49), that “*there is absolutely no possibility of interpreting the parts for KV 16<sup>a</sup> as belonging to a good – let alone authentic – strand of Mozart transmission*”, has been largely adopted by Mozart scholarship.<sup>71</sup>

The question of whether the stylistic evidence permits an attribution to Mozart was initially discussed heatedly,<sup>72</sup> while Wolfgang Gersthofer, in his book on Mozart’s early symphonies (1993), excluded in advance the Symphony KV 16<sup>a</sup> from his

<sup>66</sup> Original destroyed; copies exist in the State Library Berlin – Prussian Cultural Heritage (Music Department with Mendelssohn-Archiv) and in the Archive of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna (on this cf. the *Kritischer Bericht* in this volume, p. 83).

<sup>67</sup> Cf. *Die Sinfonie KV 16a «del Sigr. Mozart». Bericht über das Symposium in Odense anlässlich der Erstaufführung des wiedergefundenen Werkes Dezember 1984*. Edited by Jens Peter Larsen and Kamma Wedin, Odense, 1987 (hereafter abbreviated to SO).

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Kamma Wedin, *The Discovery of the Copy of K. 16a and the Orchestral Music by Mozart owned by the Odense Club*, in: SO, pp. 9–25, especially pp. 9ff.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Wedin, SO, p. 12.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Alan Tyson, *Watermarks and Paper-Studies: their Contribution to Mozart Research and perhaps to the Problems of K. 16a*, in: SO, pp. 51–55 (especially pp. 52ff.).

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Cliff Eisen, op. cit. (footnote 46), pp. 505f.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. in SO, particularly the *Allgemeine Diskussion und Zusammenfassung* (pp. 79–92) as well as the *Nachwort* by Jens Peter Larsen (pp. 93–97).

investigations.<sup>73</sup> As the Editorial Board of NMA does not regard the authenticity debate over this work as closed, especially as no-one has yet been able to suggest any alternative to Mozart as composer,<sup>74</sup> and as the work has until now only been available as hire material (BA 4845), the Editorial Board has decided to include the work in NMA work group 29, not least in order to provide a reliable basis for future discussion.

The present new edition follows in large measure Wolfgang Plath's edition of 1984, but the text was collated once again with the source, leading to revision of a number of Plath's editorial decisions. All editorial decisions not made immediately obvious by typographical differentiation are discussed in the *Kritischer Bericht* to this volume (pp. 83ff.).

2. *Symphony in B<sup>b</sup> KV Appendix 216 (74<sup>g</sup>; KV<sup>6</sup> Appendix C 11.03)*: The decision not to include this Symphony in the main corpus of the NMA was taken primarily for philological and not so much for stylistic reasons. Despite some uncertainties, Gerhard Allroggen, the editor of NMA IV/11, *Symphonies* • Volume 2, had to admit "that one must recognise the possibility of Mozart's authorship, even if no proof can be presented under the present circumstances".<sup>75</sup> Wolfgang Gersthofer, in his book on Mozart's early symphonies, also comes to the conclusion that certain "negative" observations he has to make on stylistic points of the work "hardly represent adequate (stylistic) arguments against its possible authenticity, but, at best, weak objections"<sup>76</sup>. Yet, "in view of the extremely sparse attested transmission" of the piece (NMA IV/11/2, Foreword, p. IX), it seems appropriate to assign the work to Work Group 29. The source situation for this work was described by Allroggen as follows (p. IX):

*The piece was known until into the first decades of the twentieth century only from the incipit in the old manuscript catalogue of the publishing house Breitkopf & Härtel. Before 1910, it was supposedly seen in the Prussian State Library in Berlin<sup>\*</sup>). It is,*

*however, not to be found in either the State Library Berlin – Prussian Cultural Heritage, i.e. in the western part of Berlin, or in the German State Library Unter den Linden, nor is it listed in any of the catalogues there. It is probable that the piece never belonged to the collection in the Prussian State Library, and information to this effect may have originated from a confusion with parts from the archive of the publisher Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig. Amongst the materials rescued from this archive during the last war and already identified, however, no manuscript of this symphony has so far been found, as the State Archive in Leipzig generously informs us. We therefore possess as the unique source the printed edition which Breitkopf & Härtel published in 1910 as No. 2152 in their Score Library (appearing simultaneously in the Supplement to the old Mozart Edition (= AMA Series XXIV, 63), but in which they did not name their source.*

<sup>\*</sup>) Wyzewa and Saint-Foix (I 373), Abert (I 343, footnote 5) and Einstein (KV<sup>3</sup> p. 151) agree that the symphony was kept in the State Library in Berlin; Wyzewa and Saint-Foix speak of a score, Einstein speaks of parts, while Abert reports only that the work was 'found there complete'. The editors of the 6th edition of the Köchel Verzeichnis said it was to be found in what was at the time the Westdeutsche Bibliothek in Marburg on Lahn; information of this kind in the latest 'Köchel', however, was not always verified by the editors; rather, numerous manuscripts which were listed in KV<sup>3</sup> as belonging to the former Prussian State Library, whenever they could not be found in Unter den Linden or had not been transferred to Silesia during the war, were tacitly re-declared as properties of what was then the western depot in Marburg.

After the publication of NMA IV/11/2 (1985), Allroggen's reply to Neal Zaslaw's objection,<sup>77</sup> that the NMA had been inconsistent inasmuch as not only KV 74<sup>g</sup> but also the other "uncertain" Symphonies KV 76 (42<sup>a</sup>), Appendix 214 (45<sup>b</sup>), 97 (73<sup>m</sup>), 75 and 96 (111<sup>b</sup>) should have been banished to Work Group 29, took the form of an underlining of his stylistic reservations regarding KV 74<sup>g</sup> and the adding of new arguments to the philological considerations quoted above, not least amongst them being the conjecture that the symphony could have been given out under Mozart's name "in modern times".<sup>78</sup> By and large, Allroggen's response thus represents, in all its

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Wolfgang Gersthofer, *Mozarts frühe Sinfonien (bis 1772). Aspekte frühklassischer Sinfonik* (= *Schriftenreihe der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg* 10), Salzburg, 1993, p. 13: "In this study I will not deal in more detail with the A minor Symphony KV 16a found in Odense in Denmark in 1982, as it is today hardly taken seriously for a moment (amongst specialists) as a work by W. A. Mozart". Cf. also Neal Zaslaw and Cliff Eisen, *Signor Mozart's Symphony in A Minor, K. Anhang 220 = 16a*, in: *Journal of Musicology* IV (1985–1986), pp. 191–206.

<sup>74</sup> Wolfgang Plath has practically ruled out Leopold Mozart as a possible composer of the work; cf. PlathOd, p. 45.

<sup>75</sup> NMA IV/11/2, Foreword, p. IX.

<sup>76</sup> Gersthofer, op. cit., p. 431.

<sup>77</sup> Neal Zaslaw, *Mozart's Symphonies. Context, Performance Practice, Reception*, Oxford, 1989, pp. 153f.

<sup>78</sup> Gerhard Allroggen, *Nochmals zur Sinfonie B-Dur KV 74g = Anh. 216*, in: *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*, Neue Folge 12 (1992), pp. 81–86.

uncertainty, the stage reached so far in philological research; let us now be more precise about some details and follow up some further thoughts. The source from the former Prussian State Library in Berlin named under the rubric “*Abschrift*” [“*Copy*”] in KV<sup>6</sup>, at that time supposedly in the Westdeutsche Bibliothek in Marburg, is clearly declared to be a copy in “*Stimmen*” [“*parts*”], but here – and this point was not taken up by Allroggen – there is, quite contrary to the usual practice in KV<sup>6</sup>, no library signature given. The same information was already missing in KV<sup>3</sup>, and this state of affairs should then at least have led to further enquiry, if not to interpretation. In preparing the present volume, we also went on the search for the lost original for the first edition in 1910, turning to, amongst others, Breitkopf & Härtel in Wiesbaden, from whom we received this answer: “*As far as the sources for Mozart’s Symphony KV Appendix 216 are concerned, we can only confirm that the old parts material was indeed in the State Library in Berlin – formerly the Royal Library, Berlin [...]. As it can be shown that these manuscripts did not enter the archive in our publishing house, they can only either still be in Berlin or have been lost after the transfer to Marburg.*”<sup>79</sup>

There are reasons to believe that this or a similar sequence of events had already taken place some 60 years ago, when Alfred Einstein, during the preparation of KV<sup>3</sup>, was unable to find in the Prussian State Library the parts copies for KV Appendix 216 supposedly kept there; when he enquired at Breitkopf & Härtel, he was briefly and firmly redirected, in exactly the same way, to the Prussian Library. As Einstein’s task at that time, unlike ours, was the preparation not of a scientific and critical edition of this work on the basis of all available sources but rather a revision of the *Köchel-Verzeichnis*, he may have decided to content himself with this reply and to name in a very general way the library in Berlin, without supplying a signature, as the place where the source was preserved; this decision may have been made a little easier by the fact that the work was publicly available in what appeared, externally at least, to be a solid new edition. This would mean, however, that even Einstein (and not only the editors of KV<sup>6</sup>) had never seen the set of parts copies for KV Appendix 216. Similar suspicions surround the information given by Wyzewa and Saint-Foix, who say that the source was a score (not a set of parts copies) in the Prussian State Library, but nowhere else is there any mention of this<sup>80</sup>; accordingly, it is possible that they also never saw the Berlin source. Could then Gerhard Allroggen have been right in postulating that the source had “*never*” been in the library in Berlin? The

whole source discussion associated with KV Appendix 216 has been concentrated, or so it seems, more or less on the information in KV<sup>3</sup> and KV<sup>6</sup> and on searches in the catalogues in the State Library in Berlin. In the process, one small and inconspicuous document has been, if not exactly ignored, at least never really taken seriously: the *Mitteilungen der Musikalienhandlung Breitkopf & Härtel Leipzig*, [*Newsletter of the Music Dealers Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig*] No. 100 (March 1910), where a remarkable advertisement was placed (see the facsimile on p. XXXVI).

In this advertisement, there is mention of two so far unknown sets of parts, for the symphonies in B<sup>b</sup> KV Appendix 214 and KV Appendix 216, known up to that point only from Breitkopf & Härtel’s old manuscript catalogue (cf. footnote 66). Both symphonies were “*to be given a place alongside other addenda to the Complete Edition in a future Supplement volume.*” The attention of conductors was then drawn to a “*special edition*” of KV Appendix 216 (for KV Appendix 214 there was apparently no corresponding plan), described at the end of the text as “*Just published*”: this was Max Seiffert’s edition of the work in Breitkopf & Härtel’s Score Library [No. 2152], with the parts in the Orchestra Library (No. 2125), the whole text dated as “*Leipzig, March 1910*”<sup>81</sup>. Seiffert’s special edition was obviously intended as an advance printing from the Supplement volume to the AMA, as mentioned in the advertisement. The music text displayed the typical distinction of editorial additions as familiar from a number of other editions in the AMA Supplement, such as dynamics in brackets (on this see also below), while at the foot of each page there was the seal used throughout the whole AMA with the letters “W. A. M.” in combination with the KV number, in this case thus *W. A. M. Appendix IV 216*. The Supplement volume itself, however, which, according to the advertisement, was to contain not only KV Appendix 216 but also KV Appendix 214 and further addenda to the AMA, was evidently (contrary to the information which, once given in KV<sup>6</sup>, was subsequently repeated frequently in the literature)<sup>82</sup> never published. Not one example, at least, is known. The Symphony KV Appendix 214 appeared for the first time in 1943 in Breitkopf & Härtel’s Score Library (No. 4009), edited by Erich H. Müller von Asow, likewise with the AMA seal at the foot of every page, i.e. *W. A. M. Appendix 214*, from which it can be concluded that at the

<sup>81</sup> And not first in April 1910, as one reads in KV<sup>6</sup>, p. 860.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. KV<sup>6</sup> Appendix D, pp. 932f.: *Serie XXIV. Supplement. Wiederaufgefundene, unbeglaubigte und unvollendete Werke* [*Series XXIV. Supplement. Rediscovered, unattested and incomplete works*], No. 63, published April[!] 1910, probably containing only KV<sup>6</sup> Appendix C 11.03. The editors of KV<sup>6</sup> obviously mistook Seiffert’s “Special Edition” for the Supplement itself.

<sup>79</sup> Letter of 5th Februar 1997 from Andreas Sopart (Breitkopf & Härtel).

<sup>80</sup> WSF I, pp. 373f.



beginning of the 1940s Breitkopf & Härtel were still planning a (final?) AMA Supplement volume. Supplement volumes to the AMA with KV Appendix 216 or 214 have never been mentioned, either in KV<sup>3</sup> 74<sup>g</sup> (p. 151) or KV<sup>6</sup> Appendix C 11.03 (p. 859), or even in KV 45<sup>b</sup> (p. 65) under the heading “*Ausgaben*” [“*Editions*”]; in all three cases, only the editions in Breitkopf & Härtel’s Score or Orchestra Libraries are named. (Which addenda, other than the two symphonies, were to be presented in the Supplement volume is beyond our knowledge.)

If one takes the information presented in Breitkopf’s *Newsletter* of 1910 seriously – and there is no reason at all not to do so – a number of thoughts previously in circulation on the lost source of KV Appendix 216 must now be considered invalid: the source, definitely a set of parts copies, was indeed kept in the former Royal Library in Berlin in 1910 and was no longer in the archive of the publishers Breitkopf & Härtel. This is stated unambiguously in the first sentence in the *Newsletter*, and, in fact, Breitkopf & Härtel’s old manuscript catalogue (cf. footnote 66) displays as its reference for KV Appendix 216 (and also for KV Appendix 214) the remark [*Mspt.*] “*BH.*” (= Manuscript in the Archive of the publishers Breitkopf & Härtel), which is, according to PlathOd, p. 48, in any case “*a better recommendation*” than the remark “*Westphal*” given in KV 16<sup>a</sup> (cf. p. XXIII above). Allroggen, and all those before him who had devoted thought to the lost source of KV Appendix 216, did not know the *Newsletter*, or at least did not attach the importance to it that, in our opinion, it deserves. How, we have to ask, can the facts outlined above be interpreted, or at least placed in a logical and understandable context? Asked about the untraceable source for KV Appendix 216, i.e. the original on which Max Seiffert’s first edition was based, Helmut Hell, the director of the music department in the State Library Berlin – Prussian Cultural Heritage, answered in a letter of 15 July 1997 that Seiffert had probably had access at the time to a manuscript kept in the Royal Library, but not yet entered in the catalogue and later no longer traceable. It is possible that Mus. ms. 15305 (KV Appendix 214) is the twin mentioned in Breitkopf’s advertisement for the edition of Appendix 216. This manuscript was, according to Klein’s catalogue [cf. KleinWAM, p. 272], already here in the library before 1914, but, according to Müller von Asow’s first edition in 1943, was only just “discovered”, i.e. entered in the catalogues. Suspicions are raised by a pencilled remark on the title page of the manuscript, perhaps in Seiffert’s hand, in which ‘Köchel Appendix IV 214’ is made out of ‘216’. Was the untraceable manuscript of Appendix 216 lying open beside 214, and were the two Köchel numbers initially confused? In the case of a manuscript not accessible via the catalogue, the question automatically arises of whether anyone has used it at all since

Seiffert. But if Seiffert’s was the last known work on it, is it possible that the manuscript was handed over to him for the purpose of editing, but never returned? All speculation, of course.

Hell’s thoughts and questions lead finally to the hypothesis that the set of parts for KV Appendix 216 mentioned in the Breitkopf & Härtel *Newsletter* quoted above was “*handed over*” to Max Seiffert for editing work on the planned first edition of the work for Breitkopf before it had been catalogued in what was then the Royal Library, so that the source was allowed to leave the library. A procedure of this kind may sound astonishing today, but may have been nothing unusual at that time, especially in the case of an editor like Max Seiffert, who (in view of the plethora of editions of earlier music for which he had already been responsible) must have been a familiar and also trustworthy figure in the eyes of the librarians.<sup>83</sup> In addition, a score of the work had to be compiled from the set of parts copies, which necessitated considerable expenditure of time. Whatever the case, the copies, for reasons which cannot be established today, seem not to have been returned to the library; this could have happened all the more easily in that the source was not catalogued. Particularly significant is the corrected KV number on the title page of the copy of KV Appendix 214 and his conclusion from this that the untraceable source for KV Appendix 216 can be seen as a kind of “twin source” to that of KV Appendix 214. It must, moreover, be assumed that this source for KV Appendix 214 was also available to Müller von Asow for his first edition for Breitkopf & Härtel’s Score Library (No. 4009), despite the statement “*Discovered and edited for the first time [...]*”. Apart from the fact that no further source is known for this work, this printed claim may have been meant to be taken with a pinch of salt, for, although the work had not been previously printed, it had however been noted in the catalogue of the library in Berlin since 1914.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>83</sup> In this context, it may be of interest to note that, up until the end of the 1970s, it was quite usual to transport even autographs from what was then the German State Library Berlin (East) to the relevant Leipzig printers for the making of facsimiles. The transport in both directions was carried out by Library officials or employees of the printers in simple briefcases; these were later replaced by leather cases, specially made for the purpose and therefore no doubt very conspicuous, but at least provided with locks [!] (Information communicated by Frieder Zschoch, Leipzig).

<sup>84</sup> If Müller von Asow had really discovered this work elsewhere, perhaps in an autograph source, he would certainly not have hesitated, as the author of numerous publications on Mozart, to report such a sensation to the press immediately; no publication of this kind from his pen is known, however.



Philologists should not allow themselves to be shocked by the hypothetical character of these conclusions, for philological debates on authenticity are simply inconceivable without hypothetical claims or counter-claims. Moreover, all previous trains of thought on the lost source for KV Appendix 216 have been more or less hypothetical, but Hell's cautiously phrased considerations are distinguished in particular by the fact that they are not contradicted by the few known facts, including the information in the Breitkopf *Newsletter* of 1910 quoted above. On the basis of the premises outlined here, the untraceable basis for Seiffert's first edition acquires an importance as a source equivalent, as a "twin source", to that of the set of parts copies for KV Appendix 214, thus allowing the possibility of attributing Symphony KV Appendix 216, on the basis of philological argumentation and with all due caution, to Mozart, as one would then be justified in doing with the other "uncertain" symphonies, including KV Appendix 214 (45<sup>b</sup>).

For the present new edition in the NMA, Max Seiffert's first edition formed the only source. The directions printed there in brackets (dynamics etc.) are distinguished in the present edition as editorial additions in accordance with the NMA guidelines. Information on all other additions, emendations and assimilations by analogy is available in the *Kritischer Bericht* of this volume (pp. 87f.).

Concerning use of the bassoon: even though bassoons are not expressly specified in this symphony, it was a matter of course in contemporary performance practice to have the bassoons playing "col Basso". The generally applicable rule is that the bassoon or a pair of bassoons should reinforce the foundational bass *ad libitum* wherever wind instruments (in this case oboes and horns) are scored. In footnotes, we have pointed out additional opportunities for employing bassoons *ad libitum*, a practice much to be recommended in smaller ensembles.

3. *Overture and three Contredances KV 106 (588<sup>a</sup>)*: The decision not to include the pieces KV 106 (588<sup>a</sup>) in NMA IV/13/ Section 1: *Dances • Volume 2* (1988) was explained at the time by the Editorial Board of the NMA and volume editor Marius Flothuis as the consequence of doubts on authenticity on stylistic grounds and also of the poor transmission of the pieces (cf. there the Foreword, p. IX, and also, regarding the sources, the *Kritischer Bericht* to this volume, pp. 88f.). In the present volume, only the orchestral version of KV 106 (588<sup>a</sup>) is printed; the piano versions which have also come down to us (cf. in the *Kritischer Bericht* to this volume, p. 89, sources G and H) have been disregarded for this edition.

In KV<sup>1</sup>, Köchel dated the *Overture and three Contredances* to 1770 on musical grounds, while

Gustav Nottebohm, in view of the fact that in all sources the pieces are transmitted along with dances from Mozart's final creative period, saw the years 1789 to 1791 as the probable date of composition.<sup>85</sup> Wyzewa and Saint-Foix committed themselves to the dating 1790,<sup>86</sup> and Alfred Einstein narrowed this down in KV<sup>3</sup> (KV<sup>6</sup> follows suit) to January or the Carnival season of 1790. It must be emphasised, however, that there are no unambiguous documents regarding either the dating or Mozart's authorship. As two sources of uncertified authenticity had to be consulted for the editing of KV 106 (588<sup>a</sup>), the typographical distinction between "original" and "editorial addition" otherwise customary in the NMA has not been employed here; all details of the editing process are given in the *Kritischer Bericht* of this volume (pp. 89ff.).

4. *Two German Dances (draft) KV deest*: This draft is transmitted only in a copy by Aloys Fuchs (on the source cf. the *Kritischer Bericht* of this volume, p. 91). Although the draft possesses a kind of certificate of authenticity in Fuchs' hand, "*copied from a Mozartian original draft*", this is in no sense adequate as proof of authenticity, as Fuchs occasionally erred in attributions of this kind, and there are no other documents which confirm the authenticity. It should also be noted that the source contains obvious mistakes; on these cf. the *Kritischer Bericht*, p. 91.

5. *Cadenza for Piano Concerto KV 624 (626<sup>a</sup>), Section II, E (KV<sup>6</sup> Appendix C 15.10)*: While Alfred Einstein held that this cadenza was "*partly in Leopold's hand, partly in W. A. Mozart's*" (KV<sup>3</sup>, p. 823), Wolfgang Plath succeeded in showing that the notation was the work of an otherwise completely unknown scribe.<sup>87</sup> The leaf containing the cadenza (regarding the source as a whole cf. the *Kritischer Bericht* of this volume, p. 91) nevertheless leads directly to the centre of Mozart transmission, bearing as it does, on the obverse, a remark by Mozart's widow Constanze: "*By W. A. Mozart*", to which a further entry by one of its early owners, Johann Heinrich Feuerstein, refers: "*According to assurances by the widow Mozart, later widow von Nissen, this leaf of music is in W. A. Mozart's own hand, for which reason she gave it to me.*" How the leaf got into the Mozart transmission is not known; it is possible that Constanze Mozart was mistaken in her identification of the handwriting, as was Einstein at a later date. Nor do we have any idea of the particular concerto for which this cadenza, with, incidentally, its striking poor musical quality, could have been intended; an oral communication from Wolfgang Plath referred to some ideas reminiscent of

<sup>85</sup> Cf. *Revisionsbericht* [Editorial Report] of the AMA, Series XXIV, No. 15, p. 19.

<sup>86</sup> WSF II, p. 426.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. PlathM<sub>1</sub>, p. 108.

the Piano Sonata op. IV No. 2 by Johann Schobert (ca. 1740–1767).

## Songs

1. *Geistliche Oden und Lieder* [*Spiritual Odes and Songs*] KV Appendix 270, 270<sup>a</sup>, 271, 275, 279<sup>a</sup> and *deest* (KV<sup>6</sup> Appendix C 8.32–8.34, 8.38, 8.42 and *deest*): The total of 18 song settings on texts from Christian Fürchtegott Gellert's *Geistlichen Oden und Liedern* that have come down to us under the name "Mozart" or which have been attributed to Mozart were treated by the Mozart scholarship of earlier years as something of an unrecognised child, a tendency still visible in the NMA. In neither the Foreword to the music volume nor in the *Kritischer Bericht* to NMA III/8: *Songs* in 1963/64 (Ernst August Ballin) are they mentioned. Wolfgang Plath was the first to take up their cause, in 1971/72 (PlathE<sub>1</sub>), yet his remarks and, above all, his conclusions have something of a provisional character, as six of the songs were at that time only available as incipits and not as complete compositions (on this see below). The transmission of 12 of the 18 songs is via two volumes of six songs, published in Vienna by Hieronymus Löschenkohl in 1800 and 1801 respectively, with only one example of each volume known to exist anywhere in the world. Breitkopf's old manuscript catalogue (cf. footnote 66) lists nine settings of texts from Gellert's *Geistliche Oden und Lieder*, of which three are also contained in Löschenkohl's volume of 1801; for the other six (on this see the musical examples on p. XXIX as well as the table on p. XXVIII), however, no sources are currently known other than the entry in the catalogue. In the various editions of the *Köchel Verzeichnis*, such songs as were known were immediately dismissed to the corresponding Appendix with the dubious works, although, in the process, KV<sup>3</sup> and KV<sup>6</sup> mistakenly listed two musically different songs with the same title (*Gelassenheit* [*Serenity*]) from the two Löschenkohl volumes under one single KV number (cf. also below and footnote 89). Furthermore, KV<sup>6</sup> created a fatal confusion by designating the two Löschenkohl printed volumes "Heft 1 [Volume 1]" and "Heft 2 [Volume 2]", which had consequences for later publications.

Löschenkohl's printed volume with the songs KV Appendix 278–283 (*GEISTLICHE / Oden und Lieder / von Gellert / in Musik gesetzt / VON MOZART. [SPIRITUAL / Odes and Songs / by Gellert / set in music / BY MOZART.]*) bears no volume number. In the case of the other volume (*GEISTLICHE / Oden und Lieder / von Gellert / als Anfangsgründe für die Jugend / in Musik gesetzt / VON MOZART [SPIRITUAL / Odes and Songs / by Gellert / as a foundation for young beginners / set in music / BY MOZART.]*)= Quelle C [Source C] for the edition of the songs in the present volume; cf. the *Kritischer Bericht*, p. 92), the plate of the title-page of the first volume was obviously re-used, with the line

"by Gellert" eliminated and replaced by two lines, "by Gellert / as a foundation for young beginners", and, in the narrow space between the publisher's name and the marginal decoration, the additional word "Heft" ["Volume"] was inserted (cf. the facsimile reproductions in HaberkampED, *Illustrations Volume*, pp. 372 and 373). No volume numbering, however, was included in the engraving work; the only mark is a *I* written by hand over an erasure, with certainty replacing a previous, handwritten *II* (cf. the *Kritischer Bericht* of this volume, p. 92). This manipulated volume numbering (probably adopting the formulation from Löschenkohl's advertisements for the two prints in the *Wiener Zeitung*)<sup>88</sup> was probably the reason for the listing in KV<sup>6</sup> of the songs KV Appendix 278–283 as Löschenkohl's "Volume 2, 1801", the other as "Volume 1, 1800". This confusion is all the more astonishing in that the wording in Löschenkohl's advertisements of 1801 and 1805 ("as a foundation for young beginners") can only refer to the print with the manipulated volume numbering. Alexander Weinmann, whose work on KV<sup>6</sup> probably introduced the confusion, retained this muddling of the volumes in his later indexes of publishers (cf. footnote 88), with a corresponding allocation of the KV numbers; from here they made their way into HaberkampED,<sup>89</sup> and Plath (who, however, only knew the earlier Löschenkohl print with KV Appendix 278–283), also used the wrong volume numbering. In order to avoid adding even more to the confusion, our quotations

<sup>88</sup> *Wiener Zeitung* [Vienna Newspaper] No. 29 of 9 April 1800: "Odes and Songs by Gellert set to music by Mozart. It is one of the first works which this artist dedicated to my friend, and one in which his great talent already shone out in his youth. 1st Volume in 6 Songs, 24 Crowns."

*Wiener Zeitung* No. 20 of 11 March 1801 and *Wiener Zeitung* No. 27 of 3 April 1805: "Gellert's Odes set to music by Mozart, as a foundation for young beginners. These are Mozart's first works, which he dedicated at the time to His Excellency Count von Thun. 2nd Volume. 24 Crowns.", cited from: Alexander Weinmann, *Wiener Musikverlag "Am Rande". Ein lückenfüllender Beitrag zur Geschichte des Alt-Wiener Musikverlages (= Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alt-Wiener Musikverlages II/13)*, Vienna, 1970, p. 42.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. *Text Volume*, p. 57, where Weinmann's lists are named as source for their designations. The information in HaberkampED, *Text Volume*, pp. 403f., regarding volume numbering and the allocation of the KV numbers must be corrected in the light of the remarks above, as must the stated cleffing for the vocal part in her "Volume 1" (p. 403): G-clef instead of C<sub>1</sub>. The song *Gelassenheit* [*Serenity*] is, as already noted, different in both volumes (cf. however HaberkampED, pp. 403 and 404, in both cases "Anmerkungen" ["Remarks"]). Haberkamp's extended development of ideas on the subject of this supposed doubled printing (p. 404, "Anmerkungen") are therefore inaccurate.

from the Löschenkohl prints are without volume numbers; instead, we refer to “Löschenkohl 1800” (= KV Appendix 278–283) and “Löschenkohl 1801” (= KV Appendix 270, 270<sup>a</sup>, 271, 275, 279<sup>a</sup> and deest).

The following table is intended as a clear overview of all the Gellert songs and their somewhat involved transmission.

KV (KV <sup>6</sup> )	Title	Breitkopf’s old ms. catalogue	Löschenkohl’s first printing
Appendix 270 (Appendix C 8.32)	Danklied [Song of Thanks]	No. 1; Harmoniale	Löschenkohl 1801, No. III (NMA p. 73)
Appendix 270 <sup>a</sup> (Appendix C 8.33)	Trost der Erlösung [Comfort of Salvation]		Löschenkohl 1801, No. IV (NMA p. 74)
Appendix 271 (Appendix C 8.34)	Das Glück eines guten Gewissens [The Happiness of a good Conscience]	No. 2	Löschenkohl 1801, No. I (NMA pp. 70f.)
Appendix 272 (Appendix C 8.35)	Vertrauen auf Gottes Vorsehung [Trust in God’s Providence]	No. 3	
Appendix 133 (Appendix B zu 516 <sup>b</sup> )	[Morgengesang] [Morning Song]	No. 4	
Appendix 273 (Appendix C 8.36)	[Lied] [Song]	No. 5; Harmoniale	
Appendix 274 (Appendix C 8.37)	Abendlied [Evening Song]	No. 6	
Appendix 275 (Appendix C 8.38)	Versicherung der Gnade Gottes [Certainty of God’s Grace]	No. 7	Löschenkohl 1801, No. II (NMA p. 72)
Deest	Zeit [recte: Preis] des Schöpfers [Time [recte: Praise] of the Creator]	No. 8	
Appendix 277 (Appendix C 8.39)	Die Ehre Gottes aus [recte: in] der Natur [The Glory of God from [recte: in] Nature]	No. 11	
Appendix 278 (Appendix C 8.40)	Morgengesang [Morning Song]		Löschenkohl 1800, [No. 1]
Appendix 279 (Appendix C 8.41)	Gelassenheit [Serenity]		Löschenkohl 1800, [No. 2]
Appendix 279 (Appendix C 8.41; recte: deest)	Gelassenheit [Serenity]		Löschenkohl 1801, No. V (NMA p. 75)
Appendix 279 <sup>a</sup> (Appendix C 8.42)	Zufriedenheit mit seinem Zustande [Contentment with one’s Circumstances]		Löschenkohl 1801, No. VI (NMA p. 76)
Appendix 280 (Appendix C 8.43)	Gedult [Patience]		Löschenkohl 1800, [No. 3]
Appendix 281 (Appendix C 8.44)	Vom Worte Gottes [Of God’s Word]		Löschenkohl 1800, [No. 4]
Appendix 282 (Appendix C 8.45)	Prüfung am Abend [Trial in the Evening]		Löschenkohl 1800, [No. 5]
Appendix 283 (Appendix C 8.46)	Preis des Schöpfers [Praise of the Creator]		Löschenkohl 1800, [No. 6]

The relegation of the whole complex of the Gellert settings to the area of *incerta* was accompanied in the older Mozart literature by the most sparse of explanations. Köchel, for example, remarked in KV<sup>1</sup> (p. 528) regarding Appendix 278 *Morgengesang*, the first song in Löschenkohl 1800, that “*the publisher [Löschenkohl] of this and the following 5 songs names Mozart, without being more precise, as the composer; judging by the musical treatment, it is certainly not Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart*”. Alfred Einstein retained this remark and wrote in KV<sup>3</sup> (p. 889), concerning Appendix 270 *Danklied* (Löschenkohl 1801), only that “*it is probably hardly*

*necessary to emphasise that none of the songs Appendix 270–283 has anything to do with C. Ph. Em. Bach’s Gellert songs (Berlin, 1758, 2nd edition: 1759).*” For Wolfgang Plath, the disregard for these songs in the earlier literature is quite understandable: “*the songs are based so undisguisedly on the obsolete late Baroque ode type following Gräfe (to judge by volume 2 [sic]), that Mozart’s authorship [...] indeed hardly seems conceivable.*” (PlathE<sub>1</sub>, p. 21). And yet it was none other than Wolfgang Plath who gave the decisive impulse for a review of the position of the Gellert songs.



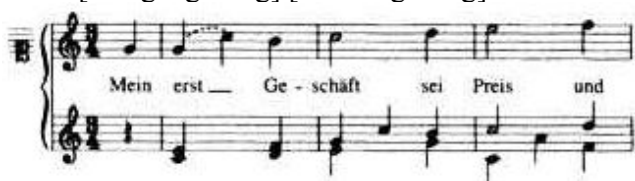
The starting point for Plath's investigation of the entire complex of the Gellert songs as part of his authenticity study of 1971/72, in which he also tackled anew the question of Leopold Mozart's involvement, was a letter from Mozart's sister Nannerl of 4 August 1799 to the publishers Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig, where she writes as follows: "*You wished to acquire songs which my brother had composed before 1784, only, as far as I can recall, he did not compose any songs at all at that time [...] I possess, only in copy, some songs with accompaniment for the harmoniale, and a French aria, but I do not know if these were written before or after the year 1784, I enclose herewith the French aria, and for the other songs I enclose the opening measures.*"<sup>90</sup> While we do not have the original copy of the "opening measures" of the songs anymore, the incipits were however carefully entered by Breitkopf & Härtel in their manuscript catalogue of Mozart's works under the rubric *Songs for the Piano*, where they mark the beginning of a new group (with new numbering 1–11) (see the table on p. XXVIII), in which, however, the two genuine songs No. 9: *Lobgesang auf die feierliche Johannisloge* [Eulogy of the Solemn [St.] John's Lodge] KV 148/125<sup>h</sup> and No. 10: "*Wie unglücklich bin ich nit*" ["Am I not so unhappy"] KV 147/125<sup>g</sup>, also listed by Nannerl, were not included.

From the table on p. XXVIII it is apparent that Nannerl's list coincides with the contents of Löschenkohl's editions to only a limited extent: the songs KV Appendix 278–283 from Löschenkohl 1800 receive no mention from her, and she probably knew only three of the six songs from Löschenkohl 1801, yet she names six further songs on poems from Gellert's *Geistlichen Oden und Liedern* which have not been found (printed or manuscript) either in Löschenkohl or anywhere else:

No. 3 Vertrauen auf Gottes Vorsehung [Trust in God's Providence]



No. 4 [Morgengesang] [Morning Song]



<sup>90</sup> Bauer-Deutsch IV, No. 1250, p. 260.

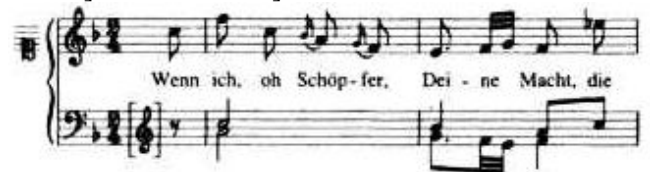
No. 5 [Lied] [Song]



No. 6 Abendlied [Evening Song]



No. 8 Zeit [recte: Preis] des Schöpfers [Time [recte: Praise] of the Creator]



No. 11 Die Ehre Gottes aus [recte: in] der Natur [The Glory of God from [recte: in] Nature]



From Plath's interpretation of this "extremely peculiar" state of affairs (PlathE<sub>1</sub>, pp. 22f.), some extracts can be quoted here:

*[Löschenkohl's] source must have come via a third person: Nannerl possessed fewer but, to an extent, different Gellert songs; for her part, Constanze Mozart would not have missed the opportunity, if she had any songs of this kind, to show them to Breitkopf & Härtel. One would probably not be wrong in assuming that Löschenkohl's 'friend' (advertisement for volume 1 [sic]) and 'His Excellency Count Thun' (repeat advertisement for volume 2 [sic], 1805) are identical. And it is only from this source that he can have obtained the original for his printed edition, i.e. from the dedicatory copy. [...] Under the condition that volume 1 and volume 2 of the Gellert songs display a conformity in style, my judgement is that the Gellert songs are not compositions by Wolfgang, but by his father. And Nannerl could quite easily have mistaken her father's compositional manuscripts for copies of songs by Wolfgang.*

Plath admits that the case of the Gellert songs cannot be judged definitively on the basis of the evidence available to him, and his ascription of the entire Gellert complex to Leopold Mozart (with the exception of *Morgengesang* [Morning Song] KV Appendix 133; on this see below) is expressly

dependent on the stylistic conformity of both volumes which is strongly suggested by Löschenkohl's advertisements. Now that both volumes are available, this requirement is clearly left unfulfilled. Only Löschenkohl 1800 still contains the figured-bass songs, notated purely as vocal and bass lines, of the "*obselete late Baroque ode type following Gräfe*", which Plath is not prepared to attribute to even the young Mozart after 1768. Löschenkohl 1801 does not represent a continuation of this collection, much as the advertisements of 1801 and 1805 may suggest this. Here – as in the volume of 1800 – there is no specification of instruments at all, but we know that Mozart's sister spoke, in the letter quoted above, of some songs "*with accompaniment for the harmoniale*", a term which also appears in Breitkopf's old manuscript catalogue for two of the songs (see the table on p. XXVIII and also below). Apart from this question, however, it is clear that we are dealing with two thoroughly different sets of musical contents in the two Löschenkohl volumes: Löschenkohl 1800 contains six old-fashioned figured-bass songs, of which Nannerl apparently knew nothing, while Löschenkohl 1801 contains six songs with the accompaniment of an instrument which Nannerl calls the "*harmoniale*"; the connection between the two groups is the naming of "Mozart" as the composer and also the texts set (Gellert's *Geistliche Oden und Lieder*), but not the "conformity in style" (not even in the two settings of Gellert's poem *Gelassenheit* [*Serenity*]). With the identification of the song incipits in the letter by Nannerl quoted above as part of the "Gellert complex", and, even more so, with their coinciding in three cases with songs from Löschenkohl 1801, the Gellert songs have moved significantly closer to the centre of Mozart transmission than Plath, lacking any knowledge of Löschenkohl 1801, could have suspected. It is therefore appropriate to ask how the Gellert songs are to be assessed from the point of view of authenticity. Any attempt at an answer will inevitably bear hypothetical traits, but we must run this risk when our discussion moves here into problematical areas.

Löschenkohl's publications of 1800 and 1801:

There can be no doubt that both issues are stylistically independent of each other and that any relation between the contents of the collections is suggested only by the wording of "First" and "Second Book" in Löschenkohl's advertisements (cf. footnote 88). But if we want to give credence to Löschenkohl's dedication of the songs in both books to "*a friend*", who, in the advertisements of 1801 and 1805, takes on at least the shadowy identity of

the "*Count von Thun*", and if we then continue by joining Plath in his postulate that Count Thun's "dedicatory copy" provided (directly or indirectly) the engraver's exemplar for Löschenkohl print, this can only mean that Count Thun had two dedicatory copies in his possession: one with Leopold Mozart's "*obselete*" songs with figured bass, the other with Wolfgang's settings in modern style and with a by no means everyday accompaniment.

The identity of Löschenkohl's "*Count Thun*" may never be determined incontrovertibly due to lack of authentic documents, but it is reasonable to assume that the person in question was a member of the widely-branched noble family Thun-Hohenstein Ausschau, for whose close links to the Mozart family we have evidence. Here our attention turns principally to Franz Joseph, Count Thun-Hohenstein (1734–1801), who was married to Maria Wilhelmine, Countess Uhlfeld (1744–1800).<sup>91</sup> From the very beginning of his time in Vienna, as he was still in the service of the Archbishop of Salzburg, Mozart was the guest of Countess Thun, as he told his father in his letter of 11 April 1781 (Bauer-Deutsch III, No. 588, p. 105). This allows us to conclude that they were already acquainted, possibly from Mozart's Salzburg days.<sup>92</sup> Franz Joseph Thun-Hohenstein was considered a patron of the arts, but he seems also to have been active as a travelling wonder-healer and was an enthusiastic follower of the Viennese doctor and scholar Franz Anton Mesmer (1734–1815), who played the glass harmonica and also used this instrument for therapeutic purposes<sup>93</sup>. A report of a meeting between father and son Mozart and Mesmer during their stay in Vienna in 1773 was contained in Leopold's letter of 12 August 1773 to his wife in Salzburg: "*do you know that Mr. von Mesmer plays Miss Davies' harmonica very well? He is the only one in Vienna who has learned it, and has a much finer machine with glasses than Miss Davies had. Wolfgang has also played it now; if only we had*

<sup>91</sup> On the Thun-Hohenstein family cf. Constantin von Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*, [...]. Fünfundvierzigster Theil. Vienna, 1882, pp. 9–66; on Maria Wilhelmine and Franz Joseph Thun-Hohenstein cf. especially pp. 22f.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Alfred Orel, *Gräfin Wilhelmine Thun (Mäzenatentum in Wiens klassischer Zeit)*, in: MJB 1954, Salzburg, 1955, pp. 89–101 (especially pp. 94f.).

<sup>93</sup> Regarding Mesmer as a glass harmonica player cf. the article *Glasharmonika* by Sascha Reckert, in: *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* [...]. Second, revised edition presented by Ludwig Finscher, Sachteil [Subject Encyclopedia] 3, Kassel etc. and Stuttgart, 1995, cols. 1406f. Thanks are due to Sascha Reckert for further informative correspondence.

one.” (Bauer-Deutsch I, No. 289, p. 486). Whether a path leads from here to the composition of the Gellert songs “*with accompaniment of the harmoniale*” (on this see below) can indeed not be proved, but the possibility should at least be suggested.

How it could happen that Löschenkohl published both books under the name “Mozart” without differentiating between father and son or else giving the forenames can be imagined with little recourse to fantasy. One point is that around 1800 “Mozart” generally meant Wolfgang, since Leopold was not present at all as a composer in the consciousness of the musical public, while a second point was that Count Thun could even have received both books from Leopold’s hand, the latter wishing with this double gift to demonstrate unmistakably Wolfgang’s ingenuity by the contrast with his own compositions on the same or similar texts. Count Thun may no longer have had these particular details in mind when he handed the two books over to Löschenkohl for printing some 20 or 30 years later – or Löschenkohl had not understood, or simply ignored, all these matters.

“*some songs with accompaniment of the harmoniale*”: Nannerl uses the term “*harmoniale*” (cf. p. IX) quite naturally, without any additional explanation, as if it were a generally understood particular musical term. Nor do we have any knowledge of a request from Breitkopf & Härtel to Nannerl for clarification of the matter. Be that as it may, there is no mention in instrumental treatises of the “*harmoniale*”, whether as an independent musical instrument, an alternative designation for an instrument – the glass harmonica, for example – or perhaps for a certain, possibly very rare, organ register.<sup>94</sup> As far as our documentation goes, Mozart himself never used the term. Yet, according to the latest research (cf. footnote 93), more than 30 different designations are known for the glass harmonica, and it may be pure coincidence that “*harmoniale*” has so far not been found amongst them. The accompaniment in Löschenkohl 1801 is in any case quite playable on a glass harmonica. In his later period, however, Mozart wrote substantially more demanding parts for the glass harmonica, often with chords of several notes and, above all, exploiting the high register of the instrument; at the same time, he had as a rule a specific, virtuoso player in mind when writing these later works, which cannot have been the case in the simple accompaniment to the Gellert songs. The question of the instrument for which the accompaniment to

these songs was originally intended is closely connected with the following complex of problems.

The “wrong” set of clefs in Löschenkohl 1801: In all six songs in this book, the bass clef is set generally for the lower staff of the accompaniment, but the composition only makes sense if both staves are read with treble clefs. In Breitkopf’s old manuscript catalogue, the accompaniment is notated on two staves only in the cases of songs No. 1 *Danklied* [Song of Thanks] (KV Appendix 270) and No. 2 *Das Glück eines guten Gewissens* [The Happiness of a good Conscience] (KV Appendix 271); in No. 1, although the lower part is set in the bass clef, there is a change of clefs before the entry in measure 2, while in No. 2 the treble clef is set from the very beginning. The accompaniment of the other songs is notated on one staff only, although in No. 8 *Preis des Schöpfers* [Praise of the Creator] (KV deest) and No. 11 *Die Ehre Gottes in der Natur* [The Glory of God in Nature] (KV Appendix 277) the bass clef is erroneously used (see the musical examples on p. IX)<sup>95</sup>.

It would be comparatively easy to dismiss Löschenkohl’s wrong setting of clefs as a crude engraving error; yet it is profitable to reflect on how this may have happened. It is of course possible that the wrong set of clefs resulted from an error or at least a lack of clarity in the original (cf. the wrong clefs set in Breitkopf’s manuscript catalogue), or else from a misinterpretation of the exemplars given to the various engravers. The situation might have been as follows: in Löschenkohl’s original, both accompanying staves were in treble clef, and the accompanying instrument was specified as “*harmoniale*” (or similar). For Löschenkohl, this may have seemed too exotic or a danger to sales, so he gave the engraver instructions to set the lower part down an octave in order to tease the compressed lines of the accompaniment apart, and at the same time to eliminate the instrument specification altogether.<sup>96</sup> The engraver took all this into account in the first work process, the “apportioning” of the plates (a particularly important stage, given the combination here of music pages and pure text

<sup>95</sup> In view of the notation of the accompaniment on one staff in Breitkopf’s manuscript catalogue, it is questionable whether Nannerl’s statement “*with accompaniment for the harmoniale*” in her letter of 4 August 1799 refers to all the incipits which she supplied (she also supplied, for example, the incipits of the two “songs with piano accompaniment” KV 147/125<sup>a</sup> and 148/125<sup>b</sup>).

<sup>96</sup> No instrumentation is specified, incidentally, in Löschenkohl’s advertisements either; cf. footnote 88.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Reckert, op. cit., cols. 1399ff.



pages containing further stanzas), probably initially drawing all the rastral staves and assigning the appropriate clefs (treble clef for the voice, treble and bass clefs for the accompaniment). In engraving the notation (in which process he may also have had to transcribe the vocal line from the soprano to the treble clef),<sup>97</sup> he may have forgotten to transpose the lower part of the accompaniment – unless indeed a second engraver was involved, who may have misunderstood the task. Löschenkohl's intention in (at least possibly) manipulating the accompaniment in this way must be apparent enough: the accompaniment, very densely notated in the "original", becomes more "full" as a result of the octave transposition, but, more importantly, was now more easily realisable on the common keyboard instruments (harpsichord or hammerklavier, or, even better, a small organ). Because of the extremely simple contours of the vocal line and the accompaniment, Löschenkohl could likewise offer his second collection of 1801 as a good "*foundation for young beginners*"; in combination with Gellert's pious texts, it was highly suitable for use in training centres for church musicians. One could also easily imagine that the pieces were taught to boy sopranos, with a vocal part which could comfortably be sung simultaneously by several singers, under certain circumstances perhaps even with the support of experienced older boys singing an octave lower.

For the present edition, Löschenkohl 1800 (with KV Appendix 278–283) was not considered, but we have chosen to reproduce the settings of the poem *Gelassenheit* [*Serenity*] from both books in facsimile, placed one above the other for comparison (cf. p. XXXVII). In editing the six songs from Löschenkohl 1801, we reproduce both parts of the accompaniment in the treble clef, although we have supplied an "8" in the lower staff, pointing to the option of accompaniment with a keyboard instrument.

If one accepts that the six Gellert songs from Löschenkohl 1801 – and with them the further songs mentioned by Nannerl and today known only from the incipits in Breitkopf's old manuscript catalogue – are, assessed in the light of present research, indeed more much nearer to being classified as Mozart compositions, it is then necessary to open a renewed discussion of the "song parody" *Morgengesang* [*Morning Song*] KV Appendix 133 (in KV<sup>3-6</sup> an association was suggested with KV 406/516<sup>b</sup>). In the three-measure incipit of the vocal part of this song (see the second musical example on

p. XXIX) we recognise the theme of the Piano Trio in G KV 564, although it appears here in reduced note values;<sup>98</sup> it also appears without an upbeat, but otherwise rendered note-for-note, at the beginning of the theme from the *Trio in canone al rovescio* (3rd movement) of the Wind Serenade in C minor KV 388 (384<sup>a</sup>) and thus also in the same movement of the String Quintet in C minor KV 406 (516<sup>b</sup>). If one joins Plath in assuming that the song "parodies" the theme from KV 564, one can be quite confident in ruling out any participation of Mozart in the authorship of such a parody. The question still to be answered, however, is how this "song parody" (which must, of course, have originated after July 1782 or else after the completion of the Piano Trio KV 564 on 27 October 1788 at the earliest) found its way into the group of Gellert songs found in Nannerl's possession. A substantially easier explanation, at any rate, would be that *Morgengesang* was part of the group of Gellert songs from the very beginning, and that Mozart took up the melody of this song for later instrumental movements, but changing it slightly in the process, in the first case, for example, leaving out the up-beat which was possibly a hindrance in the process of working out the canon, in the second case halving the note-values. All of these thoughts are of course very hypothetical and difficult to develop, not least because nothing more is known of the song *Morgengesang* than a three-measure incipit.

Personal connections between Leopold Mozart and the poet Christian Fürchtegott Gellert (1715 to 1769), deduced in earlier literature from a letter by the poet which was supposedly intended for Leopold Mozart, have no value as an additional criterion for the authenticity of the songs.<sup>99</sup> Whether the young

<sup>98</sup> This detail has already been pointed out by Wolfgang Plath (PlathE<sub>1</sub>, p. 22, footnote 17).

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Georg Nikolaus Nissen, *Biographie W. A. Mozart's*, Leipzig, 1828, Reprint Hildesheim • New York, 1972, pp. 10f., and also Bauer-Deutsch I, No. 83, p. 140. This undated letter, of which the original is lost, was probably written as early as 1754, three years before the publication of the *Geistlichen Oden und Lieder* [*Spiritual Odes and Songs*] (1757): the journey to Karlsbad mentioned in the letter took place in April 1754, and the French translation of Gellert's novel *Das Leben der schwedischen Gräfin von G\*\*\** [*The Life of the Swedish Countess of G\*\*\**] and also *Der Christ* [*The Christ*] (in: *Lehrgedichten und Erzählungen* [*Educational Poems and Stories*]) likewise appeared in 1754. These grounds alone suffice to render all speculations of a connection between the settings of *Geistliche Oden und Lieder* and this letter (Bauer-Deutsch V, pp. 107f.) superfluous. Furthermore, it is highly unlikely that Leopold Mozart was the (unnamed) addressee of the letter. Gellert considered

<sup>97</sup> In Breitkopf's old manuscript catalogue, the vocal part for all eleven songs listed is notated in the soprano clef.



Mozart had received a copy of Gellert's poems in Paris in 1764 as a present from Karl von Bose, as Georg Nikolaus Nissen maintained on the basis of Leopold Mozart's letter of 1 April 1764 to Lorenz Hagenauer,<sup>100</sup> is not certain and, incidentally, of no importance. Gellert, who is counted as a poet of the early Enlightenment, was considered in his day as the "educator of Germany"<sup>101</sup> and exercised significant influence on Klopstock, Lessing and the young Goethe. His *Geistlichen Oden und Lieder* [*Spiritual Odes and Songs*] of 1757 were taken up by the Protestant hymnbooks immediately after their publication, but were soon also in circulation in Catholic areas of southern Germany. A series of noted composers set poems from this collection, including Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Johann Joachim Quantz, Michael and Joseph Haydn and also Ludwig van Beethoven (*Six Songs with the Piano* op. 48, published 1802)<sup>102</sup>. The text taken as the basis for the settings attributed to Mozart from Löschenkohl's books of 1800 and 1801 was certainly not that of the first edition of Gellert's *Geistlichen Oden und Liedern* of 1757 (cf. the *Kritischer Bericht* for this volume, p. 92), but probably one of the numerous reprints of this widely-known collection.

2. "*Laßt uns mit geschlungnen Händen*" ["*Let us with joined hands*"] KV 623, Appendix (KV<sup>6</sup> 623<sup>a</sup>): The earliest source for this song is the posthumous first printed edition of the Masonic Cantata ("*Laut verkünde unsre Freude*" ["*Proclaim loudly our joy*"]) KV 623 by Joseph Hraschanzky in Vienna (1792), into some copies of which (apparently not all) the song KV 623<sup>a</sup> was bound. It is not included in Mozart's autograph of KV 623, nor was it entered in his handwritten work catalogue (on the sources of the song cf. the *Kritischer Bericht* for this volume, pp. 93f.). While it is conceivable that the song was performed on the same occasion as the Masonic

Cantata KV 623, the consecration of the new Temple of the Masonic Lodge "*Zur gekrönten Hoffnung*" ["*Hope Crowned*"] on 17 November 1791<sup>103</sup>, it is certainly not part of the cantata, let alone its closing number.<sup>104</sup> In two further early prints (cf. in the *Kritischer Bericht* for this volume, p. 93, sources C and D), the song is transmitted with the altered text "*Brüder, reicht die Hand zum Bunde*" ["*Brothers, join your hands in alliance*"]; in this form it is today the national anthem of the Austrian Republic.

The present edition relies for the evaluation of the sources on the detailed and still valid observations of Ernst August Ballin in the *Kritischer Bericht* to NMA III/8: *Songs* (1964), pp. 48–52, a recapitulation of which is not necessary here. At one point, Ballin discussed the question of the author of the text. The attribution of the text of the Masonic Cantata "*Laut verkünde unsre Freude*" KV 623 to Emanuel Schikaneder (1748–1812)<sup>105</sup> must, in the light of Ballin's remarks, be considered disproved by the documents; instead, he proposes – following in this matter Otto Erich Deutsch – Karl Ludwig Gieseke, who (in contradistinction to Schikaneder) was a member of a lodge in Vienna, as author of the cantata, but considers neither him nor Schikaneder to be the author of the text for the song "*Laßt uns mit geschlungnen Händen*" (p. 52). The text in the later prints, "*Brüder, reicht die Hand zum Bunde*", was probably the work of Beethoven's friend Franz Gerhard Wegeler (1765–1848) (p. 50).

Doubts concerning Mozart's authorship of the song KV 623<sup>a</sup> are, in Ballin's view, "*fully justified*" (p. 51). As an alternative to Mozart, not only Ballin, but also, at an earlier date, Otto Erich Deutsch and, later, Franz Grasberger<sup>106</sup> have mentioned the possibility

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himself fortunate that he could "*contribute something to the preservation of taste and good morals outside his native land as well!*" and recommended to the addressee, in the P. S. to the letter, a French translation of his novel *Das Leben der schwedischen Gräfin* as reading material. This weighs more in favour of a recipient living in a francophone area than of Leopold Mozart, active in Salzburg.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Nissen, op. cit., p. 61, and also Bauer-Deutsch I, No. 83, p. 140, and Bauer-Deutsch V, p. 108.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Wilhelm Kosch, *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon*, Volume I, Bern <sup>2</sup>1949, pp. 626f.

<sup>102</sup> On Gellert cf. also the article *Gellert, Christian Fürchtegott* by Friedrich Wilhelm Wodtke, in: *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* [...], edited by Friedrich Blume, [1st Impression], Volume 4, Kassel etc., 1955, cols. 1633ff.

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<sup>103</sup> Cf. Walther Brauneis, "*Wir weihen diesen Ort zum Heiligthum...*", *Marginalien zur Uraufführung von Mozarts "Kleiner Freimaurer-Kantate" und des ihm zugeschriebenen Kettenliedes "Zum Schluß der Loge [...]"*, in: *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 48 (1993), p. 12. The information given in NMA X/34: *Mozart. Die Dokumente seines Lebens* (Otto Erich Deutsch), p. 361, to the effect that the consecration took place on 18 November 1791, must be altered accordingly.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. the *Kritischer Bericht* to NMA I/4/4: *Kantaten* (Franz Giegling), p. d/22, and also Harald Strebel, *Zur Echtheitsfrage des "Maurergesangs" "Laßt uns mit geschlungnen Händen" KV 623a*, in: *MJb* 1989/90, Kassel etc., 1990, pp. 115–139, especially p. 118.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. NMA I/4/4: *Kantaten*, presented by Franz Giegling (1957), and also KV<sup>6</sup>, p. 624.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. Otto Erich Deutsch, *Zur Wahl unserer Volkshymne*, in: *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 14

that the composer Johann Anton Holzer (1753–1818), closely associated with the Viennese lodge “Zur wahren Eintracht” [“True Unity”], wrote the song, but there is no documentary evidence of any kind for this attribution. More recently, Harald Strebel in particular has taken the question of the authenticity of KV 623<sup>a</sup> up again, introducing a series of arguments, mainly based on stylistic points, *pro* Mozart (and *contra* Holzer). Strebel has not been able, however, to produce a rounded-off proof of authenticity, concluding his remarks therefore with the opinion that the inclusion of the song in Work Group 29 of the NMA is “*justified and defensible*”.<sup>107</sup>

3. “*Ja! grüß dich Gott*” [“*Yes! May God greet you*”] KV 441<sup>a</sup>: Alfred Einstein placed the 20 measures of this outline of a song, without doubting in any way its authenticity, in the primary section of KV<sup>3</sup>, supporting his action by a reference to a remark by Aloys Fuchs on one of the copies he had made: “*copied from an outline in W. A. Mozart’s own hand*”.<sup>108</sup> Chronologically, Einstein placed this “*facetious song*”, as he called it, close to the likewise “*facetious*” vocal trio *Das Bandel* [The Ribbon] KV 441: “*composed \*1783 in Vienna*”. KV<sup>6</sup> followed Einstein almost word-for-word, but modified the dating a little to “*supposedly composed in Vienna in 1783*”. The outline was nevertheless not included in NMA III/8: *Songs* in 1963 (Ernst August Ballin). The transmission is weak, but Ballin’s main reasons for doubting the authenticity were of a stylistic nature; he suspected the song could be from a *Singspiel* by another composer, noted by Mozart for possible later use either in improvisation or as a theme for variations (cf. the *Kritischer Bericht* for NMA III/8, pp. 44f.). It must be emphasised, however, that so far not a single authentic piece of evidence has been found either supporting Ballin’s hypothesis or in favour of Mozart’s authorship.

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The publication of this third and final volume of NMA Work Group 29 was initially announced for 1999. The abrupt delay of its appearance until the middle of the year 2000 is due to the fact that, in preparing the Foreword and the *Kritischer Bericht*, new perspectives of no small importance were

opened onto the problem of *incerta* in Mozart and required further research before they could be presented. The volume editor’s gratitude is due to all libraries, archives and private persons named in the Foreword and in the *Kritischer Bericht* for permission to use the sources in their possession and to evaluate them for the present edition. To Helmut Hell (State Library Berlin – Prussian Cultural Heritage (Music Department with the Mendelssohn Archive), Andreas Sopart (Breitkopf & Härtel, Wiesbaden) and Frieder Zschoch (Leipzig) thanks are owed for useful information, and also to Sascha Reckert for his help in the (fruitless) search for the meaning of “*Harmoniale*”. Particularly indebtedness links me with my colleagues on the Editorial Board of the NMA, Faye Ferguson and Wolfgang Rehm, but also to Elisabeth Schmitt and Daniel Brandenburg; all of them have accompanied the work with their advice and, above all, energetic support in redaction and correction. Martina Hochreiter prepared a rough manuscript for the present edition, conducted extensive research connected with individual points in the text, and bore, most importantly, a substantial share of the work on the *Kritischer Bericht*, for which I thank her expressly.

It will not have escaped the reader’s notice that one name recurs repeatedly in text and footnotes of this Foreword, that of our colleague Wolfgang Plath (1930 to 1995), all too soon taken from us, without whose diligent, exact and remarkably penetrating research the present edition would hardly have been possible and, above all, this Foreword could not have been written; it is dedicated to his memory.

Dietrich Berke

Zierenberg and Salzburg, January, 2000

Translation: William Buchanan

(1959), p. 51, and Franz Grasberger, *Die Hymnen Österreichs*, Tutzing, 1968, pp. 155ff.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. Strebel, op. cit. (footnote 104), p. 129.

<sup>108</sup> On the sources cf. the *Kritischer Bericht* to this volume, pp. 94f. The signature given for the source under the rubric “*Abschrift*” [“*Copy*”] in KV<sup>6</sup> must therefore be changed from *Mus. ms. 15 598* (as also in KV<sup>3</sup>) to *15 589*.



Facs. 1: Beginning of the Sonata in D for two Violins, Organ, Violoncello and Bass KV Appendix 65<sup>a</sup> (KV<sup>6</sup> 124<sup>A</sup>) after the Leopold Mozart manuscript preserved in the Biblioteka Jagiellońska Kraków: cf. p. XVI.



Facs. 2: Menuett in D for two Violins, Bass and two Horns KV 64 after the privately owned Leopold Mozart manuscript: cf. pp. XXf.



Mitteilungen von Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig. 4095

## Eine unbekannte Sinfonie W. A. Mozarts

In einem alten handschriftlichen Katalog von Breitkopf & Härtel sind 10 Sinfonien Mozarts verzeichnet, die sich ehemals in geschriebenen Stimmen unter den Beständen des alten Breitkopfschen Verlags befanden, aber für die Gesamtausgabe der Werke Mozarts als verschollen gelten mußten. So konnte denn Köchel in seinem Verzeichnis nur die Anfangstakte dieser Sinfonien nach jenem alten Katalog mitteilen als Anhang IV Nr. 214—223. Eine dieser Sinfonien, Nr. 219, ist allerdings auszuschneiden; ihr Schöpfer ist, wie unlängst nachgewiesen werden konnte, Leopold Mozart, der Vater; von den übrigen ist aber einstweilen Wolfgangs Autorschaft anzunehmen.

Unlängst sind nun von zweien derselben in der Berliner Kgl. Bibliothek die alten Auflagestimmen Breitkopfscher Provenienz wieder aufgefunden worden: Nr. 214 und 216. Beides sind Jugendwerke, nach der Fassung der Aufschrift 1770—1771 in Italien entstanden. Dieser Zeitbestimmung entspricht die musikalische Beschaffenheit: es fehlt ihnen noch die thematische Durchführung; die Motive ketten sich noch, genau wie in den Werken des Vaters, zwanglos aneinander.

Diese Sinfonien werden nebst anderen Ergänzungen der Gesamtausgabe in einem künftigen Supplementbände Platz finden. Inzwischen wird Nr. 216 in einer Sonderausgabe den Dirigenten willkommen sein. Sie zeichnet sich in der thematischen Erfindung durch frischen Schwung aus, der namentlich in den raschen Eck-sätzen in Erscheinung tritt.

Aufführungen dieser Sinfonie stehen in Berlin, Bremen und Dresden bevor.

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Soeben erschien: **Sinfonie in B dur** (Köchel-Verzeichn. Anhang IV, 216)  
Revidiert von Professor Dr. *Max Seiffert*. Partitur *M.* 3.—. 9 Orchesterstimmen (Orch. B. 2125) je 30 *℄*.  
Leipzig, im März 1910. Breitkopf & Härtel.

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In kurzem erscheint:

### Register zum Deutschen Bühnenspielplan.

September 1908 bis August 1909. Preis 5 *M.*

Schon in Nummer 99 der Mitteilungen wurde auf die Wichtigkeit dieses für sich allein verwendbaren Registers hingewiesen. Es wird sich sowohl Theaterrichtungen, Autoren und Zeitungsredaktionen wie überhaupt jedem Theaterfreund nützlich erweisen.

Facs. 3: Information leaflet of the publisher Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, March 1910, with the announcement of Max Seiffert's first edition of the Symphony in B<sup>b</sup> KV Appendix 216 (74<sup>g</sup>, KV<sup>6</sup> Appendix C 11.03): cf. p. XXIV.



Facs. 4: *Geistliche Oden und Lieder von Gellert in Musik gesetzt von Mozart*, Löschenkohl, Vienna [1800], [No. 2] *Gelassenheit* KV Appendix 279 (KV<sup>6</sup> Appendix C 8.41): cf. pp. XXVIIIff.



Facs. 5: *Geistliche Oden und Lieder von Gellert als Anfangsgründe für die Jugend in Musik gesetzt von Mozart*, Löschenkohl, Vienna [1801], No. V *Gelassenheit* KV deest: cf. pp. XXVIIff. and 75.