

THE NON-CANONIC STATUS OF MOZART'S CANONS

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Mozart's canons are rather inadequately represented in the Köchel catalogue and the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe*. The same may be said about other music for his immediate circle of friends, colleagues and patrons, as well as his dance music and his contributions to pasticcios. Neglect of these 'minor' genres perhaps arises at least in part from anachronistic paradigms, for instance 'masterpieces for posterity'. And the canons suffer additionally from the peculiar nature of their sources and transmission, from uncertainty about the position of canons in the 'canon' of Western art music and probably also from embarrassment over some of Mozart's texts. Mozart's canons have been studied not only *less often* than his operatic, church, chamber and orchestral music, but also *less well*.

I

In its broad outlines Mozart's relationship to counterpoint is well known. Salzburg was a conservative church-state in which the *stile antico* was a living tradition during Mozart's youth. By the time he was nine Mozart had attempted his first essay in counterpoint, the fragmentary twenty-three-bar fugue in A minor, K155s. The first evidence of systematic study of canon comes from Mozart's first visit to Italy in 1770, when he was fourteen. Although generally speaking the only regular teacher Mozart ever had in subjects musical and non-musical was his father, in Italy he received instruction from Eugenio di Ligniville, a nobleman who was a noted contrapuntist and the author of a mass-ordinary cycle written entirely in canons. Mozart's earliest surviving canon, the Kyrie K89, is supposed by some to have been written in imitation of Ligniville's canonic mass.¹

In the same period Mozart also had some instruction from Giovanni Battista Martini. Besides offering him some guidance in cantus firmus settings, Padre Martini gave him the first two volumes of his *Storia della musica*, in which engraved vignettes containing puzzle canons were placed at the head and foot of each chapter. There were some twenty-nine of these canons in volume 1, based on Old Testament texts, and some twenty-six in volume 2, based on classical texts, all of these texts having something to do with music. Sporadically for some years after this, but especially around 1772, Mozart filled up sketch leaves working on Martini's puzzles, sometimes making fair copies of the results. Among the surviving autographs are Mozart's solutions for fifteen canons from Martini's first volume and seven from the second.² And Mozart wrote four puzzle canons of his own, K73r, which, compared to some of Padre Martini's esoteric creations, are comparatively straightforward, displaying Mozart's lifelong preference for simple canons rather than interval, mirror, crab, augmentation or diminution canons.

That Mozart's canonic training was not merely a matter of mastering an aspect of the *stile antico* but had relevance to his own 'modern' compositions is demonstrated by the canonic minuets in the cassation K63, the

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1 For a sceptical take on this, however, see Giacomo Fornari, 'Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart ed il canone KV 89: Eugenio di Ligniville come modello?', *Mozart Studien* 11 (2002), 201–214.

2 For an accounting of Mozart's work on Martini's canons see Ulrich Konrad, *Mozarts Schaffensweise: Studien zu den Werkautographen, Skizzen und Entwürfen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 482–484.



wind serenade K388 (and its string quintet version, K406) and the symphonies, K110, 130 and 550. Canonic passages appeared from time to time in Mozart's 'regular' music to the end of his life, for example in the so-called 'wedding canon', 'E nel tuo, nel mio bicchiero' (*Così fan tutte*, Act 2 finale) and the 'Rex tremendae' and 'Recordare' of the Requiem. Mozart once even humorously identified himself to his pupil Barbara Ployer as 'Signor Maestro Contrapunto', presumably alluding to the Fuxian species counterpoint exercises he had assigned her.³

In the second half of the 1770s Mozart seems not to have been much interested in canons. But then, at least according to the chronology of the Köchel catalogue, he took up the matter again in Vienna in the early years of the 1780s. Köchel must have taken note of the fact that certain canons were not listed in the catalogue of his works that Mozart kept from February 1784 until three weeks before his death;⁴ yet these canons seemed the type of music and texts that Mozart was involved with in Vienna in the 1780s, not in Salzburg in the 1770s. Acting on the supposition that Mozart's catalogue was very nearly complete in its coverage, Köchel shoehorned such works from the Viennese period, which could not be dated by other means, into the chronology of works before February 1784. Table 1 reveals, however, that many of the canons so treated have no authentic sources and are probably not by Mozart; and in any case, Köchel's basic premise was flawed, since several works were left out of Mozart's catalogue (see Appendix).

Curiously, however, Köchel was right in another way: Mozart had indeed resumed thinking about canons in the early 1780s, an activity documented in sketch leaves, some of which were unknown to Köchel, others of which he perhaps thought not important enough to inventory. Only since Ulrich Konrad's *Mozarts Schaffensweise* have we had a full accounting of Mozart's sketch leaves and hence of his involvement with canons.⁵ The notes for Tables 1 and 3 list fourteen sketch leaves from the period 1781–1788 that contain canons.

In the autumn of 1785 Mozart began giving composition lessons to the young English musician Thomas Attwood. The admirably systematic instruction that he organized for Attwood included an introduction to canon, for which purpose he composed a series of interval canons, working his way systematically from the unison to the octave from both above and below, and then a few other types, for a total of twenty-three canons, nineteen of which Attwood copied into his music notebook.⁶ These are enumerated in Table 2. The only one of these twenty-three canons that Mozart disseminated in any way beyond Attwood's notebook is the four-voice canon in F major K228. For this canon we have Mozart's sketch (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Mus. ms. autogr. W. A. Mozart KV 228 = Konrad Skb 1787a), Attwood's copy (London, British Library, Add. ms. 58437) and Mozart's fair copy of it in his friend Joseph Franz von Jacquin's commonplace book, with the dedication (in English!) 'don't never forget your true and faithfull friend' (Salzburg, Mozarteum, KV 515b).

The last of these manuscripts (Figure 1) poses three unexplained mysteries. The first is an incorrect clef. The second involves partially mistaken letter designations written above certain pitches, in a hand that seems not to be Mozart's. The third mystery concerns an anecdote that, *faute de mieux*, has been linked to K228, the only canon of Mozart's that even vaguely fits the description. If the event related below actually occurred, it would have taken place on 22 April 1789. Mozart, dining at the home of Friedrich Doles, cantor of the Thomasschule, was to leave Leipzig the following morning:

His hosts were . . . saddened when it came time for Mozart to leave. 'Who knows if we will ever see each other again', they said. 'Give us just one line in your handwriting.' Mozart, whose whole life

3 See the *Marche funebre*, K453a, and Christopher Park, 'Mozart's Harmonization Exercises for Barbara Ployer' (PhD dissertation, City University of New York, 1999).

4 *Verzeichnüß aller meiner Werke*, ed. Albi Rosenthal and Alan Tyson as *Mozart's Thematic Catalogue: A Facsimile. British Library, Stefan Zweig MS 63* (London: British Library and Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990); German edition, *Neue Mozart Ausgabe* (hereafter *NMA*) X/33/1 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1991).

5 See note 2 above and Konrad's edition of the sketches, *NMA* X/30/3 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1998).

6 K508a and *desunt*; see *NMA* X/30/1, 144–150.



was little more than a succession of arrivals and leave-takings, and who therefore had become indifferent to both, made fun of their 'whining', as he called it, and wanted to sleep, not write. Finally, however, he said: 'Now, papa, give me a small piece of music paper.' He received it, tore it in half, sat down and wrote – for not longer than five or six minutes at the most. Then he handed one half to the father, the other to the son. On the first sheet was a three-part canon in long notes, without words. We sang the music; the canon was excellent and very mournful. On the second sheet was similarly a three-part canon, also without words, but in quavers. We sang the music; the canon was excellent and very droll. Then someone noticed that the two could be sung simultaneously, making up a six-voice whole. This delighted us. 'Now for the words,' said Mozart, and he wrote beneath the notes of the first: *Lebet wohl: wir sehn uns wieder!* and under those of the second: *Heult noch gar, wie alte Weiber!* So we had to sing through it again, and one cannot describe what a humorous and at the same time deeply sublime-comic effect it had on us all. And, if I am not mistaken, upon him himself too. . . .⁷

Unfortunately, the author of this anecdote is Friedrich Rochlitz, whose Mozart anecdotes are famously unreliable.⁸ So even though at the time of the putative canonic incident the twenty-year-old Rochlitz was verifiably in Leipzig and acquainted with Cantor Doles and his son, perhaps we should simply suppress this charming story, which, after all, calls for a six-voice double canon rather than the four voices of K228. And if we suppress this story as fictitious, we must also suppress the supposedly 'lost' six-voice double canon, 'Lebet wohl, wir sehn uns wieder!' / 'Heult noch gar, wie alte Weiber!', K572a, for which Rochlitz is the sole witness.

Canone à 4 voci.

Vienna. the 24 April. 1787.

*Don't never forget your true and faithful friend
Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart*

Figure 1 Mozart, canon in F major for four voices K228 as it appears in Joseph Franz von Jacquin's commonplace book (Salzburg, Mozarteum, KV 515b)

None the less, whether reliable or not, Rochlitz's anecdote has the merit of evoking the circles of *Kenner*, *Liebhaber*, *dilettanti* and *professori* for whom Mozart presumably composed his final group of canons

⁷ *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 3/26 (25 March 1801), columns 450–451.

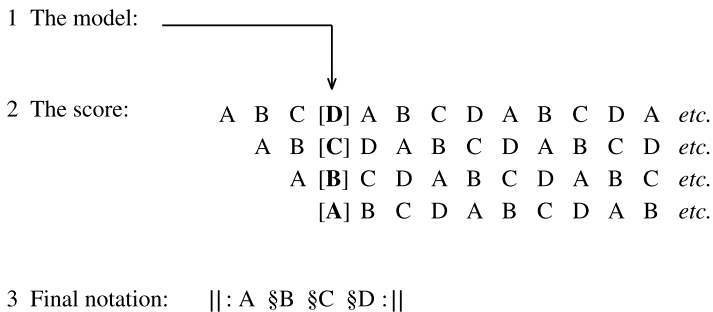
⁸ Maynard Solomon, 'The Rochlitz Anecdotes: Issues of Authenticity in Early Mozart Biography', in *Mozart Studies*, ed. Cliff Eisen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 1–59; Ulrich Konrad, 'Friedrich Rochlitz und die Entstehung des Mozart-Bildes um 1800', in *Mozart. Aspekte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Hermann Jung (Mannheim: Palatium Verlag im J & J Verlag, 1995), 1–22.



(Table 3). Leaving aside the first of these canons, which has a humorous text closely associated with Mozart's circle, even if there is no authentic source for the music, the remaining ten are the only canons Mozart ever promulgated. That is to say, he collected these canons together from sketch leaves, which had been created over a period of months or possibly even years, made a fair copy of the ten, numbering them as a set, and entered them into the *Verzeichniß aller meiner Werke* – his only canons so honoured. Then it seems he gave or sold copies of them to various people. This last activity presumably explains a series of early manuscript anthologies mixing Mozart's canons from this set of ten with works by many others.⁹ No dissemination of this sort exists for his other canons.

II

Mozart's canons can be categorized in two ways, one technical, the other sociological. From a technical point of view, the canon manuscripts reveal three formats that correspond to functions explained in a series of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century theoretical writings.¹⁰ In order of their employment the three formats are: the model, the score and the final one-line notation. The 'model' is the length of as many bars as elapse between canonic entries and contains the entire substance of the canon stacked up in score. As the theorists explain, once you have constructed your model, you must choose which line has the melody most conducive to beginning the canon unaccompanied; the other segments may follow in any order that seems pleasing. The result can then be put into score to test the effect of the invertible counterpoint, and finally, when after revisions the effect has been judged satisfactory, a one-line version is copied out, creating something meant to save space and mystify the uninitiated. For a four-voice canon at the unison, this can be represented as follows:



From a sociological point of view the authentic canons documented in Tables 1–3 fall into four principal categories:

1. puzzle canons by, or in imitation of, Padre Martini;
2. learned, untexted canons in the *stile antico*;
3. serious, elevated, Latinate or Italianate canons, in cantabile style; and

⁹ The manuscripts in question are Leopold Mozart's copy of Caldara's canons, Thomas Attwood's lessons with Mozart and copies in A-DO, A-DOandré, Kremsmünster, US-Beinstein, A-Wn (Ms. Hs. 17,554), ex Paul Nettel, Bloomington (current location unknown), and D-B (Mus. ms. 30,269).

¹⁰ Joachim Burmeister, *Musica Poetica* (Rostock: S. Myliander, 1606); Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis* (Rome: Haeredum Francisci Corbelletti, 1650); Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Abhandlung von der Fuge* (Berlin: A. Haude & J. C. Spener, 1753–1754); Johann Georg Albrechtsberger, *Gründliche Anweisung zur Composition* (Leipzig: Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, 1790); Augustus Frederic Christopher Kollmann, *An Essay in Practical Musical Composition* (London: author, 1799). See Denis Brian Collins, 'Canon in Music Theory from c.1550 to c.1800' (PhD dissertation, Stanford University, 1992).



4 humorous, lowbrow, Germanic canons, in parlando style.

The first two categories have already been explored above. Characteristic examples of the last two categories are, respectively, *Nascoso è il mio sol*, K557 ('My sun is hidden, and I remain here alone; weep for my sorrow, for soon I shall die'), and *Bona nox! Bist a rechta Ox*, K561, in which Mozart's macaronic text bids us 'Good night' in Latin, Italian, French, English and Viennese dialect, with some nonsense syllables and bits of scatology thrown in for good measure.

Bona nox! bist a rechter Ox;	<i>Bona nox!</i> Thou art a true ox;
Bonna notte, liebe Lotte;	<i>Buona notte</i> , beloved Lotte;
Alle Sorgen, ruht bis morgen!	All cares adjourn till morn!
Bonne nuit, pfui, pfui;	<i>Bonne nuit</i> , pfui, pfui;
Good night, good night,	<i>Good night</i> , good night,
Heut müßma noch weit;	Now we must be on our way;
Gute Nacht, gute Nacht,	<i>Gute Nacht</i> , <i>gute Nacht</i> ,
Scheiß ins Bett, daß' kracht;	Shit in bed till it crashes;
Gute Nacht, schlaf fei g'sund	<i>Gute Nacht</i> , sleep in good health,
Und reck' den Arsch zum Mund.	And stretch your arse to your mouth.

III

As already mentioned, one cause of confusion around Mozart's canons is the odd ways in which they have been transmitted to us and the ways in which that transmission has been misunderstood. Many of the manuscripts that preserve the canons are fragmentary. Many canon autographs are in sketch or draft notation rather than fair copy. Canons, being brief, are often on unlabelled single leaves, easily mislabelled or misplaced and not infrequently disappearing into private collections. Mozart's friends and acquaintances apparently swapped canons from a variety of sources, thus assembling personal anthologies of mixed authorship and confused attribution. And finally, members of Mozart's family and others cut up some of Mozart's canon autographs to present strips to collectors.

Then there are the muddled events surrounding the first publications of these works. Around 1798, when the Leipzig publishers Breitkopf & Härtel began to produce their so-called *Cœuvres complètes* of Mozart's music, they corresponded with agents in several cities seeking manuscripts and editions of Mozart's works, while also enlisting the assistance of his sister, Nannerl, and his widow, Constanze. At one point in 1800 Constanze Mozart, her helper Maximilian Stadler, and her second-husband-to-be, Georg Nissen, gathered together all the canon manuscripts they could find among Mozart's papers or in the hands of Viennese patrons and sent them off to Breitkopf & Härtel. In the correspondence between Constanze and Breitkopf & Härtel, she describes what she sent as comprising thirteen canons in the original manuscripts – that is, autographs – and others in *Abschriften* – that is, manuscripts not written by Mozart.¹¹ Four years later Breitkopf & Härtel published two volumes of the *Cœuvres complètes*, which contain six and sixteen canons respectively.¹² Figure 2 ('Anmerkungen') shows Breitkopf & Härtel's notice about the canons, with my glosses in the margins. Here Breitkopf & Härtel explained that texts had been provided for untexted canons and that, among the thirteen texted canons, texts of nine that were considered unsuited for publication had been replaced by new texts, though the initials of the opening words of the suppressed texts were given.

11 See the correspondence of 8 July and 30 November 1799, [?] March, 31 May and 10 September 1800; *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen: Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Wilhelm A. Bauer, Otto Erich Deutsch and Joseph-Heinz Eibl (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1962–1975), volume 4, between 253 and 369.

12 *RISM*, Serie A/I, M7301–02, 7340–41. Volume 15: K559, 562, 234, 233, 554, 555; Volume 16: K560, 553, 556, 558, 232, 561, 231, 229, Anh.134, Anh.C10.02, 50, Anh.A31, 508, 228ii, 230, Anh.C10.17.



Constanze's letter refutes Breitkopf & Härtel's claim that all the canons came from manuscripts in Mozart's hand, yet it was for a long time accepted at face value.¹³

There seems no reason to connect Constanze's having sent thirteen canons with the fact that of the canons Breitkopf & Härtel published, thirteen were texted and nine untexted. If one examines Tables 1, 2 and 3, however, another putative connection emerges, for one sees that precisely thirteen of the canons published by Breitkopf & Härtel survive in autographs. But given that among the manuscripts Constanze sent Breitkopf & Härtel were canons by C. P. E. Bach (KAC10.17), Athanasius Kircher (KAC10.02), an anonymous seventeenth-century English canon falsely attributed to William Byrd (KAA31), two canons by Wenzel Trnka (K233, 234) and three others that are unlikely to be by Mozart (K229, 230, 231), and that some of these may have been copied by Mozart and therefore been in his hand in his estate, it is unlikely that any two of the three groups of thirteen are the same. In any case, the canons published by Breitkopf & Härtel came to be regarded as a quasi-official corpus of Mozart's canons and were subsequently reprinted in a variety of derivative editions.

Among the subsequent editions was one that Köchel and later scholars must have realized could not have been drawn entirely from Breitkopf & Härtel's volumes; this is a collection published in Bonn by Simrock a few months after Breitkopf & Härtel published their volumes.¹⁴ Simrock's collection contains, uniquely, the entirely authentic *Nascoso è il mio sol*, K557. This, a work whose text Mozart took from a canon by Antonio Caldara, is missing from Breitkopf & Härtel's volumes. No one seems to have asked where Simrock's 'new' canon may have come from. However, a document known to Beethoven scholars but overlooked by their Mozartean brethren may provide an answer to that unasked question.

Ferdinand Ries, a native of Bonn, studied with Beethoven between 1801 and 1805. During that time Ries acted as agent for Simrock, enabling Simrock's firm to publish a number of Beethoven's works. Ries's letter to Simrock of 11 December 1803 contains the following sentence: 'I shall get the canons by Mozart only with difficulty because the banker who had them went bankrupt three weeks ago, and everything will be sold publicly.'¹⁵ And indeed, three weeks before Ries's letter, on 19 November 1803, Franz Joseph and Anton Alois von Natorp were officially declared bankrupt.¹⁶ Mozart's correspondence of 1787 reveals his social interactions with the Natorp family, right around the time that he dedicated the C major sonata for piano four hands, K521, to Babette and Marianne von Natorp, sisters of the unfortunate Franz Joseph and Anton Alois. So it was presumably from one of the two Natorp brothers, or at the sale of their possessions, that Ries acquired some of Mozart's canons for Simrock. Since, in addition to nine unquestionably authentic canons, Simrock's edition contains the two canons K233 and 234 (which with different texts are actually by Wenzel Trnka¹⁷), the possibility arises that although the music was by Trnka, the scatological replacement texts were by Mozart. Whatever Simrock's sources may have been, several of the canons in his edition contain musical and textual content that cannot have been taken from Breitkopf & Härtel, while others have content that

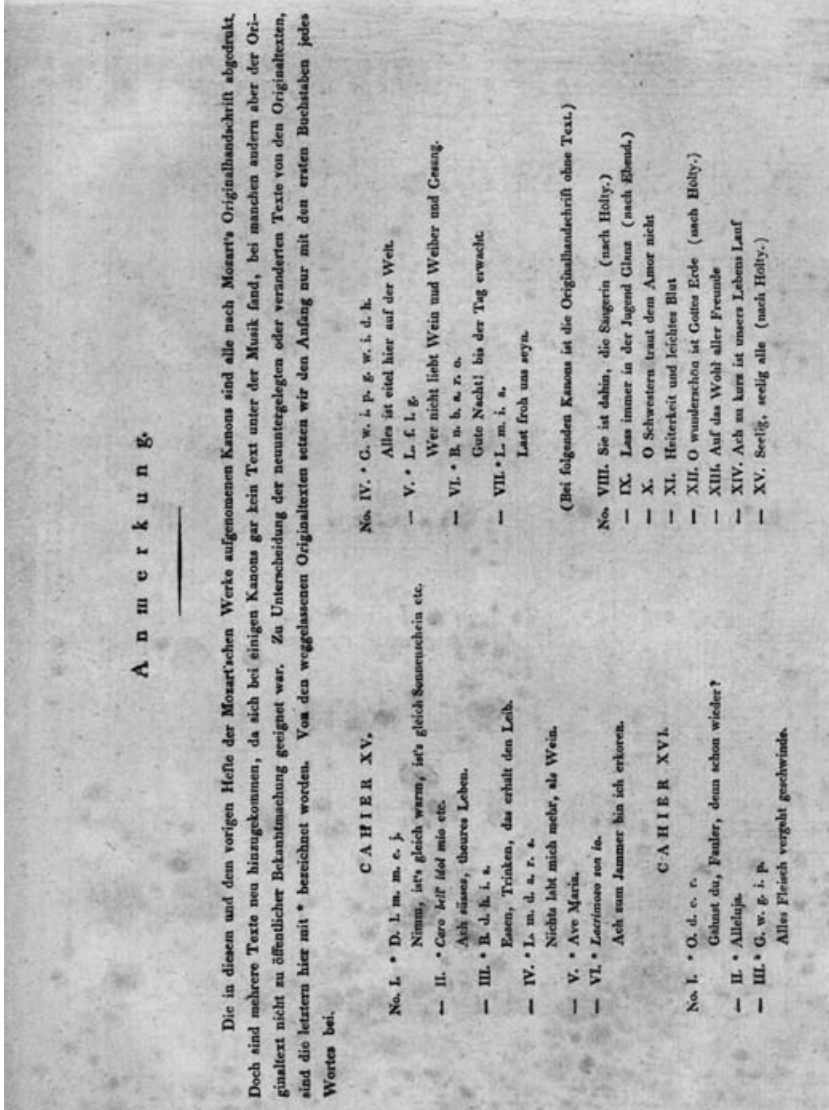
13 See Otto Jahn, *W. A. Mozart* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1856), volume 3, 335–36; K²⁰⁹ (K232).

14 *RISM*, Serie A/I, M5498.

15 *Letters to Beethoven and Other Correspondence*, ed. Theodore Albrecht (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1996), volume 1, 125. 'Die Canons von Mozart werde ich schwerlich erhalten, indem der Bankier, der sie hatte, vor 3 Wochen bankrott gemacht hat und alles öffentlich erkauft wird.'

16 *Wiener Zeitung*, 23 November 1803. In a private communication Michael Lorenz provides the following information about the Natorp family's business: 'The firm was in good health until 1797. The balance for that year (signed by Mozart's friend Michael Puchberg) gave assets of 773,579 florins. But unfortunately the ageing Franz Wilhem von Natorp trusted his sons. Even though in 1796 the *Wiener Zeitung* had published a public warning not to lend Anton Alois money, in 1798 he gave Anton 75,000 fl to join the firm, which in that year he officially handed over to Franz Josef. In 1803 the money was gone.'

17 Wolfgang Plath, 'Echtheitsfragen bei Mozart. Teil II: Wenzel Trnka und die angeblichen Mozart-Kanons KV 233 (382d) und KV 234 (382e)', in *Opera incerta: Echtheitsfragen als Problem musikwissenschaftlicher Gesamtausgaben. Kolloquium Mainz 1988*, ed. Hanspeter Bennis, Gabriele Buschmeier, Georg Feder, Klaus Hofmann and Wolfgang Plath (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1991), 237–284.





must certainly have been taken from Breitkopf & Härtel, namely, the new texts commissioned to replace the scatological ones.

IV

A final cause of the confusion surrounding the canons is that as a genre they seem to have embarrassed generations of scholars and musicians accustomed to thinking of Mozart's production only in terms of the original genius creating towering masterpieces. These slight occasional works, especially those with scatological texts or in sketchy notation, needed to be explained – or perhaps explained away. The defensive manoeuvres used by scholars and critics to sanitize Mozart's canons – either by suggesting that, really, they are masterpieces or that, really, they are not, but there are ready explanations for this awkward fact – are already present in the first great Mozart biography, Otto Jahn's foundational four-volume study of 1856:

Canons were in special favor at the social gatherings [of Mozart's friends . . .]. It may always be taken for granted that children and persons of slight musical cultivation will take peculiar pleasure in this severest form of musical mechanism, if the persistent regularity with which each part pursues its independent course is combined with a general effect of harmony and satisfaction. For the enlightened few, the interest arises from such a skillful handling of forms confined within the strictest rules as shall emphasize *epigrammatic* points in the most vivid and telling manner. . . . The canon . . . is capable of expressing alike the most serious and the most comic ideas. It requires, indeed, the firm hand of a master so to triumph over the difficulties of the form as to produce not only a masterpiece of counterpoint for the satisfaction of the learned, but also a melodious self-sufficing vocal piece, whose most studied difficulties shall leave the impression of lucky accidents. The greatest masters seem to have turned for recreation to the composition of canons, and even grave men like Padre Martini and Michael Haydn did not disdain to write comic canons. Mozart cultivated the style, and a long list may be placed under his name. . . . There are serious canons (K553, 554), cheerful canons (K555, 562, 557), and an overwhelming majority of comic canons. The words to these last were generally his own; they are almost always in Vienna dialect, and not a few of them are too coarse for publication, although they are preserved in verbal tradition. . . . The fun consisted essentially in the dialogue form and colloquial expressions of the text – as will be evident to all who compare the newly substituted versions, which, unexceptionable and correct as they are, neutralize the whole comic effect – of the canons. Mozart's mastery of form and his wonderful power of transforming everything he attempted into a complete and well-rounded work of art, are displayed in all the canons without exception; each one contains the clear expression of a particular mood, together with a melodious beauty, so thoroughly consistent with the form in which they are embodied as to appear inseparable from it.¹⁸

A century and a half on the special pleading and contradictions in Jahn's text have become easier to locate. How desperately this man wanted to paper over the fissures in his narrative. With what intensity he laboured to rescue his fondest beliefs about music, creativity and genius from contradictions inherent in Mozart's canons. Canons are only for 'children and persons of slight musical cultivation', yet the 'enlightened few' will appreciate them. Only a great master can 'triumph over the difficulties of the form' but in so doing he must 'leave the impression of lucky accidents'. Since 'even grave men like Padre Martini and Michael Haydn did not disdain to write comic canons', we ought not to think badly of Mozart for having done likewise. (Generally speaking, citing *Kleinmeister* like Padre Martini and Michael Haydn to valorize Mozart's music would be considered foolhardy.) Many of Mozart's texts were 'too coarse for publication', yet the publisher's polite substitute texts 'neutralize the whole comic effect'. (As Jahn couldn't publish the

¹⁸ Otto Jahn, *Life of Mozart*, translated by Pauline D. Townsend (London: Novello, Ewer & Co., 1891), volume 2, 362–365.



Table 1 Canons attributed to Mozart in the early 1780s

K ²⁻⁶	Key	Parts	Title or Text incipit		Autographs		Watermark (Tyson)	Editions			Dating	Remarks	
			1) Mozart	2) [substitute text]	1) sketch/draft	2) fair copy		Simrock 1804	B&H 1804	WAM Series 7			NMA III/10
229	382a	c 3	1) without text	2) [<i>Sie ist dahin</i>]	1) —	2) —	—	XVI/8	No. 42	Series 7	page 80	—	authenticity questionable
230	382b	C 2	1) without text	2) [<i>Selig, selig alle</i>]	1) —	2) —	—	XVI/15	No. 43	—	page 83	—	authenticity questionable
231	382c	B \flat 6	1) <i>Leck mich im Arsch</i>	2) [<i>Laßt froh uns sein!</i>]	1) —	2) —	—	XCI/7	No. 44	—	page 11	—	authenticity questionable ?text by Mozart B&H: 'L. m. i. a.'
233	382d	B \flat 3	1) <i>Leck mir den Arsch fein recht (recht schön)</i>	2) [<i>Nichis labt mich mehr</i>]	1) —	2) —	1	XV/4	No. 46	—	page 17	—	music by Wenzel Trnka ?text by Mozart B&H: 'L. m. i. a.'
234	382e	G 3	1) <i>Bei der Hitze im Sommer eß ich gern Wurzel</i>	2) [<i>Essen, Trinken, das erhält den Leib</i>]	1) —	2) —	3	XV/3	No. 47	—	page 20	—	music by Wenzel Trnka ?text by Mozart B&H: 'B. d. h. i. s.'
347	382f	D 6	1) —	2) [<i>Laßt uns ziehn [Wo der perlende Wien]</i>]	1) A-Sm (Skb 1782c)	2) —	61	—	No. 48	—	page 84	c1784–1785 (wm)	Mozart's copy of someone else's work?
348	382g	G 12 (or 16?)	1) <i>V'amo di core</i>	2) —	1) —	2) P-Kj	11	—	No. 49	—	page 24	c1783–1784 (wm)	Mozart's copy of someone else's work?
410	440d/ 484d	F 3	1) Adagio [for two basset horns and bassoon]	2) [<i>Lass immer in der Jugend Glanz</i>]	1) —	2) S-Smf	61	XCI/9	[Series 10, No. 15]	—	[VIII/21]	c1782–1783 (wm) late 1785 (NMA)	—
Anh. 191	562c	C 4	1) Canone à due Violini, Viola e Basso	2) —	1) A-Wgm (Skb 1782f)	2) F-Pn	58 58	—	[Series 24, No. 51]	—	pages 68, 106	c1782–1783 (wm)	—
—	562a	B \flat 4	1) [text lost]	2) —	1) —	2) GB-L, privately owned	66	—	—	—	page 98	uncertain	Mozart's copy of someone else's work?

For additional unrealized canons, sketches for canons and solutions of canons by other composers which are not listed in the *Köchel Verzeichnis* see Ulrich Konrad's *Skizzenblätter* 1781a, 1782a, 1782b, 1782c, 1782e, 1782f, 1782g, 1783f, 1785a, and 1785d (*Mozarts Schaffensweise* and NMA X/30/3).

**Table 2** Mozart's canons, 1786

K ¹	K ³⁻⁶	Key	Parts	Title or text incipit 1) Mozart 2) [substitute]	Autographs 1) sketch/draft 2) fair copy
507	507	F	3	1) Canone à tre in unisono 2) [<i>Heiterkeit und leichtes Blut</i>]	1) — 2) GB-C, privately owned (Skb 1786c)
508	508	F	3	1) in seconda di sopra e sesta di sotto 2) [<i>Auf das Wohl aller Freunde</i>]	1) — 2) GB-C, privately owned (Skb 1786c)
—	-/508A	C	3	1) without text 2) —	1) GB-C privately owned (Skb 1786c) 2) —
—	505a	F	3	1) à tre soprani 2) —	1) GB-Lbl (Skb 1786d) 2) GB-Lbl (Skb 1786d)
—	508a/2	F	3	1) [à due soprani 2) — basso]	1) — 2) GB-Lbl (Skb 1786d)
—	—	F	3	1) in unisono 2) —	1) D-B (Skb 1786a) 2) D-B (Skb 1786a)
—	—	F	2	1) in unisono 2) —	1) — 2) —
—	—	F	2	1) in seconda di sopra 2) —	1) — 2) D-B (Skb 1786a)
—	508a/3	F	2	1) in seconda di sotto 2) —	1) — 2) GB-Lbl (Skb 1786d)
—	—	F	2	1) in terza di sopra 2) —	1) — 2) D-B (Skb 1786a)
—	508a/4	F	2	1) in terza di sotto 2) —	1) GB-Lbl 2) GB-Lbl (Skb 1786d)
—	—	F	2	1) in quarta de sopra 2) —	1) — 2) D-B (Skb 1786a)
—	508a/5	F	2	1) in quarta di sotto 2) —	1) — 2) GB-Lbl (Skb 1786d)
—	—	F	3	1) in quinta di sopra 2) —	1) — 2) D-B (Skb 1786a)
—	508a/6	F	2	1) in quinta di sotto 2) —	1) — 2) GB-Lbl (Skb 1786d)
—	—	F	3	1) in sesta di sopra 2) —	1) — 2) D-B (Skb 1786a)
—	508a/7	F	2	1) in sesta di sotto 2) —	1) — 2) GB-Lbl (Skb 1786d)
—	—	F	2	1) in settima di sopra 2) —	1) — 2) D-B (Skb 1786a)
—	508a/8	F	2	1) in settima de sotto 2) —	1) — 2) GB-Lbl (Skb 1786d)
—	—	F	2	1) [all' ottava] 2) —	1) D-B (Skb 1786a) 2) —
228	515b	F	4	1) à quatro con due sogetti 2) [<i>Ach! zu kurz ist unsers Lebens Lauf!</i>]	1) D-B (Skb 1787a) 2) A-Sm
—	—	F	4	1) à quatro soprani 2) —	1) — 2) —
—	—	F	2	1) [in seconda di sopra] 2) —	1) D-B (Skb 1786a) 2) —

Thomas Attwood's music notebook = GB-Lbl, Add. ms. 58,437, and detached leaves in GB-Cfm, D-BNu and Daniel Heartz)



Watermark (Tyson)	Editions				Dating	Attwood
	Simrock 1804	B&H 1804	WAM Series 7	NMA III/10		
82	—	XVI/11	No. 50	page 86 (page 148)	spring or summer 1786	No. 15
82	—	XVI/13	No. 51	page 88 (page 148)	spring or summer 1786	No. 16
82	—	—	—	page 109	spring or summer 1786	—
85	—	—	—	pages 89/107 (page 150)	spring or summer 1786	No. 19
85	—	—	—	page 89	spring or summer 1786	—
82	—	—	—	page 90 (page 144)	spring or summer 1786	No. 1
—	—	—	—	page 90 (page 144)	spring or summer 1786	No. 2
82	—	—	—	page 91 (page 145)	spring or summer 1786	No. 3
85	—	—	—	page 91 (page 145)	spring or summer 1786	No. 4
82	—	—	—	page 91 (page 146)	spring or summer 1786	No. 5
85	—	—	—	page 91 (page 146)	spring or summer 1786	No. 6
82	—	—	—	page 92 (page 146)	spring or summer 1786	No. 7
85	—	—	—	page 92 (page 146)	spring or summer 1786	No. 8
82	—	—	—	page 93 (page 146)	spring or summer 1786	No. 9
85	—	—	—	page 93 (page 147)	spring or summer 1786	No. 10
82	—	—	—	page 94 (page 147)	spring or summer 1786	No. 11
85	—	—	—	page 94 (page 147)	spring or summer 1786	No. 12
82	—	—	—	page 95 (page 147)	spring or summer 1786	No. 13
85	—	—	—	page 95 (page 147)	spring or summer 1786	No. 14
82	—	—	—	—	spring or summer 1786	—
95 95	—	XVI/14	No. 41	pages 96/107 (page 149)	spring or summer 1786; A-Sm dated 24 April 1787	No. 17
—	—	—	—	page 97 (page 149)	spring or summer 1786	No. 18
82	—	—	—	page 110	spring or summer 1786	—

and with private owners in the US and Germany (*Attwood-Studien* [NMA, x/30/1]), ed. Alfred Mann



Table 3 Mozart's canons, 1787–1788

K ¹	K ³	K ⁶	Key Parts	Title or text incipit 1) Mozart 2) [substitute text]	Autographs 1) sketches/drafts 2) fair copies	Watermark (Tyson)	Abschriften (see key below)
232	509a	509a	G 4	1) <i>Lieber Freistädler, lieber Gaulimauli</i> 2) [<i>Wer nicht liebt Wein und Weiber</i>]	1) A-Wgm 2) —		
*553	553	553	B \flat 4	1) <i>Alleluja</i> 2) —	1) D-B (Skb 1787a) 2) A-W, privately owned	95 95	C, D, E, I
*554	554	554	F 4	1) <i>Ave Maria</i> 2) —	1) — 2) A-DO	— 95	C, D, E, G, H, I
*555	555	555	a 4	1) <i>Lacrimoso son' io</i> 2) [<i>Ach zum Jammer</i>]	1) — 2) A-DO	95	C, D, H
*556	556	556	G 4	1) <i>Grechelt's enk</i> 2) [<i>Alles Fleisch</i>] [<i>Grechelt'sang?</i>]	1) — 2) P-Kj	— 95	C, D, E, F, G, H
*557	557	557	f 4	1) <i>Nascoso è il mio sol</i> 2) [<i>O klage nicht</i>]	1) D-B (Skb 1787a) 2) A-W, privately owned	95	A, C, D, H, I
*558	558	558	F 4	1) <i>Gehn wir im Prater</i> 2) [<i>Alles ist eitel hier</i>]	1) A-Wn (Skb 1788a) 2) A-DO	96 95	C, D, E, F, G, H
*559	559	559	F 3	1) <i>Difficile lectu mihi mars</i> 2) [<i>Nimm, ist's gleich warm</i>]	1) A-privately owned (Skb 1788b) 2) GB-Lbl	95 95	C, D, E, F, H, I
*560	560	559a/ 560	F 4 G	1) <i>O du eselhafter Peierl (Martin) (Jacob)</i> [<i>Reitknecht</i>] 2) [<i>Gähnst du Fauler</i>]	1) — 2) A-Sm GB-Lbl	— 11 95	C, D, E, F, H, I
*561	561	561	A 4	1) <i>Bona nox! bist a rechta (rechter) Ox</i> 2) [<i>Gute Nacht</i>]	1) A-privately owned (Skb 1788b) 2) P-Kj	96 95	D, E
*562	562	562	A 3	1) <i>Caro bell' idol mio</i> 2) [<i>Ach süßes teures Leben</i>]	1) — 2) —	—	(A), H, I

* in Mozart's 'Verzeichnüß aller meiner Werke'

Abschriften (non-autograph manuscript copies): (A)=Leopold Mozart's Caldara Abschrift; B = Abschrift by Beinstein; G = Abschrift in A-Wn, Ms. Hs. 17,554; H = Abschrift ex Paul Nettel (location unknown); I = For additional canons, sketches and drafts for canons, and resolutions of canons by other composers not

texts that were 'too coarse for publication', his readers had to take his word on this.¹⁹) The canons' musical and textual substance may be beneath the dignity of an original genius, yet 'Mozart's mastery of form and his

19 For the suppressed texts of K231, 233 and 234 (K382c, d and e) see Michael Ochs, 'Grace Notes', *Notes* 47 (1991), 1326–1328.



	Editions			Dating	Annotations
Simrock 1804 —	B&H 1804 XVI/5	WAM Series 7 No. 45	NMA III/10 page 27	after 4 July 1787 (NMA)	B&H: 'L. f. l. g.' (?music by someone else, text by Mozart?)
6	XVI/2	No. 52	pages 32, 102	*dated 2 September 1788	WAM: 'N° 1 Canone à 4 ^{to} ' (opening motive: Gregorian Alleluia)
4	XV/5	No. 53	page 34	*dated 2 September 1788	WAM: 'N° 2 Canone à 4 ^{to} '
5	XV/6	No. 54	page 36	*dated 2 September 1788	WAM: 'N° 3 Canone à 4 ^{to} ' (text after Antonio Caldara)
11	XVI/3	No. 55	page 38	*dated 2 September 1788	WAM: 'N° 4 Canone à 4 ^{to} ' B&H: 'G. w. g. i. p.'
7	—	No. 56	pages 40, 103	*dated 2 September 1788	WAM: 'N° 5 Canone à 4 ^{to} ' (music & text after Caldara)
9	XVI/4	No. 57	pages 43, 104	*dated 2 September 1788 (<i>Gehn ma in Proda</i>)	WAM: 'N° 6 Canone à 4 ^{to} ' B&H: 'G. w. i. p. g. w. i. d. h.'
8	XVI/1	No. 58	pages 47, 105	*dated 2 September 1788	B&H: 'D. l. m. m. e. j.'
10	XVI/1	No. 59a/b	pages 49, 55	*dated 2 September 1788	B&H: 'O. d. e. r.' (1st version perhaps c1783–84)
—	XVI/6	No. 60	pages 62,	*dated 2 September 1788	B&H: 'B. n. b. a. r. o.'
2	XVI/2	No. 61	page 65	*dated 2 September 1788	(text after Caldara)

Thomas Attwood; C = Abschrift in A-DO; D = Abschrift in Kremsmünster; F = Abschrift in US-Abschrift in D-B, Mus. ms. 30,269
listed in the *Köchel Verzeichnis* see Konrad's sketchleaves 1787h, 1787i, 1787j, and 1787k.

wonderful power of transforming everything he attempted into a complete and well-rounded work of art, are displayed in all the canons without exception'. (Even in the canons not actually by Mozart?)



Jahn's explanations and rationalizations, in one guise or another, have echoed down the generations in other biographies of Mozart. In Wolfgang Hildesheimer's *Mozart* of 1977, for instance, it emerges in the following way:

In these *opuscula* growing out of a good-natured, mindless, or vulgar mood, the spirit and elegance of the musical thought usually softens the intended shock of the [text's] theme. . . . The slightest touch of vulgarity is alien to Mozart's music, even where the words seem to dictate it; here he has composed against his own text. We wonder if the seeming evidence about even ignoble things deceives us, too.²⁰

Coming back down to Earth from Jahn's awkward attempts to catapult Mozart's earthy and earthly canons into the higher ether, we find that these works certainly display technical skill and (some of them, at least) great aesthetic beauty. They document training Mozart received and later imparted to others. They are enjoyable to sing. They remind us of the many layers that went into the formation of Mozart's protean style. They allow us into his workshop, where, among the doodles, false starts, sketches, drafts and fragments, we notice rich material for humanizing our narratives of how Mozart worked. And they provide windows onto some of his social interactions, revealing him with his collar unbuttoned, entertaining himself and his friends with wit and irony, bathos and slapstick, high and low style. They are artefacts from the musical daily life of a distant time and place.

APPENDIX

WORKS NOT FOUND IN MOZART'S *VERZEICHNÜß* EVEN THOUGH COMPOSED AFTER FEBRUARY 1784 (OMITTING CANONS)

1 Dated by Köchel before February 1784 (total: seventeen)

K1	K3–6	Title
54	547b	Five Variations in F on an original theme for clavier
106	588a	Overture and three contradances
298	298	Quartet in A for flute and string trio
346	439a	Notturmo 'Luci care, luci belle'
355	576b	Minuet in D for clavier (fragment)
356	617a	Adagio in C for glass armonica
406	516b	String quintet in C minor (arrangement of K388)
410	484d	Adagio in F for 2 bassethorns and bassoon
411	484a	Adagio in B flat for 2 clarinets and 3 bassethorns
412+514	386b	Horn concerto in D (fragment)
436	436	Notturmo 'Ecco que fiero istante'
437	437	Notturmo 'Mi lagnerò tacendo'
438	438	Notturmo 'Se lontan, ben mio, tu sei'
439	439	Notturmo 'Due pupille amabili'
Anh.229	439b	Twenty-five pieces in F for 3 bassethorns

20 Wolfgang Hildesheimer, *Mozart* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1977), translated by Marion Faber (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1982), 51–53. Important Mozart biographies of recent years by Volkmar Braunbehrens, *Mozart in Wien* (Munich: Piper, 1986), translated by Timothy Bell (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1989); H. C. Robbins Landon, *Mozart: The Golden Years* (New York: Schirmer, 1989); Maynard Solomon, *Mozart, A Life* (New York: Harper Collins, 1995), and Ruth Halliwell, *The Mozart Family: Four Lives in a Social Context* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), simply ignore the canons. Robert W. Gutman, *Mozart, a Cultural Biography* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1999) absurdly remarks that Mozart's friends must have been 'so close that they even savoured singing his canons' (670).



441	441	Trio 'Das Bandel'
447	447	Horn concerto in E flat

2 Dated by Köchel after February 1784 (total: eleven)

K1	K3-6	Title
Anh.11a	477a	'Über die glückliche Genesung' (lost)
483	483	'Zerfließet heut', geliebte Brüder'
484	484	'Ihr unsre neuen Leiter'
485	485	Rondo in D for clavier
487	496a	Twelve Duets for 2 horns (probably only three by Mozart)
506	506	<i>Lied der Freiheit</i>
Anh.5	571a	Quartet 'Caro mio Druck und Schluck'
579	579	Aria 'Un moto di gioia me sento'
609	609	Five contradances
Anh.245	621a	Aria 'Io ti lascio, o car, addio'
625	592a	Duet 'Nun liebes Weibchen' (only partly by Mozart)