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## MOZART'S THEMATIC CATALOGUE: A FACSIMILE

INTRODUCTION AND TRANSCRIPTION BY ALBI ROSENTHAL &amp; ALAN TYSON

*A note of introduction: This splendidly realized facsimile consists of a History of the Catalogue by Albi Rosenthal and two chapters – a Description of the Manuscript and Transcription of Mozart's Entries – by Alan Tyson, with the pages in Mozart's hand beginning following page 59.*

## DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

*Size, structure, and layout*

MOZART'S *Thematic Catalogue* has been preserved in good condition for nearly two centuries since his death. The leaves are not entirely rectangular. Their height at the inner margins is 210 mm, and at the outer margins 214 mm; their width varies between approximately 163 and 165 mm. The original binding, which is also well preserved, is a little larger, with a height of 219 mm at the centre and 223 mm at the edges; its width is 170 mm. The volume was produced from 24 bifolia (making 48 leaves); there are six gatherings of four bifolia. But since both the first two and the last two of the 48 leaves were stuck down as end-papers for the binding, there were only 44 leaves conveniently available for Mozart's entries. A diagram of the volume's structure is given in [fig. 3](#) on the following page. The four leaves used as end-papers are listed in the diagram as A, B, C, and D. The first leaf with entries by Mozart (on its verso) was not foliated by him, so it has been given the number o.

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[The published chapter contains figures and musical examples, reproduced here at pages 2, 7, 10, and 13. Users reading this on the computer screen are reminded that the examples can be zoomed to a larger size for easier viewing, especially of the autograph musical examples in Mozart's hand.]

Figures 3 and 4:

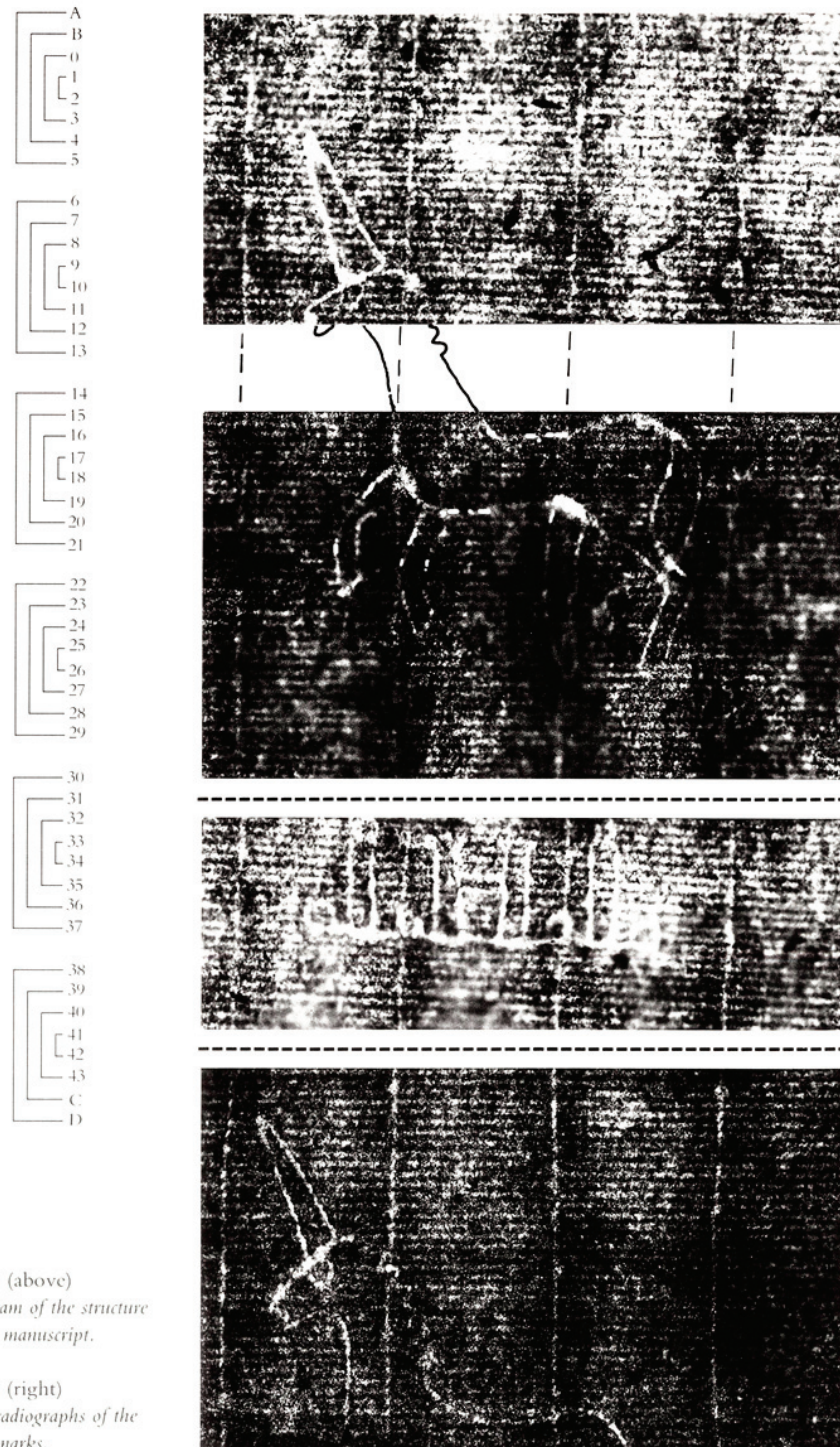


Fig. 3 (above)  
Diagram of the structure  
of the manuscript.

Fig. 4 (right)  
Beta-radiographs of the  
watermarks.

**Fig.4** shows the two features of the paper's watermark - a unicorn, and apparently the three letters J.H.I., which are probably the initials of the paper-manufacturer.<sup>1</sup>

Mozart used the majority of the openings of the volume to record his compositions in the following way. On the left-hand page of an opening (the verso of a leaf) he would make five entries, recording the dates of almost always five compositions, followed by the titles of the works, and usually their instrumentation too; in the case of operas, and some other vocal compositions, he would add the names of the singers for whom they were written. The facing page of the opening, on the right side (the recto of the next leaf) was ruled with ten staves (five pairs of two staves), which he used for writing the incipits (the opening bars of the music) for the compositions described opposite.

He wrote a folio number at the top of many of the incipit pages; so this pattern has been used for our numbering of the folios. Mozart's numbers are at the tops of the rectos of ff. 1-24, in ink; someone else has numbered ff. 25 - 28 in pencil. Folio 29, the last one used by Mozart, is unnumbered, as are the unused ff. 30-43 (all of which have been ruled with staves).

### *Marks and numbers*

In addition to what Mozart himself wrote – the dates, descriptions of the compositions, and their incipits on the opposite pages, and the numbers at the tops of ff. 1<sup>r</sup> to 24<sup>r</sup> – there are many peculiar small entries in the catalogue that were not made by him; they seem to have been added by some of those who had access to the catalogue over many years after his death. These include Constanze Mozart, Georg Nikolaus Nissen (her second husband), the Abbé Maximilian Stadler, Johann Anton André (the purchaser of most of Mozart's autograph scores), André's sons, his assistant Franz Gleissner, and perhaps others. To the left of many of Mozart's descriptive entries there are three small crosses in black ink (or, very occasionally, three short curved lines); above the right-hand end of many incipits there are large crosses in a slightly browner ink; and there are often numbers in roughly the same position, more or less over every fourth incipit, written in a reddish-brown ink. Although the exact meaning of these entries is not clear, it seems probable that some of the crosses were intended to indicate that an autograph score was then extant. If this is the case it is likely that these entries were made by Nissen and/or by André.

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1. For a similar watermark, cf. Georg Eineder, *The Ancient Paper-Mills of the Former Austro-Hungarian Empire and their Watermarks*, Hilversum, 1960 (Monumenta Charta: Papyraceae Historiam Illustrantia, Vol. VIII), No. 1691 on Plate 439. Yet the manuscript that contains that watermark is said to be of 1802.

There is an obvious significance in another series of numbers; these occur on the left of Mozart's descriptions, and they form a numeration of the items in the catalogue. The very first numbers, 1-5 on f.0<sup>v</sup>, and 6-10 on f. 1<sup>v</sup>, are in a dark ink; it is often claimed that they were written by Mozart, but this does not seem to be true since the forms of the numbers are not characteristic of his hand. They may have been inserted by Nissen. The numbers from 11 onwards are in pencil and were certainly not written by Mozart. They are accurate up to No.30 on f.5<sup>v</sup>; but No.30 is repeated beside the first entry on f.6<sup>v</sup>, so that all the pencilled numbers from this page to f.28<sup>v</sup> (the last entries) are too low by one. This has been corrected in the transcription of the entries printed on pp. 35-57 [*a reference to Tyson's next chapter, not included here*], so that when a pencilled number is observed at the left of any descriptive entry from f.6<sup>v</sup> to f.28<sup>v</sup> in the facsimile, the number should be increased by one in order to locate the work in the transcriptions.

### *Mozart's entries*

Let us now consider Mozart's entries, and some of the puzzles associated with them. His description of the *Catalogue's* contents is in the label on its front cover, which reads:

Verzeichnüss  
aller meiner Werke  
vom Monath febrario 1784 bis Monath 1

Wolfgang Amadé Mozart<sup>2</sup>

['Catalogue of all my works from the month of February 1784 until the  
month of 1 .']

Although Mozart died in December 1791, it has been suggested that by writing (after the space left for the month) the figure '1' for the year of the anticipated final entry, rather than '17', he expected to be using this volume in 1800, or even later. Yet this strikes some people today as unlikely, in view of his continuous productivity; for from February 1784 until November 1791 he wrote incipits (a few for more than one work) on 145 pairs of staves, and at his death there were only 70 pairs of staves still unused, as one can see in this facsimile.

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2. The flourish which follows Mozart's signature here has been taken to be an abbreviation 'mpia', meaning 'manu propria' (Latin for 'in my own hand').

The very first entry in the *Catalogue* is for the E-flat piano concerto K.449, with the date of '1784, den 9<sup>ten</sup> Hornung' [= 9 February 1784]. It has usually been assumed that this was approximately the date at which Mozart started to make entries in the *Catalogue*. But an alternative suggestion has been offered;<sup>3</sup> it has been claimed that there are certain inaccurate features about the dates given to most of the first ten works, and that suggests that they were not written in the *Catalogue* at the exact times of their dates, but were all entered later at more or less the same time, probably in about November 1784. This has also been linked with a serious illness that Mozart developed on 23 August, which lasted for at least three weeks, and his acceptance of apprenticeship in the masonic order on about 7 November. The latter may have been a response to his illness; and was the start of his *Catalogue* perhaps a second response?

Although the first ten entries are in an ink of a similar dark colour (though the date for No.5 is somewhat lighter), the claim that they were all written at about the same time, and given numbers by Mozart, cannot be accepted. For the following ten entries (Nos. 11 – 20), and even all the entries up to No.35 on f.6<sup>v</sup>, also look as if they have been made with the same ink and the same writing instrument. Moreover, as has been stated, the argument that the first ten entries were all numbered in Mozart's hand seems unsound. And throughout the *Catalogue*, as shall be explained, works were sometimes entered with dates that did not precisely correspond to the time that they were finished. So it is indeed quite possible that he really started his *Catalogue* in February 1784.

Three entries at the bottom of ff.19<sup>v</sup>, 20<sup>v</sup> and 23<sup>v</sup> are not numbered; they list the four vocal works by Handel that Mozart rescored for performances in Vienna, and these entries he marked 'NB:'. They were obviously added somewhat later than the other entries on those pages; possibly they were all written at the same time, together with the second work, K.587, prefixed by 'NB', in No. 117 on f.23<sup>v</sup>, with its incipit on f.24<sup>r</sup>. None of the Handel entries has an incipit on the facing page.

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3. Cf. Daniel N. Leeson & David Whitwell, 'Mozart's Thematic Catalogue', *The Musical Times*, Vol.114 (1973), pp.781-783.

*Lost compositions*

There are a few entries for compositions that seem not to have survived in any form. Mozart has provided a description of each of these works and usually of its scoring, the date at which it was finished, and its incipit. It is always possible that an autograph, or at least a copyist's score, of any of them could be discovered one day, but after two centuries this must now be unlikely. However, they were included in Köchel's numbering. The works in question are:

- No.19 K.470: Andante for a violin concerto (1 April 1785).
- No.65 K.525: 1st minuet and trio of Eine kleine Nachtmusik (10 August 1787). It was almost certainly on the now missing f.3 of the autograph. There is no incipit for this movement.
- No.86 K.544: Little march (26 June 1788).
- No.99 K.565: Two contredanses for eight instruments (30 October 1788).
- No.102 K.569: Aria for soprano(?), 'Ohne Zwang . . .' (January 1789).
- No.136 K.615: Final chorus to an opera by Giuseppe Sarti (20 April 1791).

*Omissions from the Catalogue*

The description in the label on the front cover of the *Catalogue* seems to imply Mozart's intention to include descriptions and dates for all the compositions finished from February 1784 up to the last months of his life. In consequence of this, nearly all the Köchel numbers from 449 to 623 have been given to the entered works. Many works that are not in the *Catalogue* were assumed to have been composed before February 1784, and they were consequently given Köchel numbers below 449.

But in more recent times it has often been suggested that Mozart omitted from the *Catalogue* quite a large number of the compositions that he wrote on various occasions within the period it covers. Lists of about 20 such works have been produced; but it is by no means certain that all of them were unintentionally overlooked by Mozart.

He may perhaps have regarded his *Catalogue* as primarily a list of the works that he could arrange to have publicly performed, either under his own supervision or by passing them to other musicians; and possibly also entries for the very few works that he had hopes of getting published. There are, of course, many other entries that do not fall into these categories. Yet he might not have bothered to enter one or two works written for a 'private' family performance, or for special social

occasions, or for an unusual soloist (i.e. a work that could not be performed by anyone else).

This might help to explain some of Mozart's omissions, even though many of his compositions of these types *were* included. The following list is of some of the works omitted by Mozart from the *Catalogue*.

- K.298 Quartet for flute, violin, viola, and violoncello. This was not written in Paris in 1778, as Köchel claimed, but in Vienna at the end of 1787.
- K.355(576b) Minuet in D for piano, probably written in about 1789-90; it was published in 1801 with a Trio composed by the Abbé Maximilian Stadler.
- K.356(617a) Adagio for harmonica, probably written in the first half of 1791.
- K.406(516b) String Quintet in C minor, arranged from the wind serenade that he wrote in 1782, K. 388(384a). The string quintet was probably finished early in 1788.
- K.436, K.437, K.438, K.439, K.346(439a) Five Notturmi for two sopranos and a bass. They were not written in 1783 (or in one case even earlier) as Köchel claimed, but in about 1787 or later.
- K.441 'Das Bandel', for soprano, tenor, and bass, and string quartet accompaniment. Not written in 1783, as Köchel claimed, but in about 1786 or 1787.
- K.447 Horn Concerto in E flat. Not written in 1783, as Köchel claimed, but in about 1787. [See fig.5.]



Fig.5 Opening of Mozart's autograph manuscript of K.447, Horn Concerto in E Flat. British Library, Stefan Zweig MS 55, f.1.

- K.453a Little Funeral March for piano (16 bars), written as an entry in Barbara Ployer's album. It is however possible that this piece was written before February 1784, in spite of the fact that the first and the fifth works entered in the *Catalogue*, the piano concertos K.449 and K.453, were also written for her.
- K.469 The cantata *Davidde penitente*, largely based on the music for the Mass in C minor, K.427(417a), was first performed on 13 March 1785. Although Mozart did not enter the whole work in the *Catalogue*, he entered the two new arias that he wrote for it, K.469, no.6 (6 March) and no.8 (11 March).
- K.483 'Zerfliesset heut', geliebte Brüder', masonic song, with male chorus. Written probably at the end of 1785, or in 1786.
- K.484 'Ihr unsre neuen Leiter', masonic song, with male chorus. Written probably at the end of 1785, or in 1786.
- K.485 Rondo in D for piano. The autograph score is dated by Mozart '10 January 1786'.
- K.487(496a) 12 Duos for two horns. The partial autograph score (with only nos. 3, 1, and 6) is dated by Mozart '27 July 1786'.
- K.506 'Lied der Freiheit', a song published in the *Wiener Musenalmanach* for 1786. That volume was out by January 1786, so the song was probably written in 1785.
- K.579 'Un moto di gioia', an aria for Susanna in the revival of *Le nozze di Figaro* at Vienna in August 1789.
- K.621a(Anh.245) 'Io ti lascio', aria for bass, often dated 'September 1791 in Prague', but perhaps a little earlier – e.g. early 1788, after Mozart's return from Prague at the end of 1787.

Although it is hard to explain most of these omissions, some suggestions can be put forward. The Notturmi K.436, K.437, K.438, K.439, and K.346(439a) were perhaps written purely for performance by his friends, such as Gottfried von Jacquin. The same seems to apply to 'Das Bandel', K.441, 'for Constanze, Mozart and Jacquin', and K.621a, which was also perhaps written for von Jacquin. (Yet Mozart did enter K.513, and described it as 'an aria for Gottfried von Jacquin'.) K.447 was another work written for performance by a friend, Ignaz Leutgeb, the horn-player for whom Mozart wrote most of his horn works. (Yet another horn concerto for Leutgeb, K.495, was entered in the *Catalogue*.) Because K.453a was merely a little work of 16 bars in Barbara Ployer's album, Mozart probably did not think it suitable for inclusion in the catalogue, though he did enter the more considerable 'kleine Gigue', K.574, which he wrote in the album of Karl Immanuel Engel, an organist at Leipzig.

K.483 and K.484, two songs with accompaniments for chorus and organ, were probably written just for performance together at a masonic celebration.

Although Susanna's new aria 'Un moto do gioia', K.579, written for the August 1789 revival of *Le nozze di Figaro* at Vienna, was omitted from the *Catalogue*, her other new aria, the rondo 'Al desio, di chi t'adora', K.577, was entered. This inconsistency is hard to understand.

The rondo for piano, K.485, was perhaps a composition written merely for teaching purposes. If so, this could possibly explain its omission.

Even when quite a large part of a work had been written, Mozart would not enter it until he regarded it as finished. Thus many fragmentary pieces on which he worked during the years of the *Catalogue*, and of course the unfinished *Requiem*, K.626, are not entered in it.

Yet he entered one or two songs, autographs of which have slightly incomplete piano accompaniments. No doubt Mozart considered them as finished, for he will have had no difficulty in playing them.

### *Inaccuracies in the entries*

However, it is clear that Mozart did not fail to enter the great majority of the compositions that he completed between February 1784 and the time of his death in 1791. This is why the *Catalogue* is so valuable, especially because of the dates that he gave to almost every work, his helpful descriptions of them all, their instrumentation, sometimes the names of the singers or instrumentalists for whom they were written, and the incipits.

Yet it is nevertheless the case that there are a few inaccuracies in some of his entries. Not that features such as his spelling mistakes, or his inconsistent version of the opening words of an aria or a song, cause any trouble. For instance, the heading at the beginning of the song 'Das Alte', K.517, 'Ein bißchen aus der Nase', was entered in the incipit as 'Ein bißchen durch die Nase'. The song entitled 'Das Traumbild', K.530, was entered as 'das Traumlid'. The opening words of the duet 'Per queste tue manine', K.540b, added to the May 1788 Vienna version of *Don Giovanni*, were entered as 'Per quelle tue Manine'. And the opening words of the bass aria 'Rivolgete a lui lo sguardo', K.584, were entered as 'Rivolgete à me lo sguardo'.

More puzzling are a few of the tempi in the incipits, since they differ from those in the autograph scores. Here are some of the most striking ones, the *Catalogue's* entry being cited first:

No.17	K.469, no.8: Larghetto, instead of Andante.
No.18	K.468: Andantino, instead of Larghetto.
No.34	K.489: Andante, instead of Larghetto.
No.37	K.492: Overture: Allegro assai, instead of Presto.
No.40	K.495: Allegro, instead of Allegro moderato.

- No.67 K.527: Overture (D-major entry): Allegro assai, instead of Molto allegro.
- No.107 K.575: Allegro, instead of Allegretto. [See fig.6.]
- No.118 K.588: Overture: Andante Maestoso, instead of Andante.
- No.121 K.593: Adagio, instead of Larghetto.
- No.138 K.617: the Rondo: Allegro, instead of Allegretto.

These divergences may be used as evidence that Mozart did not draw much of a distinction between the use of a few of these tempi.



Fig.6 Opening of Mozart's autograph manuscript of K.575, String Quartet in D. British Library, Additional MS 37765, f.1<sup>r</sup>.

Some of the entries give a work slightly different orchestration from what is regarded as the true form, or the version in the autograph. In some cases it may be that Mozart did not make an error in the *Catalogue*, but later changed a composition's scoring. Here are some examples:

- No.11 K.459. The '2 Clarini, timpany' are not in the autograph.
- No.26 K.477(479a). This work's Kontrafagott is not included, and only one of its three basset-horns is mentioned.
- No.74 K.535. '2 oboe' are listed instead of the autograph's two clarinets.

In No.75, K.536, No.101, K.568, and No.104, K.571, there is no mention in the *Catalogue* of the two horns which are apparently part of their scoring.

Another possible change that Mozart may have made to a composition, K. 573, is the number of variations for piano on a minuet by Jean Pierre Duport. For his entry, No.105 (dated '29 April 1789 in Potsdam'), describes it as having six variations, but today we have nine. In August 1791 the Viennese copyist-publisher Laurent Lausch advertised it for sale as '6 variations', but at about the same time the Berlin and Amsterdam publisher J.J. Hummel produced an edition of nine variations. So perhaps Mozart augmented this work after making his entry in the *Catalogue*.

Although Mozart's dates in the *Catalogue* are mostly regarded as being reliable, there are one or two that are somewhat puzzling. No.26, K.477(479a) is dated July 1785. The title of this C-minor orchestral work is 'Maurerische Trauermusik' - that is, masonic funeral music; and the catalogue's entry declares that it was for the deaths of the Duke Georg August von Mecklenburg-Strelitz and of the Count Franz Esterházy von Galantha. However, they had not died in the summer of 1785, but on 6 and 7 November. So when Mozart entered this work, which cannot have been before November 1785, it seems possible that he overlooked the fact that the words 'im Monath Jully' had perhaps already been entered at the top of the page, f.5<sup>v</sup>; for the previous entry, at the bottom of f.4<sup>v</sup>, is dated 8 June. According to a recent suggestion, Mozart had an earlier version of this work, incorporating vocal parts, performed at a masonic ceremony on 12 August 1785; so it is claimed that this resulted in a faulty early date for the orchestral composition produced in November 1785.<sup>4</sup>

The very next work in the *Catalogue*, No.27, K.478, the G-minor piano quartet, seems also to be misdated. For it is assigned the same date as the masonic funeral music, the word 'detto' implying July 1785. Yet the autograph of K.478 is dated 16 October 1785, and it seems very likely that this was when it was completed.

Although No.16, K.467, a C-major piano concerto, is dated 9 March 1785 in the *Catalogue*, the autograph has a very slightly earlier date: February 1785. Here it is hard to say which is more accurate.

In some cases Mozart may have finished a composition, and perhaps had it performed, but later decided to change it in some way, and possibly even to rescore it. So he may then have entered the work in his *Catalogue* at a rather later date than the one suggested by some of the surviving source material. Here are two examples.

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4. Cf. Philippe A. Autexier, 'Wann wurde die Maurerische Trauermusik uraufgeführt?', *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1984/85*, pp.6-8.

The *Catalogue's* date for No.7, K.455, ten variations on 'Unser dummer Pöbel meint', a melody from a Singspiel by Christoph Willibald Gluck, is 25 August 1784. Since it is known that Mozart had played variations on this theme at a concert in Vienna on 23 March 1783, at which Gluck was probably in the audience, the *Catalogue's* date has sometimes been regarded as inaccurate. But although we have a fragmentary autograph of about 4 ½ variations, which almost certainly dates from 1783, we also have an autograph of all the ten variations, which probably dates from 1784. No doubt Mozart wrote this in preparation for the work's publication, which possibly took place in 1785, or certainly no later than 1786.

It seems very probable that he wrote the soprano aria 'Ah se in ciel, benigne stelle' in 1778 for the lady he was then very devoted to, Aloysia Weber, the sister of his future wife Constanze.<sup>5</sup> But the final autograph of the aria is dated 4 March 1788 and is inscribed 'per la Sig:<sup>ra</sup> Lange', the married name of Aloysia. And the entry in the *Catalogue*, No.77, K. 538, has the same date and inscription as the final autograph.

Some other difficulties of this kind are probably to be explained by Mozart's official appointment in December 1787 as 'Kammermusikus', chamber music composer for the Imperial and Royal Court. As he was expected regularly to supply collections of dance music for court balls, he appears to have revised, or rescored, earlier pieces and often entered them in new groupings. For example, No. 132 in the *Catalogue* includes two works dated 6 March 1791: K.610, a Contredanse in G, and K.611, a German dance in C. Yet K.611, with slightly different scoring, is also the third of the four German dances K.602, entered as half of No.127, dated 5 February 1791. And K.610, with slightly different scoring, is also the fifth of the five contredanses K.609, a collection not entered in the *Catalogue*, but given the proposed date of 1791 by Köchel. Moreover the autograph of K.609's five contredanses [See fig.7, on the following page.], although not dated, appears to have been written in 1787 or 1788; and the second autograph of K.610 (alone), also not dated, appears to have been written much earlier, probably in about 1783.<sup>6</sup> By the assumption that these were works that Mozart revised in various ways for the court balls, the problems in some of the information provided by the *Catalogue* can often be solved.

ALAN TYSON

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5. There is an autograph with merely the voice part and the bass line, which seems to have been written near the end of 1778. Cf. Alan Tyson, *Mozart: Studies of the Autograph Scores*, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard U.P., 1987, pp.232-233.

6. Since this autograph gives the work the title of 'Les filles malicieuses', it would appear that it had not been written for the court.

Figure 7:

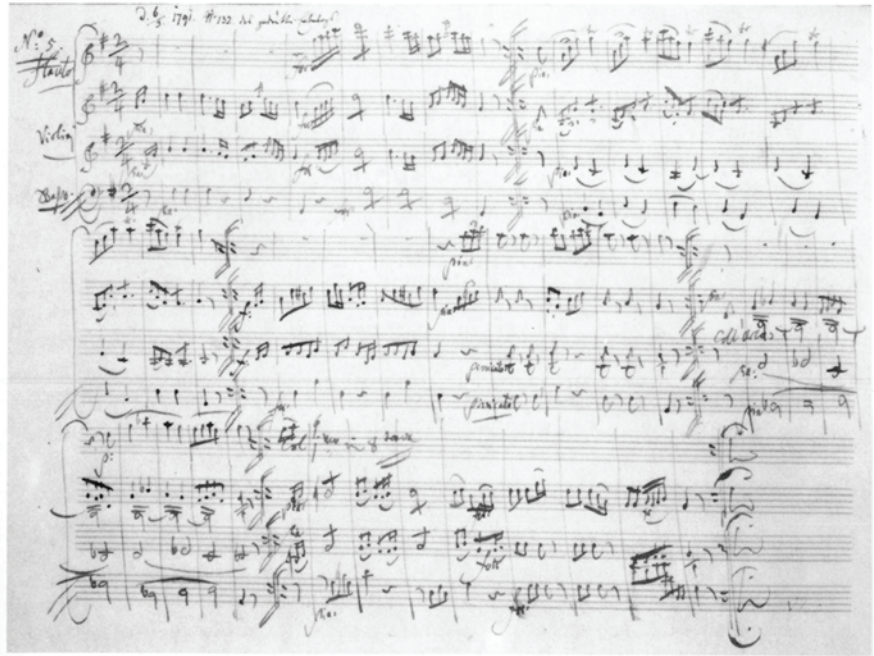


Fig. 7 Mozart's autograph manuscript of the fifth of the contredanses, K. 609. British Library, Stefan Zweig MS 59, f. 3<sup>v</sup>.

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## FOR THE RECORD: AN ADDENDUM – CHRONOLOGY AND COMMENTARY

Since Alan Tyson's chapter describing the manuscript of Mozart's *Thematic Catalogue* was first placed on the website, persons reading it have asked to know what lies behind the "alternative suggestion" cited in footnote 3 on page 5 and Tyson's response thereto:

it has been claimed that there are certain inaccurate features about the dates given to most of the first ten works, and that suggests that they were not written in the *Catalogue* at the exact times of their dates, but were all entered later at more or less the same time, probably in about November 1784. This has also been linked with a serious illness that Mozart developed on 23 August, which lasted for at least three weeks, and his acceptance of apprenticeship in the masonic order on about 7 November. The latter may have been a response to his illness; and was the start of his *Catalogue* perhaps a second response?

After making piecemeal answers, it is perhaps time to provide a reasonably comprehensive chronology and commentary.

The chronology reaches back at least to the year **1973** when two American musicologists, Daniel N. Leeson and David Whitwell, published the cited article in the August issue of *The (London) Musical Times* (vol.114, pp.781-783). Leeson's undergraduate and graduate studies are all in mathematics and he calls himself a self-taught musicologist; Whitwell has a Ph.D. in Musicology. Neither of them has a degree as a doctor of medicine; the relevance of this appears below. First, an initial excerpt from the article cited in footnote 3:

". . .Recent investigations about the dating of certain works, traditionally thought to pre-date the thematic catalogue, has led us to believe that at least one major work was not entered in the catalogue although composed after 9 February 1784 [*BCC: This is apparently an anonymous reference to the Serenade in B, K.361(370a)*]. In consequence, we have been looking at the catalogue more closely; and we have come to believe that the catalogue was begun not in February 1784 but about nine months later, when the first nine items were entered retrospectively (some of them with wrong dates). . .

In the years **1976-78**, Leeson, together with the American musicologist Neal Zaslaw, became engaged in preparing the texts of three serenades for winds – in E-flat major K.375, in C minor K.388, and in B-flat major K.361—and the Adagio in B-flat for winds K.411, for the *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, published by the *Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg*. As finally published, a major part of the introduction to K.361 is concerned with the question when in fact did Mozart compose this work. The discussion is summed up with the statement: *Aufgrund unserer bisherigen Kenntnisse gibt es keine Gründe, das Werk früher als mit Ende 1783 oder Anfang 1784 zu datieren*. There is no mention of the possible relevance of this for the initiation of the thematic catalogue, perhaps because it was not apropos and in any event "Ende 1783 oder Anfang 1784" would make the question moot.

The next chronological point of interest dates to **1980** when Alan Tyson published a paper on the date of Mozart's Piano Sonata in B flat, K.333/315c, the "Linz" sonata; this subsequently was incorporated as Chapter 6 in the book, "Mozart: Studies of the Autograph Scores" (Harvard University Press, 1987).

On page 80 of the book, Tyson cited Mozart writing from Vienna to his father in Salzburg on 20 February 1784, saying "Two gentlemen. . .are going to Salzburg in a few days, and I shall probably ask them to take with them a sonata, a symphony, and a new concerto." Tyson went on: "The symphony and the concerto are easily identifiable as the 'Linz' Symphony, K.425, and the E-flat concerto, K.449, which he had just written for Barbara Ployer (the autograph is dated 9 February 1784).<sup>9</sup> . . ." To footnote 9, he wrote (on page 335): "K.449 is also the first work to be entered in Mozart's Verzeichnüss (under the same date). **I accept the arguments of Daniel N. Leeson and David Whitwell that the Verzeichnüss was not in fact begun by Mozart until some months later.**" (*emphasis added*)

Now some personal information is required. In **1987**, I first met Alan Tyson at a Mozarteum meeting in Salzburg. I had read his book on studies of the autograph scores and was pleased to meet the author. Tyson was interested in work that I had ongoing and asked me to send it to him when it was finished. Thus began a correspondence that continued until his untimely death in the year 2000.

It was in 1935 that the peripatetic *Verzeichnüss aller meiner Werke vom Monath febrario 1784 bis Monath 1 Wolfgang Amadé Mozart* had finally come to rest in the hands of the Austrian poet and novelist Stefan Zweig. Following his death in 1942, his heirs placed it on loan with the British Museum in 1956. In **1986**, the *Catalogue* was presented to the British Library. Plans were made to publish a facsimile of the highest quality of the complete document. Albi Rosenthal and Alan Tyson were engaged to assist in the project, thus beginning Tyson's intensive philological studies of the *Catalogue* itself. The new facsimile was published by The British Library Board in **1990**.

Some months after its publication, I received a copy of the facsimile. Reading through it, I was curious about the same footnote 3 to Tyson's chapter as those reading it on the website have been. When Tyson visited us at our home in Niederösterreich in September 1990, I asked him about the 1973 Leeson-Whitwell article and mentioned the footnote to his paper on the "Linz" sonata, "accepting" the Leeson-Whitwell arguments. He said that at the time, he had not had an opportunity to study the *Catalogue* and the arguments had seemed plausible; the footnote was perhaps a mistake. He would send me a copy of the article and some comments.

In **January 1991**, I received the following letter, quoted here in full:

16 January 1991

Dear Bruce,

*I posted a letter to you yesterday, but this morning I received another letter from you!*

*I'm very glad that the Verzeichnüss has been interesting to you! Well, of course the "1" at the end of the label on the front of the volume is rather ambiguous. I think it was O.E. Deutsch that first said that he didn't dare to write "17..", in case it should have been used until "18.."; so at first he only wrote (after a space for the name of the month) "1..." !*

*I'm glad to send you a photocopy of the Leeson-Whitwell article, so that you can study it. I think that Leeson wanted to say that the wind serenade for 13 instruments, KV 361(370a), was only finished in about March 1784; and as it is not in the Verzeichnüss already started by then, he wanted to say it was started later! They are quite inaccurate about KV 455, for there is a fragmentary autograph datable to March 1783, but a complete autograph that is rather later. August 1784 is accurate!*

*We shall meet in 2½ weeks!*

*All best,*

*/s/ Alan*

And we did indeed meet two and a half weeks later, at the *Mozart-Jahr Kongress* in Salzburg from 1 to 8 **February 1991**. On that occasion, in discussion with Tyson, he elaborated somewhat on the points about KV 361 and KV 455 made in his letter. His major concern, however, was to stress that, after his close and prolonged examination of the *Catalogue* manuscript in all its aspects, there was no doubt in his mind that "it is indeed quite possible that he really started his *Catalogue* in February 1784". That is how Tyson, ever the cautious and responsible researcher, formulated it for his facsimile text; in person, his conviction was much more vigorously stated.

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Individual comments on the Leeson-Whitwell article:

The Leeson-Whitwell article was published in August 1973 issue of *The Musical Times*. This suggests that it must have been written earlier in 1973, long before the new facsimile was published. And indeed, the authors make no claim for having examined the *Catalogue*, then at the British Museum. Instead, their very first footnote to the text reads as follows: "facsimile edn., ed. by O.E. Deutsch (Vienna, 1938; New York, 1956); diplomatic edn., by E.H. Müller von Asow (Vienna, 1943)." This contrasts, of course, with Tyson's philological work with the *Catalogue* itself.

Leeson-Whitwell: “. . .serious doubts arise regarding the accuracy of the catalogue when we look at the individual compositions listed for 1784. The **most implausible entry** (*emphasis added*) is the seventh, the piano variations K455, dated 25 August 1784; Mozart had performed these variations as early as 23 March 1783. While it is possible that he did not write them out until August 1784, we know of no occasion which made it necessary (unless it be connected with their publication during 1785). . .

Tyson's comment: “They are quite inaccurate about KV 455, for there is a fragmentary autograph datable to March 1783, but a complete autograph that is rather later. August 1784 is accurate!”. [NB: This is also discussed in Tyson's chapter; see top of page 12, above.]

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Leeson-Whitwell: “. . .Doubts deepen in the light of the fact that, on 23 August 1784, Mozart contracted **one of the most serious illnesses of his life** (*emphasis added*), one which continued until mid-September. On the very day that the catalogue indicates his completion of this minor autograph [*a reference to KV 455*], he was (according to a letter of Leopold dated 14 September 1784, in which he quotes from his son's letter to him), actually experiencing ‘a fearful attack of colic, which ended each time in violent vomiting’.”

BCC comment, citing the work of the Austrian doctor of internal medicine and medical historian, Dr. Anton Neumayr:

In a detailed discussion of Mozart's medical history in the 1783-84 period that includes a quote from the Leopold Mozart letter of 14 September 1784, Dr. Neumayr observes:

“. . .The word ‘colics’ in those days referred almost exclusively to attacks of spasmodic stomach pains. We can assume therefore that Mozart's illness was a gastrointestinal infection accompanied by fever and diarrhea with vomiting, something that even today shows up frequently as ‘summer diarrhea’ or ‘abdominal flu.’ This conclusion is underscored by Leopold's note that ‘. . .not only he but lots of other people. . .’ exhibited the same symptoms. . . .We can confidently assume that this sickness had no lasting effects. . . .” [*Music & Medicine: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert*, by Dr. Anton Neumayr (Medi-Ed Press, 1994), pages 134-137.]

In other words, this probably did not really qualify as “one of the most serious illnesses of Mozart's life”, and neither Leeson nor Whitwell possessed the medical knowledge and experience to validate the claim.

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Leeson-Whitwell : “In addition to the above factors, which point to a time much later than 9 February 1784 as the true date when Mozart began his catalogue, one must consider why he should begin a catalogue at all, and in particular why he should do so in late 1784. It would seem that, just about that time, a realization of his mortality came home to him...” [BCC comment: *There follows a whirlwind of speculation, undocumented and undocumentable.*]

Albi Rosenthal comment: From Rosenthal’s discussion of “The History of Mozart’s *Thematic Catalogue*” in the published facsimile:

“. . .The original manuscripts of nine early symphonies of Mozart (Nos. 22-30) dating from 1773 to 1774. . .were gathered together and bound into one volume, in grey wrappers, by Leopold Mozart in the 1770s; he wrote a thematic list of the contents on the front cover, which, except for the deliberate absence of dates and somewhat shorter musical incipits, is essentially similar to Mozart’s *Catalogue*. It may well be, therefore, that the impetus for keeping a catalogue with incipits originated with Leopold. Mozart stayed with him on a visit to Salzburg until 27 October 1783, only three and a half months before the date of the first entry in the *Catalogue*. The unprecedented increase in Mozart’s activities, both as composer and performer, from the beginning of 1784 onwards, would have been reason enough for him to keep the kind of diary of his compositions which the *Catalogue* represents. Mozart also began keeping exact accounts of his income (. . .) and expenditure, in March 1784, almost exactly at the moment in his life when he started chronicling his compositions systematically. . . .”

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Bruce Cooper Clarke