

# Who was Mozart's Laura?

## *Abendempfindung* and the Editors

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Mozart's song with piano accompaniment *Abendempfindung* (K.523) was written on 24 June 1787. We know this from his own Thematic Catalogue covering the years 1784 to 1791, which is one of the Stefan Zweig manuscripts in the British Library, recently part of a special exhibition and now available both as a facsimile and in digital form on the Web (see figs 1-2).<sup>1</sup> Each newly written work is briefly recorded in it in Mozart's hand with place, date, and an incipit on two staves. *Abendempfindung* came in the period between the two great string quintets in C major and G minor and the serenade for strings known as *Eine kleine Nachtmusik*, and all of these, plus other compositions, between *Le nozze di Figaro* of the year before and *Die Zauberflöte* of later the same year. That may sound like an exceptional period, but all Mozart's years were exceptional. His not very numerous songs are less well known than many other works, and I do not want to make exaggerated claims for them as a whole, but they have their own interest, and K.523 is certainly a high point.

We do not always remember our first acquaintance with a musical masterpiece, but I do remember mine with *Abendempfindung*: sometime in the mid-1950s I was asked to play the piano part for a student soprano, and was bowled over, particularly by some wonderful long phrases in the voice part. I have loved it ever since. The title might be translated as *Evening sentiment*, and the anonymous text as follows:

It is evening, the sun has gone down, and the moon is shining silver. Life's loveliest hours disappear too, and fly past like a dance. The theatre of life does not last, and the curtain rolls down. Our play is over. The tears of a friend are already flowing on our grave. Like a gentle breeze blowing from the west, I sense a quiet foreboding that soon I shall end this pilgrimage of life, and fly into the land of rest. If you weep at my grave, my friends, and mourn over my ashes, I shall appear to you, and breathe a breath of heaven on you. If thou too weepst but a teardrop for me, and pickest a violet onto my grave, look gently down on me. Grant me a tear, don't be ashamed to consecrate it to me – O it will be the loveliest pearl in my diadem.

Not a great poem, perhaps; the words are not entirely conventional, though the title puts them firmly in the context of the pre-Romantic movement in German literature known as *Empfindsamkeit*. This movement was much influenced by English models, and even developed its name from a translation of the English adjective *sentimental*. The poem's framework is tragic: a premonition of death addressed not only to friends, but to a lover. The friends are addressed in the German familiar second person plural (*Ihr*), for which English has no equivalent. The change to the German familiar second person singular (*Du*) in the conclusion marks an even closer degree of intimacy, which can only be matched in English by using the obsolete and clunky *thou*: the German progression is naturally elegant (figs 3-9).

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<sup>1</sup> *Mozart's Thematic Catalogue. A facsimile*, ed. Albi Rosenthal and Alan Tyson (London: The British Library, 1990), fol. 12v-13r; and [www.bl.uk/turningthepages](http://www.bl.uk/turningthepages).



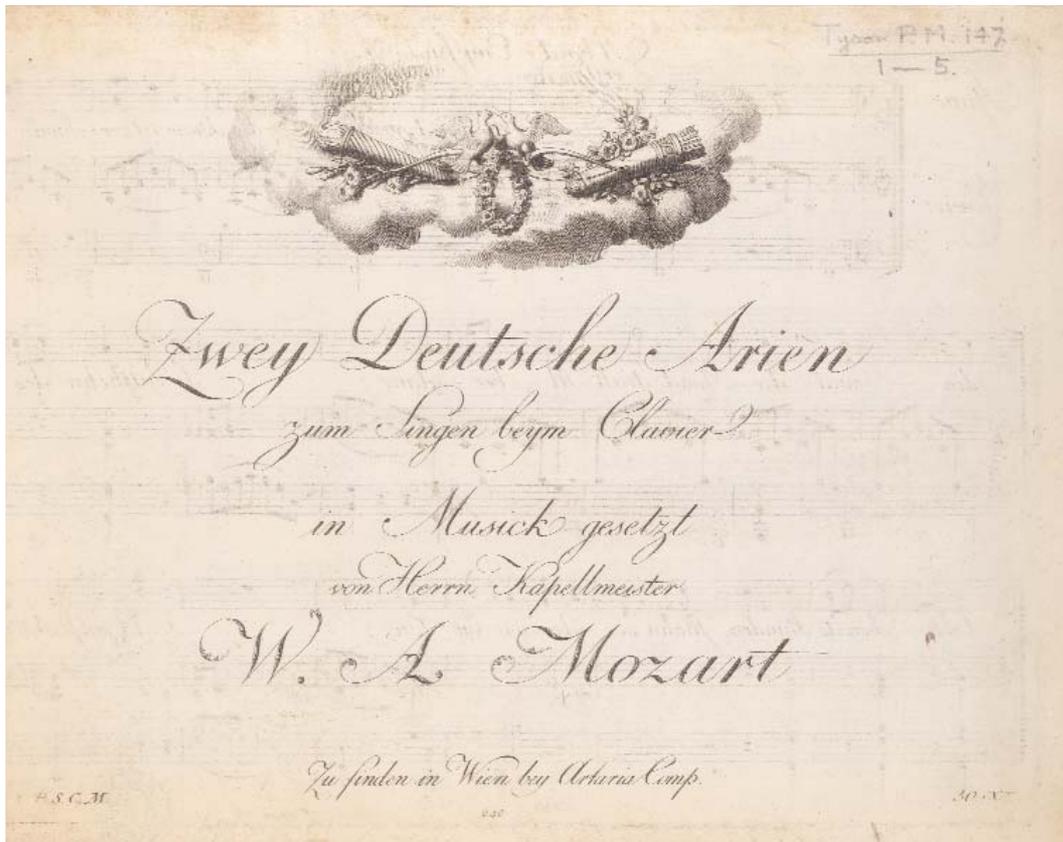


Fig. 3-9. The first publication of *Abendempfindung* (March 1789), title page and pp. 2-7. BL, Tyson P.M.147(1).



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.

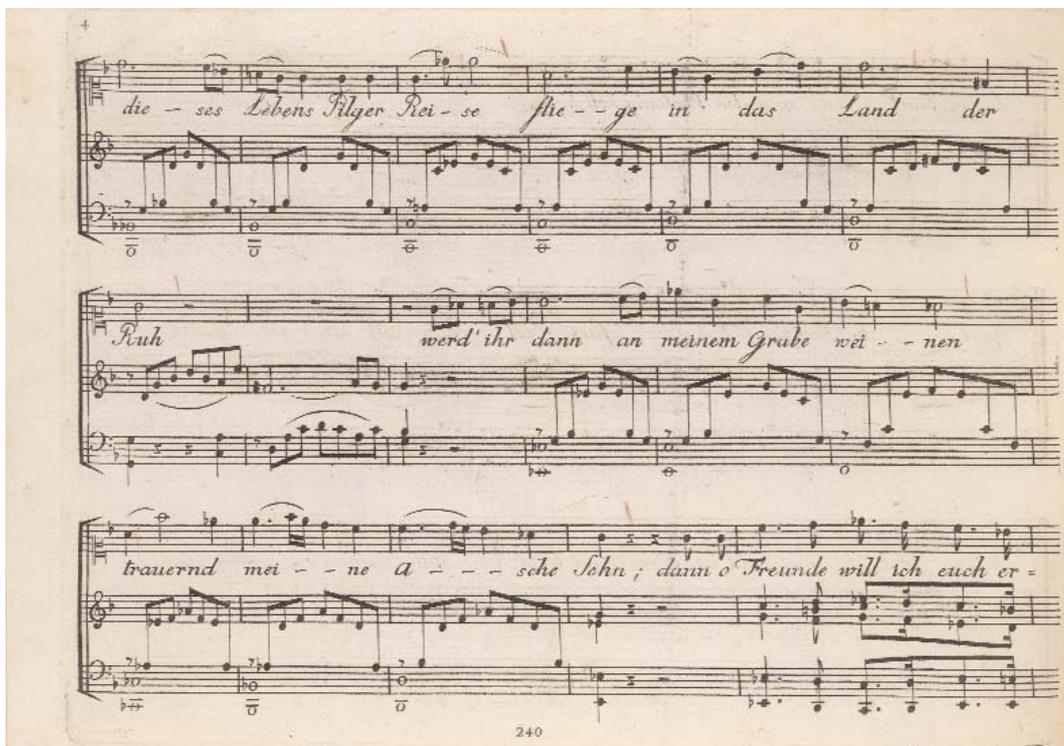


Fig. 6.



Fig. 7.

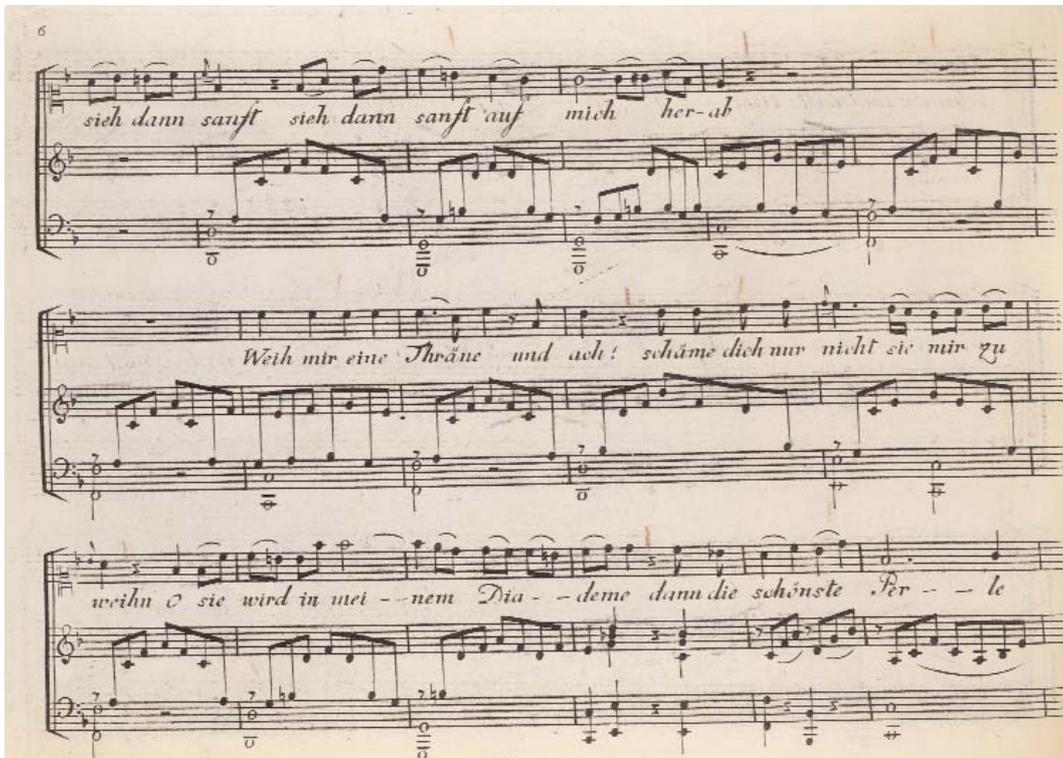


Fig. 8.

The image displays a page of a musical score, likely a vocal and piano arrangement of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's *Abendempfindung*. The score is organized into three systems, each consisting of a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment (bass clef). The lyrics are in German and are written below the vocal line. The first system begins with the lyrics "sein O sie wird in mei - nem Dia - - de - me dann die schönste, die schönste die". The second system continues with "schön - ste Per - le sein sie wird die schönste Per - le sein, die schön - ste Per - le". The third system concludes with "Per - le sein." and includes dynamic markings such as *p* and *pp*. The page number "240" is visible at the bottom center of the score.

Fig. 9.

Mozart in his music was no stranger to the darker mysteries, but, as here, approached and acknowledged them while maintaining a wonderful sense of classical balance. I am not of the school which believes that music has meaning of a kind which can be expressed in words, but word-setting is obviously a different matter. This song does not represent the first time Mozart set words about the approach of death – think of Idamante in *Idomeneo* – but maybe, being outside a dramatic or religious context, it takes us closer to his own feelings. The poem is strophic, but the music is through-composed, given formal unity by repeated figures in the piano part.

When I was buying antiquarian German books for the British Library, in that golden age of the 1970s and early 1980s when funds were plentiful, I was surprised to come across the words of *Abendempfindung* again, as the first text, though without its title, in a copy of a printed collection of song-texts for Freemasons which I bought in 1971. This was published in 1804 for the 'National Mother-Lodge of the Three Terrestrial Globes' in Berlin.<sup>2</sup> Music seems to have been an important element in Masonic meetings and ceremonies, and many anthologies of song-texts, or of texts with music, were published. The anthology just mentioned indexes its songs by category, one of which is *Abendlieder* (evening songs), into which *Abendempfindung* fits entirely naturally, although the text Mozart had set contains nothing obviously Masonic. In December 1784, he had become a member of the small Vienna Lodge *Zur Wohltätigkeit*, but at the beginning of 1786 (more than two years before *Abendempfindung* was written), in response to a decree of Emperor Joseph II, that Lodge had been amalgamated with two others to form *Zur neugekrönten Hoffnung*. Mozart quite often attended meetings of Lodges other than his own, and it seems he was well known and welcomed in all of them, not least for the musical performances he arranged and encouraged.

In fact it has long been known that *Abendempfindung* appeared in a number of published collections of German Masonic songs, and I have examined several in the quite good holdings of the British Library and the United Grand Lodge of England in Great Queen Street, London.<sup>3</sup> The first such collection to include the text of this Mozart song, though one not held by either library, seems to have been published in Hamburg in 1792, in a volume of texts assembled by Georg Heinrich Mahncke (who at least by 1804, when he published a second edition, had a Swedish royal privilege to sell art and music), where again it occupies first place in the book, in a non-alphabetical ordering.<sup>4</sup> The song must have been several people's favourite, although one contemporary songbook with music takes a strikingly different view. This is a mostly non-Masonic collection (though there are a few Masonic songs) published in 1796 by the Berlin Kapellmeister Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1752-1814; in fact a Mason himself), who explicitly regrets not finding any songs by 'highly esteemed composers such as Haydn, Mozart, Dittersdorf and others' of a suitable quality for inclusion; indeed he also regrets that these composers set so little poetry by the best writers, and quite failed to handle German song (*das Lied*) as its nature required.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Friedrich Maurer (ed.), *Vollständiges Gesangbuch für Freimaurer. Zum Gebrauch der grossen National-Mutter-Loge zu den drei Weltkugeln in Deutschland. Zweite vermehrte Auflage* (Berlin: Friedrich Maurer, 1804). British Library pressmark 1609/2569.

<sup>3</sup> The fullest listing is in August Wolfstieg, *Bibliographie der freimaurerischen Literatur* (Burg b.m., 1911-13).

<sup>4</sup> The second edition of 1804 is in the British Library: Georg Heinrich Mahncke, *Gesangbuch für Freymaurer und alle Verehrer der Religion, Tugend und Wahrheit. Eine Sammlung von 700 Maurer-Gesängen, gesammelt und herausgegeben von Georg Heinrich Mahncke* (Hamburg: beim Herausgeber, 1804), BL 4785.a.19 (a copy in a nice Masonic binding). The book is dedicated to the King of Sweden (Gustavus Adolphus, a Mason), and there is a list of subscribers. The four engravings include an additional titlepage and two showing the influence of *The Magic Flute*. The text of our song, indexed as generically an *Abendlied*, refers the reader to Böheim's collection (see below) for the music.

<sup>5</sup> Johann Friedrich Reichardt (ed.), *Lieder geselliger Freude* (Leipzig, 1796), p. viiif: 'Kränkend war es dem Herausgeber, dass er auch mit dieser Einschränkung, so weit sie der gute Geschmack nur irgend verstattete, keine Kompositionen von den mit Recht so hoch verehrten Männern, Haydn, Mozart, Dittersdorf u.e.a aufzunehmen fand; und es blieb ihm unbegreiflich, wie diese vortreffliche Männer einerseits unsre besten Dichter so wenig benutzt, andererseits das Lied so gar nicht nach seiner eigentlichen Natur bearbeitet haben.'

Some of the text-only Masonic songbooks contain references to both published and unpublished music, and Mozart is quite frequently mentioned as composer both there and in the songbooks with music, notably of numbers adapted from *The Magic Flute*, which was always considered to be full of Masonic ideas and symbolism (Sarastro's two arias, obviously, but also the duet for Papageno and Pamina, Papageno's *Ein Mädchen oder Weibchen*, and some of the Three Boys' music). Masonic networking clearly latched on to Mozart's membership of the Order and the quality of his vocal music, and must have played its part in the swift geographical spread of his popularity amongst other members, from Vienna as far afield as Hamburg, Berlin and Königsberg, to judge from the places of publication of these early songbooks. They frequently change some of the words, however, or provide completely new ones. A famous anthology of Masonic songs with the music (with piano accompaniment) was published by Joseph Michael Böheim in Berlin in 1798-99.<sup>6</sup> This was the textual source for the version of *Abendempfindung* as printed without title in the two text-only songbooks of 1804 already mentioned (Berlin and Hamburg), though it names Mozart as composer and they do not. There are several changes in the text: the 'friend' becomes a 'brother', and the beloved's *Du* is removed altogether and subsumed into the brothers' second person plural: no sex, please, we're Masons! There are also a few minor changes in the vocal line to accommodate the verbal changes. It would be tempting to chase down all the items ascribed to Mozart both there and in other Masonic songbooks with music and locate their originals – there are some in Böheim whose sources are not obvious (to me, at any rate) – but this is such a good subject that I expect someone did it long ago.<sup>7</sup>

My most recent surprising experiences with *Abendempfindung* came courtesy of BBC Radio 3, and it was these which led me to uncover the peculiar piece of editing to which I should like to draw attention.

I have heard broadcasts of K523 four times recently, and the song has sounded more or less as I remembered it. Its title, however, was given out twice as *Abendempfindung*, but the other twice, still with Radio 3's usual air of authority, as *Abendempfindung an Laura* (*Evening sentiment, to Laura*). Laura, a figure unknown to Mozart biography, has been since Petrarch the conventional name of the all-purpose beloved woman, in German no less than Italian verse, as Petrarch had a huge influence in Germany. How had she elbowed her way in our day into the title of this eighteenth-century song?

I have found what must be the culprit in the huge new Mozart edition, the *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, which began to appear in 1955 and is still in progress. This is published by Bärenreiter for the Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg, and the cities of Augsburg, Salzburg and Vienna, employing a whole army of scholars. The songs form Series 3 Group 8, and were published in a single volume as long ago as 1963; *Abendempfindung an Laura* [sic] is no. 22. The editor, and author of the critical commentary published in 1964, was Ernst August Ballin. This scholar wrote his doctoral dissertation in Bonn in 1943 on the relationship between words and music in the accompaniments of Mozart's songs, which was published in book form by Bärenreiter in 1984. He also published, in 1960, a facsimile of the now very rare first surviving printed German Masonic songbook with music, from a copy in

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<sup>6</sup> J. M. Böheim (ed.), *Auswahl von Maurer Gesängen*, 2 TL (Berlin, 1798, 99). BL, C.422.

<sup>7</sup> Another Masonic mystery about the Böheim collection is why all the melodies (including those originally written for the bass Sarastro) are written in the g-clef now standard for female voices and the piano right hand (known in German as the *Violinschlüssel*). The voice part in the incipit of *Abendempfindung* in Mozart's Thematic Catalogue is in the soprano c-clef, which seems to have been generally replaced in songs in the course of the eighteenth century by the g-clef. Were women singers regularly admitted to Lodges to sing (presumably outside ritual observance, and maybe on neutral territory)? Or did male singers simply transpose them down an octave? Or were singers and pianists of the period expected to be skilled in more complex transpositions? Or did every Lodge have its treble or counter-tenor? There are also four-part choral passages in these songbooks, and one wonders who sang the two top lines, and on what occasions.

the Library of Congress: *Freymäurer-Lieder*, published in Altenburg in 1746.<sup>8</sup> (Ballin was not aware that there is a copy of this in the library of the United Grand Lodge of England.) In the long commentary on this facsimile, he claimed that prior to his own work there had been no musicological study of Freemasons' song literature (as opposed to many works on their texts).<sup>9</sup>

I believe Ballin to be the originator of K523's new title, which Bärenreiter have spread even further through their two separate editions of Mozart's songs, for high voice and medium voice respectively (obviously by-products from their complete Mozart edition). *Abendempfindung an Laura* now also figures in at least two song databases: Schubertline and ChoralWiki. I use the old Peters edition of the songs, which still has the old title (and presumably the old photographic plates); but the new title, with its apparently well-sourced origin, seems already quite far on the way to taking over, though it is not in the second edition of the New Grove, or (yet) in the online German Language Song Index. But it is already appearing in programme-notes and CD booklets.<sup>10</sup>

So let us look at the critical commentary of 1964 and Ballin's argument from the sources – or rather source, as there is only one earlier than the first printed edition of *Abendempfindung*, published in Vienna in March 1789 under that title together with another song, *An Chloe*, composed on the same day as *Abendempfindung* (see figs 1–2).<sup>11</sup> For neither song does the manuscript survive, but there is no reason to suppose that the manuscripts were misrepresented in print (apart from the obvious engraving error of 'Abend ist' for the 'Abend ist's' of the opening words in Mozart's manuscript entry in the Thematic Catalogue). Ballin's source, which was apparently first recorded by Count von Waldsee in 1905 in the second edition of Köchel's list of Mozart's works, is an anthology of new poetry (plus a few short pieces in prose) published in Vienna by the firm of Rudolph Gräffer<sup>12</sup> in 1781 under the editorship of Johann Friedrich Schink and entitled *Dichter-Manuskripte, Erste Sammlung* (Poets' manuscripts, First collection; there seems never to have been a Second collection; see fig. 10).<sup>13</sup>

However, Ballin does not inspire confidence by misquoting the editor's preface: he reports Schink as saying that ten to twelve of the poems were being published by him for the first time, while the same number had already appeared in print. Since there are some 78 unnumbered items in the collection (*Abendempfindung* is the 74th), one wonders what Ballin thought the status of the large remainder can have been. No, what Schink actually wrote was that ten to twelve poems had already been published elsewhere, but that the remainder had all been in manuscript. The authors named are Banghold, Busse, D'Arien, Düpin,<sup>14</sup> Eberhard, Ekkard, Gorg, Karschin, Lessing, J. F. Reichardt (a Mason we have already met), and last but not least (since there are no fewer than nineteen of his poems, some of them quite long), Schink himself. Those unnamed include several signed only with single letters of the alphabet and similar abbreviations. It is of course possible that Mozart read the *Abendempfindung* poem in a manuscript copy, but the printed version is the only one we have. Ballin tells us<sup>15</sup> that Mozart must have had the text at least three weeks before

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<sup>8</sup> The melodies are in the g-clef.

<sup>9</sup> Ernst August Ballin, *Der Dichter von Mozarts Freimaurerlied 'O heiliges Band' und das erste erhaltene deutsche Freimaurerliederbuch. Mit einem Faksimile-Neudruck der Altenburger 'Freymäurer-Lieder, Im Jahre 1746'* (Tutzing, 1960), p. iii.

<sup>10</sup> For example, in Peter Schreier's recording of Mozart's songs with the pianist Andras Schiff, issued as long ago as 1992.

<sup>11</sup> For this second song Mozart took over the title from the author of the poem Johann Georg Jacobi (1740–1814).

<sup>12</sup> Rudolph Gräffer (1734–1817), bookseller and publisher in Vienna 1768–1792.

<sup>13</sup> BL pressmark 11525.de.48.

<sup>14</sup> Frau Düpin was a peasant woman from the Halberstadt district, and a friend of the other woman of lowly origin in this anthology, the well-known Anna Luisa Karsch (1722–1791).

<sup>15</sup> Op. cit., p. 138.

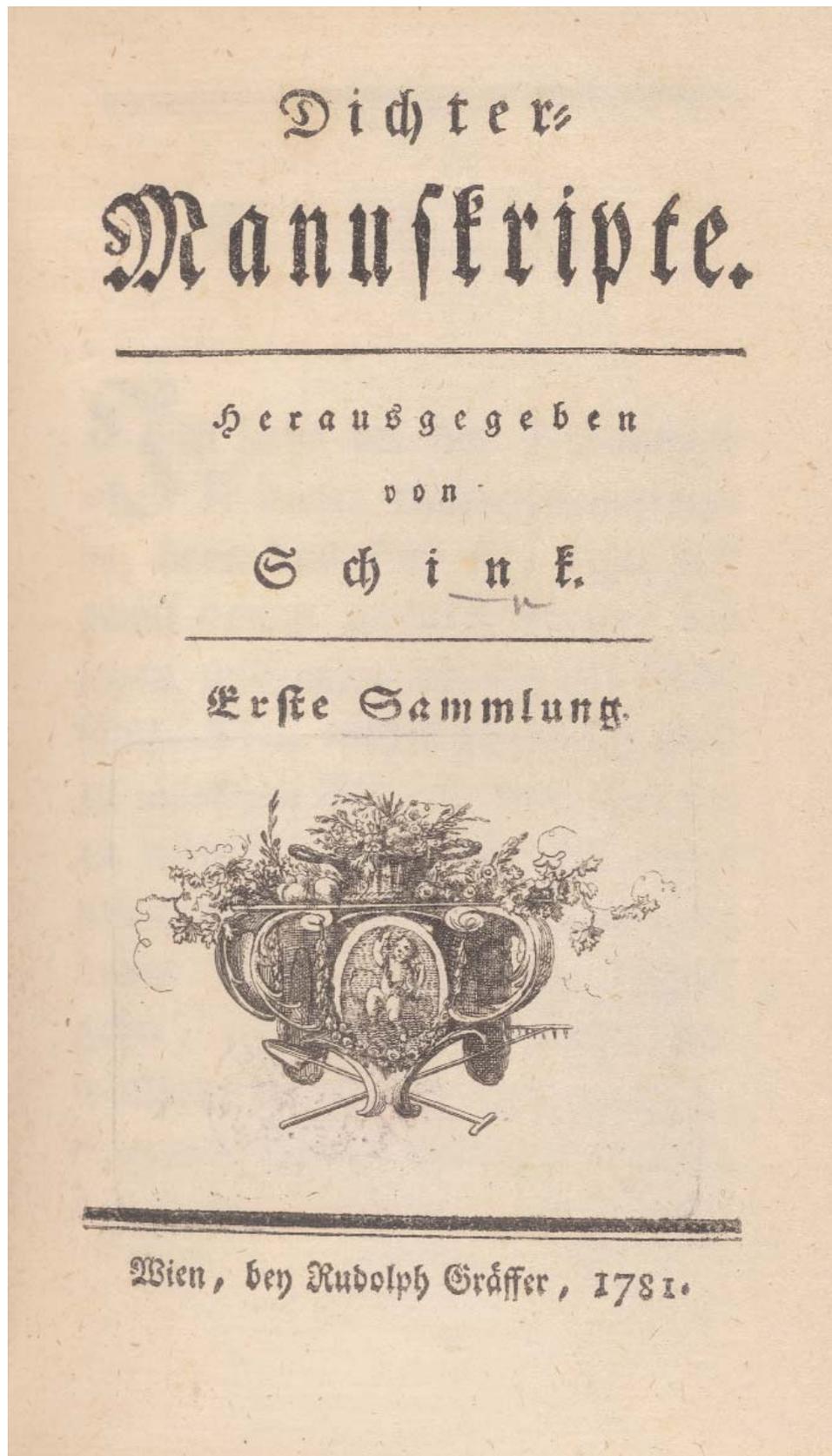


Fig. 10. Johann Friedrich Schink (ed.), *Dichter-Manuskripte, Erste Sammlung* (Vienna: Rudolph Gräffer, 1781), title page. BL, 11525.de.48.

writing the song, because he quotes a phrase derived from it in the verse epitaph he wrote for his pet starling (called 'Vogel Star') on 4 June 1787 ('O Leser! Schenke/ Auch Du ein Thränchen ihm').

However, Ballin fails to tell us that Schink (born in Magdeburg in 1755) was another Vienna Mason, first a member of the Lodge *Zur wahren Eintracht*,<sup>16</sup> then when the amalgamation of Lodges already mentioned occurred in 1786, presumably a member of the new *Zur Wahrheit*. Despite assurances in several of the reviews Schink wrote for journals in Vienna, and subsequently in Hamburg, that he was no connoisseur of music and could not read it, he did write glowingly of several works of Mozart: the *Gran partita*, a piano concerto, and the operas *The Seraglio*, *The Marriage of Figaro* and *Don Giovanni*, though he said he found the last wonderful but 'unoperatic'. He seems to have revered Mozart, whom he must have known personally, and ended his 1792 review of a performance of *Figaro* in Hamburg with the words 'May his ashes rest in peace'.<sup>17</sup> It would be pure speculation to say that he had a hand in bringing his volume to Mozart's attention, but that is certainly possible, and a Masonic connection quite likely, as at least two of the authors were Freemasons. However, the content of the anthology is not ostensibly Masonic at all, as Ballin points out himself.

Ballin does correctly reproduce the text of the poem which seems to have been Mozart's source,<sup>18</sup> and its startling title *Abendempfindung an Lana* (see fig. 11). Not Laura, but Lana. Now Lana as a forename is said not to have been invented until MGM devised it for Lana Turner in the late 1930s, and those in the eighteenth century with a knowledge of Latin and Italian (like Mozart) could surely only have applied it to a pet sheep. Ballin assumes (surely correctly) that 'Lana' is a misprint. The name is changed to the entirely acceptable, and even probable, 'Laura' in Schink's index. There are indeed other poems addressed to the ubiquitous Laura in his anthology.<sup>19</sup>

The 'Lana' poem is signed in the body of the book with the letter L, whereas it appears under C in the index. There has been speculation that this C stands for the educationalist and influential writer for children Joachim Heinrich Campe (1746-1818), some of whose regularly strophic poems for children were signed in print with the letter C,<sup>20</sup> but Ballin does not think so and neither do I, mainly because of the amateurish metrical irregularities in *Abendempfindung an Lana*. The only known link between Campe and the composer is the presence amongst the books inventoried after Mozart's death of some volumes of the second edition of Campe's *Kinderbibliothek* (Hamburg, 1783), which Mozart and his wife had no doubt acquired as good parents to further their children's education.<sup>21</sup> Mozart's library as inventoried contained no Masonic songbooks, and no copy of Schink's anthology.<sup>22</sup> But I

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<sup>16</sup> Paul Nettl, *Mozart and Masonry* (New York, 1957), p. 135.

<sup>17</sup> Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart, a Documentary Biography* (London, 1965), pp. 210f, 232, 353ff, 463.

<sup>18</sup> Schink, pp. 172-3.

<sup>19</sup> One immediately following *Abendempfindung an Lana* entitled *Laurens Schmerz*, which is by Reichardt (Schink, p. 174), one by Schink himself entitled simply *Laura*, one of the three signed with the letter K (*Gebet, als Laura krank war*), and one of the two signed N (*An Laura bei Uibergabe einiger Vergis mein nicht*).

<sup>20</sup> Both in a collected edition of some of his works and in Reichardt's *Lieder für Kinder aus Campes Kinderbibliothek* (Hamburg, etc., 1781-1790).

<sup>21</sup> Deutsch p. 589. Notwithstanding Ballin's words 'Textdichter unbekannt' in his edition of the song, the CD booklet notes by Michael Fend to the Peter Schreier recording mentioned above ascribe the words to Campe.

<sup>22</sup> I think that, if one wanted to find a famous 'C' as author, a more suitable candidate than Campe might be the poet Matthias Claudius (1740-1815), who is even named in this volume, together with the earlier Johann Christian Günther (1695-1723), in Schink's poem *An den Mond* (To the Moon, op. cit., p. 41); both Claudius and Günther had written popular poems addressed to the moon. Several of Claudius's poems were set to music by various hands, not just the well-known and truly beautiful *Abendlied* to which Schink's poem refers (and which begins 'Der Mond ist aufgegangen'), but also for instance *Der Tod und das Mädchen* (Death and the Maiden) which was to be so memorably set by Schubert.

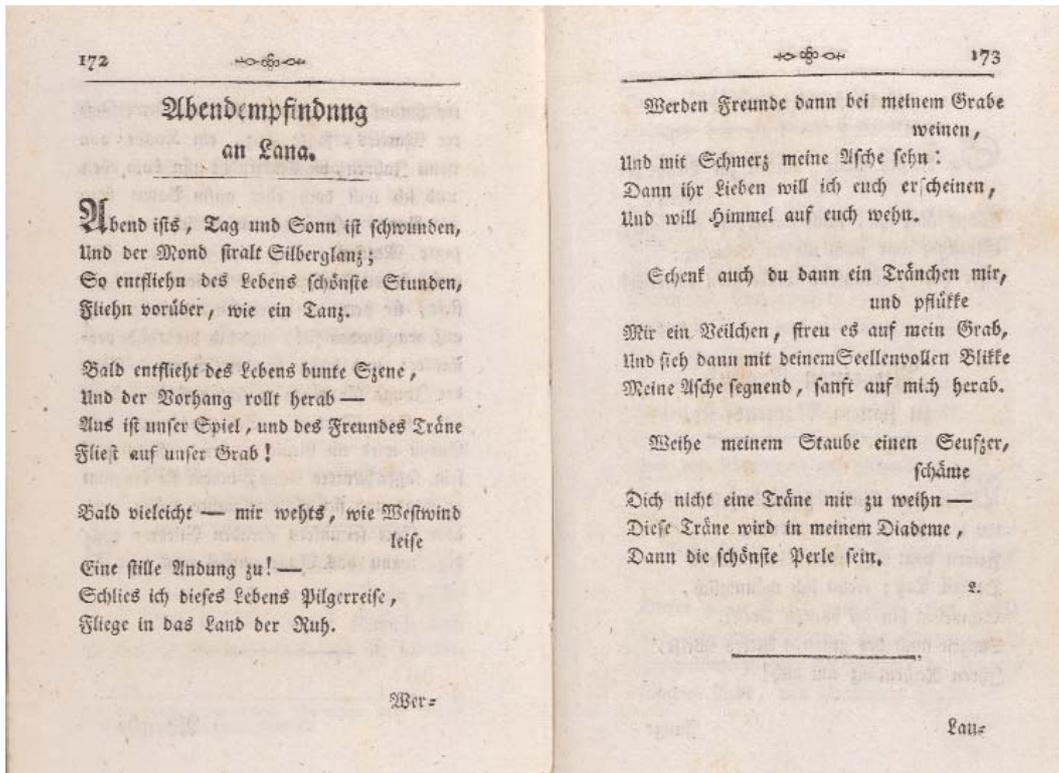


Fig. 11. Dichter-Manuskripte, pp. 172-3. 11525.de.48.

also think that Schink would have named any famous authors he included, as he did with Lessing and Karschin, and that it is futile to try and find a little-known poet whose surname begins with C (if the initial in the index is allowed preference over the text's initial L). The author of Mozart's source text must remain for the time being unknown.

This Vienna anthology of 1781 at first appears to be a quite nicely-produced little book, with an elegant small engraved vignette on the title page. It is a simple small octavo, A-L in eights, but with the last two gatherings, M and N, respectively of four and two leaves, both with the vertical chain-lines of a standard octavo (i.e. strictly speaking a half-sheet and a quarter-sheet, though both will have to have been treated as half-sheets in the forme). The printer's copy will probably have included many, if not all, of the manuscripts here printed for the first time, therefore in a wide variety of hands, plus Schink's own preface and poems, and the ten to twelve poems already printed elsewhere plus the index, probably also in his hand. Casting-off (prior estimation of the content of formes marked up in the copy before composition to ensure balanced distribution of the text across preferably complete formes) in this case would have presented difficulties, and, given the hopeless irregularities of the last two half-sheets, it rather looks as if the printer did not (or could not) do it. The texts seem to be in no discernable order, with less than half of them (31) starting at the top of a page, despite a few attempts to achieve this by ending some contributions short of the standard number of lines per page. None of the text sheets ends at the end of a poem.

There are 182 numbered pages of text, of which the last six occupy M1-3, followed by six unnumbered for the index and errata (M4 and N1-2). The index occupies four pages, the last leaf of sig. M and the first of sig. N, the latter being conjugate with the last leaf, which has a list of *Drukfehler* (misprints) on its recto and a blank verso. These two final gatherings were perhaps more likely to have been imposed together as half-sheets in one forme and cut apart before folding (i.e. as octavo in fours with two signatures), which might be marginally more efficient than imposing two separate half-sheet formes for work and turn,<sup>23</sup> but this was manifestly not an efficient press, and there would have been waste paper from both methods, unless the printer happened to have another quarter-sheet text to run off. There are watermarks in both these gatherings, but not sufficient to allow me to be sure which method was used; in any case, the point is not crucial to my argument. It is enough to know that the setting of the forme for sig. L, which includes *Abendempfindung an Lana*, immediately preceded that of the final six leaves (M and N) containing the index with its different versions both of this title and of its author's initial, however these were imposed.

The short list of misprints on the recto of the final leaf covers only pages 17-47 (the verso, as I have said, being blank). The six misprints listed and corrected are all textual,<sup>24</sup> i.e. do not relate to titles or authors' names, which are apparently all correct; but the presence of this errata list can only mean that the type of the first three gatherings (sheets A-C, pp. [1]-48) had been quickly redistributed after printing, i.e. that the formes were no longer available for correction. This would suggest that the unnamed printer's press was small, as well as inefficient. Perhaps (and this is speculation), after sheet C was composed, run off, and distributed, it was decided to deal with textual misprints by better proofing and correction of standing type; and if the pattern of the first three sheets was followed, we could perhaps expect a maximum of three sheets to be set, proofed, and corrected at a time, before their type was redistributed. There might thus be some reason for regarding sheets K, L, M and N (two full sheets and two half-sheets) as a unit in working terms.

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<sup>23</sup> As illustrated by Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford, 1972), figs 52 and 53.

<sup>24</sup> No-one in the unknown and hardly distinguished press, or the editor, had time to notice that one of the corrected misprints has an incorrect page reference.

I should explain that the index is not a serial listing of the individual poems in the order of their page-numbers, which could best have been compiled from proofed sheets. It is a two-part listing in two alphabetical sequences, the first of authors' surnames, each followed by the titles of his or her poems in page order, and the second of those authors' names given only as letters of the alphabet (with all completely anonymous authors filed under the letter Z), each again followed by the relevant titles in page order. This index could easily have been prepared in manuscript before any printing was done, leaving only the page numbers to be added after the whole text had been printed off. This seems to me highly likely. I am tempted to go further and say that the index, which neatly occupies two leaves, with the titles set in the smallest size of type, used in the body of the book only for authors' surnames or initials, was probably not only written, but also set up in type before all the text formes were set up and corrected, and needed only the final addition of page-numbers to its standing type. This seems all the more likely when one considers the clumsy way the main text ends on leaf three of a half-sheet: if the index had not already been in type, it would have been a simple matter to spread it out over the concluding leaves to achieve a tidier make-up for the final forme or formes. There are very few errors in the index, and while this might suggest the editorial hand of Schink as indexer, I do wonder if he proofed it himself. He obviously did not insert the page-numbers into the already set type (if that is what happened), and four of the page references in the index are wrong.<sup>25</sup> That the index was not altered textually by comparison with the printed sheets of the main text is suggested by the fact that one poem (*Lied eines Bauern*, signed N, on p. 109) is missing from the index.<sup>26</sup> What is more, such a comparison would have uncovered the two mistakes we can characterize as material in the main text which are not in the index.<sup>27</sup>

The material discrepancies are to be found in two adjacent poems in sheet L. I suggest that, by the time this sheet was set, it would have been apparent that imposing the remainder of the book was to be something of a nightmare, and the results show that leaf L was probably not proofed.<sup>28</sup> In both cases, if I am right in my reasoning, the index provides the authoritative version. In the first discrepancy, a prose text on p. 170 entitled *Mutter Anne und Friz* is unsigned in the text but ascribed to 'S' in the index. The second is *Abendempfindung an Lana* signed L in the text, with the different versions of title and initial in the index.

But what the modern editor Ballin, perhaps deliberately, fails to mention, is that the index alters the text title of our poem in two ways, not just one: it appears there as *Abendempfindungen an Laura*, i.e. with a plural noun (*Evening sentiments* – see fig. 12). In my opinion, the plural sounds more natural in German, indeed there are three other poems in Schink's anthology with similar constructions in their titles ('Maiempfindungen' p. 30, 'Morgenempfindungen' pp. 50 and 90), though it must be said that these might perhaps have influenced the compiler of the index, as might the several other addresses to Laura already mentioned. But it seems to me that Ballin cannot have it both ways, picking on the one hand the singular noun and on the other the plausible female name. He gives no reason

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<sup>25</sup> Text pages 144, 145, 152, 180 indexed as 244, 245, '-', 108.

<sup>26</sup> There is another poem with a similar title, *Lied einer Bäuerin*, signed J, p. 156, which is indexed.

<sup>27</sup> Minor discrepancies between text and index are: two grammatical mistakes in titles in the index not present in the main text (p. 157 '... in eine schöne Gegend', index '... in einer schöne Gegend'; p. 174 '... zu seinem Namensfeste', index 'zu seinen Namensfeste'); one mis-spelled author's name (D. Arien) on p. 29 correctly given as D'Arien in the index; and one merely orthographic difference in a title (p. 135 'Kokette' in title, index 'Kokkette').

<sup>28</sup> There is only one discrepancy between the six pages of text in leaf M and the index, in the form of one of the faulty page-references already mentioned, and no way of telling whether M was ever proofed.

for taking the versions in the index to be the authoritative ones, but I hope I have suggested that there is more than just common sense behind such a conclusion. However, I consider Ballin's editing in this case to be misguided, as well as either inaccurate or dishonest. The title of the poem as published by Schink should in all probability be *Abendempfindungen an Laura*.

However, I do not think Ballin should even have it one way, whichever version represents the anonymous text author's intention. Mozart set verses closely derived from those in Schink's anthology, either directly or from some lost intermediary version, altered perhaps by the composer himself, who was perfectly capable of doing such a thing,<sup>29</sup> and with the title he chose: *Abendempfindung*. Ballin does not try to restore the whole text of the song as it was before Mozart's alterations, because he would have to alter the music to fit them, but he does alter two readings requiring no musical changes: the first edition's 'end ich' and 'Werdet ihr' become Ballin's 'schliess ich' and 'Werd't ihr dann'.<sup>30</sup> I contend that he should not be allowed to alter either title or text. In my view Mozart deliberately rejected both Lana and Laura, so that the *Du* in his setting is entirely personal, not a reference to some poetic ideal, but an intimate and moving message to his constant beloved, his wife Constanze. I don't think Laura was ever anybody's wife.

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<sup>29</sup> The only flaw in Mozart's amended text occurs in his telescoping of 'pflücke mir ein Veilchen, streu es auf mein Grab' (pick me a violet, strew it onto my grave) to 'pflücke mir ein Veilchen auf mein Grab' (pick me a violet onto my grave).

<sup>30</sup> Peter Schreier sings Ballin's version.

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Fig. 12. Index page, headed Ungenannte, *Dichter-Manuskripte*, sig. N1a. 11525.de.48.