

D-B Mus.ms. Bach P 803, Georg Simon Löhlein, and Surroundings. Part I

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One of the most valuable handwritten folio *D-B Mus.ms. Bach P 803*, stored in the *Staatsbibliothek in Berlin*, contains twenty-six layers, which are bound together. It is often associated with the name of Johann Ludwig Krebs, which for a long time gave the impression that the handwritten texts were also done by Krebs. The manuscript was indeed for a long time in Krebs' house, and J. L. along with his father J. T. Krebs and J. G. Walther, as well as other lesser-known musicians, was one of the copyists. Of the twenty-six attachments, only the second (p. 9–23; further: *P 803-II*) contained a verbal text and tables with an interpretation of ornaments. It has not been possible to determine who was the copyist of *P 803-II* to date, and the concept of “anonymous copyist” has become anchored. In 1933, L. Landshoff turned to the tables with the performance of ornaments in *P 803-II* in connection with the interpretation of keyboard music by J. S. Bach, and forwarded the concept that the author of the text of *P 803-II* was the famous student of Bach J. L. Krebs. For the first time this myth was partially refuted by D. Wilson in 1979, who discovered the absolute similarity of the ornament *Der Pralltriller oder Abzug* in *P 803-II* and in the *Clavierschule* of G. S. Löhlein. Later Fr. Neumann wrote in more detail on this topic in his work on ornamentation (1978). The author also claimed that the anonymous copyist used the fourth edition of the Löhlein's *Klavierschule* (1782) as a model for *P 803-II*. Thus, the assumption made by H. Zietz that *P 803-II* was based on the treatise by D. G. Türk (1789) turned out to be erroneous too. Studying these materials, the authors of this article drew attention to the many inaccuracies and false judgments associated with both the handwritten source *P 803-II* and the peculiarity of the anonymous scribe's work with Löhlein's text, as well as with many statements by the above-mentioned authors. It was shown that the third edition of the Löhlein's manual on clavichord playing (1779) should have served as the primary basis for the anonymous copyist. Special attention was paid to inaccuracies and incorrect recommendations in connection with the interpretation of ornaments. A detailed consideration of the available realizations of ornaments in *P 803-II* and their interpretation will be established in the following second part of this paper.

Keywords: *D-B Mus.ms. Bach P 803*, Georg Simon Löhlein, *Clavierschule*, *Pralltriller*, ornamentation in German keyboard music.

This article focuses on the second section (second layer or Fascicle) in the manuscript folio *D-B Mus.ms. Bach P 803* (hereinafter — *P 803-II*), stored in the *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*. As well known, the manuscript *P 803* contains 26 layers that were bound together.

Only the first and last layer, which do not contain any text, are attached by the binder on one side to the front and on the other to the back covers [1, S. 61]¹. Regarding the external characteristics of *D-B Mus.ms. P 803*, it is also necessary to clarify that the page numbers inscribed in it in pencil, executed either by one of the owners of the handwritten material or by the librarian, begin after six blank pages, including the back page of the cover². The next eight numbered pages also contain no text. On the ninth page there is an entry “No. 1” (obviously, this is the number of the first layer, but there are no further similar designations; in modern science, the first layer is considered to be the one that is at the beginning of the folio and does not contain verbal text). Only from the tenth page does the text part of the small second layer (*P 803-II*) begin, which ends on the twenty-third page.

Due to modern graphological, photographic, beta-radiographic and other methods of studying the handwritten material of *P 803*, scientists were able to identify the authorship of many scribes of musical materials with a high degree of accuracy. A detailed review of the information concerning the copyists of *P 803* is given in the writings of Hermann Zietz, Paul Kast [2] and Peter Wollny [3]. A few layers of this manuscript could not be identified (see Table 1), including the second layer of interest to us, namely, the one listed in this paper as *P 803-II*.

The difficulty of the handwriting identification process *P 803* was not only related to the problem of determining the copyist's handwriting, and also associated with a large amount of material (462 pages), but, lastly, that the material itself was very diverse (names of works and genres, performing and register designations, the manner of writing notes, and (rarely) designations of fingerings, etc.). As a result of careful examination of *P 803*, it was determined that there were ten copyists, three of whom are still anonymous. It should be noted that all the copyists who copied the keyboard³ works of J.S. Bach in *P 803* have been identified. Among them are such famous musicians in the 18th century as Johann Gottfried Walther (1684–1748), Johann Tobias Krebs⁴ (1690–1762) and Johann Ludwig Krebs (1713–1780). The other copyists were Johann Gottlob Haupt, Samuel Gottlieb Heder, Johann Gottfried Moses and Johann Willweber.

Table 1, compiled on the basis of the latest information from scientific and reference musicological literature, not only demonstrates the content of twenty-six layers, but also how fully the collection of *P 803* has been studied to date.

Of the named copyists, only three are prominent musicians. Thus J.G. Walter, an organist, composer, theorist and lexicographer, who served with J.S. Bach at Prince Johann Ernst in Weimar. The musicians were not only good friends, but also relatives⁵. The handwritten materials available to Walther during his lifetime were not systematized, either chronologically or by personalities⁶.

¹ The last 10 pages are rasterized, but not filled with musical text.

² The paging is marked with odd numbers only in the upper right corner of the manuscript.

³ The term *clavier* is used here in the meaning of all keyboard (keyboard-string and keyboard-wind) instruments.

⁴ Hugh J. McLean asserts that most of these handwritten copies were made by Johann Tobias Krebs [4, p. 883].

⁵ Martha Dorothea (nee Lammerhirt), Walther's mother, was a close relative of the Bach family. J.G. Walther was Bach's cousin. Bach himself became the godfather of Walther's eldest son in 1712.

⁶ William H. Bates reports that “Griepenkerl apparently acquired the *Convolut P 803* sometime between the publication of Peters Volume II in 1845 and his death in 1849” [5, p. 51]. In the future, the manuscript was the property of Carl August Reichardt, after whose death Ferdinand Roitzsch owned it. According to the will of the latter, through the mediation of Max Abraham, the manuscript was transferred

Table 1. The contents of the manuscript *Bach P 803*

Page	Author	Name	Copyist
1–8	Clear	Clear	
9–23	Anonymous	[Klavierschule ⁷]	not identified
25–82	J. L. Krebs (?)	24 kurze Gigue (Praludien) und Fughetten durch alle Dur- und Moll-Tonarten	J. G. Moses
82–83	Anonymous	Fugen. Skizzen, cembalo	J. G. Moses
84–85	Anonymous	Polonaise F-Dur	J. G. Moses
85	Anonymous	Skizzen, cembalo?	J. G. Moses
86–87	Anonymous	Fuge G-Dur (Fragmente); Skizzen, partiture	not identified
89–100	J. S. Bach	Praludium (Fantasie) a-Moll, BWV 922	J. T. Krebs
101–124	J. S. Bach	Tocatta (Praludium) und Fuge F-Dur, BWV 540	J. T. Krebs
125–144	J. S. Bach	Praludium und Fuge a-Moll, BWV 543	J. G. Haupt
145–172	J. S. Bach	Tocatta C-Dur, BWV 564	S. G. Heder
173–184	J. S. Bach	Fantasie (Praludium) und Fuge g-Moll, BWV 542/2.	J. T. Krebs
185–204	J. S. Bach	Chromatische Fantasie und Fuge d-Moll, BWV 903	S. G. Heder
205–212	J. S. Bach	Fuge g-Moll, BWV 578	J. L. Krebs
213–228	J. S. Bach	Fantasie und Fuge c-Moll, BWV 537. At the end of the fugue there is a note: “ <i>Soli Deo Gloria d[en] 10 Januarii 1751</i> ”	J. T. Krebs, J. L. Krebs
229–247	J. S. Bach	Passacaglia c-Moll, BWV 582	J. T. Krebs
249–264	J. S. Bach	Tocatta G-Dur, BWV 916	J. Willweber
265–288	J. S. Bach	Englische Suite A-Dur (Nr. 1), BWV 806a (early version)	J. G. Walther
289–300	J. S. Bach	Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr (Choralbearbeitung), BWV 663a (Weimar version)	J. T. Krebs
301–316	J. S. Bach	Tocatta E-Dur, BWV 566	J. T. Krebs
317–344	J. S. Bach	Tocatta und Fuge in d-Moll (dorisch), BWV 538	J. G. Walther
345–364	J. S. Bach	Chromatische Fantasie und Fuga d-Moll, BWV 903	J. T. Krebs
365–382	J. S. Bach	Englische Suite a-Moll (Nr. 2), BWV 807	J. T. Krebs
383–416	J. S. Bach	Englische Suite d-Moll (Nr. 6), BWV 811	J. T. Krebs
417–444	J. S. Bach	Sonate a-Moll, BWV 965, after Sonata I in T. A. Reinken’s <i>Hortus musicus</i> ,	J. G. Walther
445–458	J. S. Bach	Sonate C-Dur, BWV 966 after the Sonata XI in J. A. Reinken’s <i>Hortus musicus</i> ,	J. G. Walther

in 1889 to the Berlin Library [1, S.74]. This date appears in the entry on the fourth page *P 803*. Some information about the history of *P 803* and other manuscripts is also provided in the article by Stephan Daw [6, p. 31–2].

⁷ The material is provided in the original language and by the German authors whose information is included in the table.

The composer and organist Johann Tobias Krebs studied in Weimar for several years (1714 — c. 1717): first with J.G. Walther, then with J.S. Bach himself. Johann Ludwig Krebs — the eldest son of J. T. Krebs — studied with J.S. Bach during 1726/1727 — 1737⁸ and was one of his favorite students; he later became a renowned organist and composer, who worked from 1755 until his death (January, 1780) at the court of Prince Friedrich of Gotha-Altenburg.

Determining the time of compilation of *P 803* presents particular difficulties, as Stephan Daw writes:

It is very hard to decide when the later Krebs entries were made in either *P 801* or *P 803*, apart from the dated item, BWV 537, which is marked by Ludwig Krebs 'd. 10 January, 1751'... There is no clear indication of the date of binding of *P 801*, and that of *P 803* probably took place after the death of Tobias Krebs [1690–1762], since the manuscript contains copies from the second half of the eighteenth century [6, p. 45–6].

Considering that T. Krebs' son Ludwig Krebs, who was in possession of the manuscript, died in 1780, the last copies made in *P 803* could have been made near the end of the 1770s.

The only date available in the manuscript and mentioned by St. Daw is listed in the original as: *10 January 1751*. It refers to the time of completion of a copy of J. S. Bach's *Fantasia con Fuga pro Organo* in C minor (BWV 537; *P 803-II*: S. 225). Albert Schweitzer's monograph already contains an indication of this date in the German and English editions of his work:

We owe the preservation of the great C minor fantasia to Krebs, who, as he notes at the end of it, made a copy of it on the 10th January 1751, a few months after the master's death. This manuscript had almost fallen into the hands of a shopkeeper for use as waste-paper. Beneficent fate willed that it should be rescued by Reichardt, court organist in Altenburg [8, p. 226].

It should be noted that the second part (second layer) of the convolute *P 803*, which is of interest to the authors of this paper, is the only one that does not contain music, but only has a verbal text with music examples, and that it is located at the very beginning of the manuscript. It is also very important that the content of *P 803-II* did not particularly interest scientists. Only a few musicians commented on this material from those who directly explore the principles of keyboard performance, in particular — ornamentation. The study of the problem of ornament performance based on materials *P 803-II* will be undertaken below.

Among the scholars Hermann Zietz, for example, only in a few places of his voluminous work devoted to a critical study of Bach's manuscripts deals with the issue of its content. In the first case, it is shown that the text of *P 803-II* opens with the words "*Bey dem Clavierspielen kommt in Betrachtung*"⁹ [*Bei dem Clavierspielen kommt in Betrachtung* :

⁸ The most common information is that J.L.Krebs studied in Leipzig at the Thomasschule from 1726 to 1735. Albert Schweitzer, however, clarified: "Johann Ludwig Krebs... who from 1726 to 1737, first as a Thomaner, then as a student, enjoyed Bach's lessons ..." [7, S. 198]. In the edition of Schweitzer's monograph, translated into English, this passage is rendered as: "Johann Ludwig Krebs... who studied with Bach from 1726 to 1737, first as a foundation scholar at St. Thomas's, then as a student, and whom the master thought most highly of after his two sons..." [8, p. 215].

⁹ All texts from the handwritten source *P 803-II* given in the present article are in italics.

(In playing the Clavier comes into consideration¹⁰)]”, and that “the following pages 10–23 [from *P 803-II*] give brief instructions on the keyboard, notation, fingering¹¹ and ornaments” [1, S. 62]. In the summary table, Zietz writes that the time of ending *P 803-II* refers approximately to “1790” [1, S. 213]. In another commentary to *P 803-II*, which represents a kind of short table of contents explaining what “comes into consideration” in the manuscript, Zietz provides more complete information from the initial text, namely: “1. The keyboard, the keys [Das Griffbret, Claves, Tastatur oder Tasten]. 2. The value [duration] of the notes, rests & other signs [Der Werth der Noten, Pausen u. übrigen Zeichen]. 3. The application, or the fingering [Die Applicatur, oder die Fingersetzung]”. Along with this, Zietz draws attention to the peculiarity of the handwriting in *P 803-II* and emphasizes that this handwriting, first of all, represents “German penmanship [Schönschrift/Calligraphy]” [1, S. 106].

Next, the author of the *Quellenkritische Untersuchungen* proceeds to the issue of attribution of the text, and suggests that the content represents an abridged version “based on the extensive Klavierschule of Daniel Gottlob Türk from the year 1789”¹² [1, S. 106]. This is why, as the authors of this article presume, the section in *P 803-II* in the SBB Internet resource is named as “Klavierschule”.

According to the problems concerning the keyboard established in the second half of the 18th century, the instructions in *P 803-II* may coincide in their context with the instructions of D. G. Türk, but they are also successfully found in many other keyboard treatises of that time. It follows that substantial evidence is required, on the basis of which it can be argued that the source for *P 803-II* was indeed the Klavierschule of D. G. Türk [9].

In 1933, many years before the publication of the works of P. Kast and H. Zietz, the famous scholar Ludwig Landshoff turned to the content of *P 803*. Landshoff mainly focused on performance issues directly related to the appropriate realization of ornaments in J. S. Bach’s keyboard works: after all, the last pages 21–23 in *P 803-II* are devoted specifically to their execution [10, S. V, VI]. Landshoff clarifies: “One of the collections, dating back to the legacy of Bach’s pupil Johann Ludwig Krebs, who studied with J. S. Bach for a long time... contains mainly copies of suites and other keyboard works in his handwriting [11, S. 29, note No. 1]. In appendix II to edition of the *15 zweistimmigen Inventionen and the 15 dreistimmigen Sinfonien* by J. S. Bach [BWV 772–801], Landshoff specifies that “the following note examples... are taken from an embellishment table, which is contained in a handwritten collection from the estate of the long-time Bach student Johann Ludwig Krebs. Berlin, StB. Mus. Ms. *P 803*” [10, S. V], which also has “copies mostly written by him of suites and other keyboard pieces of the French masters¹³... Only one of the last copies of the volume, the c minor Fantasy for Organ by J. S. Bach (BWV 537), is dated ‘January 10, 1751’”.

¹⁰ This section containing the text from *P 803* is listed on the SBB Internet resource as Klavierschule: http://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht/?PPN=PPN788472127&PHYSID=PHYS_0002.


¹¹ As for fingering, in *P 803-II*, except for one mention on the first page, it is not considered anywhere else in the text.

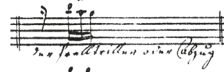
¹² As can be seen, Zietz’s the conclusion that the copy of *P 803-II* was made around 1790 is based on the publication date of Türk’s work.


¹³ Landshoff [11, S. 29] is mistaken in naming a number of French masters of the late 17th — the first half of the 18th centuries, whose works were allegedly included in *P 803*, namely, d’Anglebert, Le Bègue, Clérambault, Dandrieu, Dieupart, Gaspard Le Roux, Marchand and Nivers, and also the Belgian Bustyn.

In the “Bemerkungen zum Vortrag” for the edition of *15 zweistimmigen Inventionen und die 15 dreistimmigen Sinfonien* by J. S. Bach, Landshoff explains that in order to solve the problem of performing ornaments in these polyphonic works, he used information from the named handwritten collection [10, S. V]. According to Landshoff, it is historically reasonable to use the table with realizations of ornaments contained in *P 803-II* to solve problems related to the performance of J. S. Bach’s music. In this case, he is discussing the performance of the “Praller” (an abbreviation found in wide musical practice, instead of *Pralltriller*). Based on the above text, Landshoff, for example, recommends performing the *Pralltriller* in the context of descending sixteenth notes as it appears in the table from the



anonymous manuscript and gives the following example:  ¹⁴ [10, S. V]. However, Landshoff, working with the most valuable historical musical source, does not indicate that the example in the manuscript was signed as “*Der Pralltriller oder Abzug*”. Along with this, Landshoff did not specify that he corrected the rhythm in this example,



which lacked one thirty-second duration in the manuscript: . (instead of the first note recorded by the 32nd duration, there should be a 16th shown by Landshoff).

In Appendix II Landshoff compares the realization of ornaments contained in the table by J. S. Bach (“Explication unterschiedlicher Zeichen, so gewisse Manierenartig zu spielen andeuten” [“Explanation of divers signs, showing how to play certain ornaments artfully” (Bach: 1720)] — with the table from *P 803-II*. In Bach’s table, the trill is performed starting from the upper auxiliary note. Landshoff, as we can see, departs from Bach’s prescription, and instead offers a realization available in *P 803-II*¹⁵.

Modern science, as noted above, has not been able to identify the handwriting of *P 803-II*, so the question of who was the copyist of this material remains open. If we agree Zietz’s point of view that the material on keyboard pedagogy in *P 803-II* is an abridged version or excerpts from D. G. Türk’s *Klavierschule* (1789), then the information about performance will have only an indirect relation to the pedagogy and to interpretation of J. S. Bach’s music.

Landshoff’s ideas have been embraced by a wide range of performing musicians, scholars, and editors. His recommendations particularly influenced Erwin Bodky, who considered it most important, first of all, that the recommendations used by Landshoff were “gathered from Bach’s own musical environment” and were of “greatest importance” because their compiler was no other than Johann Ludwig Krebs — “one of Bach’s favorite pupils, who studied with him around 1735, [and] wrote out in the ‘Handschriftlicher Sammelband’ [thus, p.803]... a table of ornaments...” [12, p.165]¹⁶. Along with this,

¹⁴ In the note, Landshoff points out that this example and the following are taken from the table with the realization of *decoratio* in *P 803*. The correctness of such a historical and performance decision or its fallacy will be discussed below in the part devoted to the *Pralltriller*.


¹⁵ In more detail, the issues of executing the *Pralltriller* in accordance with the realization in *P 803-II* will be discussed in the second part of our paper.

¹⁶ The conviction that the manuscript was prepared by J. L. Krebs is reflected in the bibliographic record, which Bodky cites in the link: “Johann Ludwig Krebs, ‘Handschriftlicher Sammelband,’ MS. 803, Staatsbibliothek, Berlin”.

Bodky supports his point of view by the fact that other German musicians, for example, F. W. Marpurg or G. S. Löhlein, have the same realizations of ornaments as in *P 803-II*.


A short comment related to *P 803-II* is found in the second edition of Robert Donington's book [13, p. 251]¹⁷. The author of the monography uses the same material as his predecessors Landshoff and Bodky, but the conclusion on determining the time of compiling the manuscript — as it will become obvious below — turns out to be different. *P 803-II* is mentioned in the section of Donington's work devoted to the consideration of the evolution of the *Praltriller* and the author stated that “in the generation of J. S. Bach, no general recognition seems to have been recorded to the inverted mordent”. By the wording *inverted mordent*, Donington bears in mind the shortest three-note ornament representing the mordent in inversion. C. P. E. Bach calls it the “Schneller”¹⁸, and provides an exact explanation: “§ 1. Den kurtzen Mordent in der Gegen = Bewegung (Short mordent in inversion/opposite direction)... § 3. Er thut in der Geschwindigkeit die Wirkung eines Trillers ohne Nachschlag (In quick tempo it is in effect a trill without suffix/ending)” [16, p. 111]. According to Donington, as he says in the commentary to example No. 110, the table in *P 803-II* was copied “probably not very much before 1800” [13, p. 251]. Example



No. 110 from Donington:  is taken from *P 803* and, unlike the example given by Landshoff, it is copied accurately giving the name of the ornament, except only that there is no explanation related to correcting an error in the rhythm in the original¹⁹. It should be noted that Donington does not consider the problem of authorship of the original source from which the copy was made. Donington only states that the handwritten folio represents “a mixed gathering of MSS”²⁰, which is partially associated with J. L. Krebs, who was “around 1735 a student of J. S. Bach”.

In Dora Jean Wilson's voluminous dissertation (1979), specifically devoted to the study of Georg Simon Löhlein's *Klavierschule* [16]²¹ the author of the study refers to the musical example No. 110 in the book by Donington (see above). Wilson noticed the complete similarity of the example with the ornament from the *Clavier-Schule* by Löhlein,

¹⁷ In the corresponding section of the first edition of Donington's book [14, p. 186], this material is not available! Donington made major changes to the 1974 edition of his book. All subsequent editions were identical. Thus, despite the fact that the material from the Donington's monography is given in this article based on the 1992 edition, it was first presented in 1974.

¹⁸ The point is that, unlike the first half of the 18th century, in the second half, the “inverted mordent” (*Schneller*) was designated by C. P. E. Bach as two thirty-second notes written in small print  and began to be performed more often and used instead of *Praltriller* [15, Tab. VI, Fig. XCIV].

¹⁹ Above, in connection with Landshoff's explanations, it was pointed out that an error in the recording of the rhythm was corrected in the transcript of the *Praltriller oder Abzug* in *P 803-II*.

²⁰ The above “Table 1” indicates a wide variety of the content in *P 803*.

²¹ One should pay attention to the fact that in all editions of Löhlein, the word *Clavier-Schule* is written with a “C”, while Wilson writes with a “K”. Until about the last quarter of the 18th century in Germany, the letter “C” was used in writing the word *Clavier* and other words derived from it. It follows that when studying certain early sources, where these words are written with the letter “C” or through “K”, this might in certain cases help approximately to attribute the time when the material was written or published.



that is [17, S. 15]²². In our context, it is important that the author of the dissertation defined the similarity, even if only in one example, from the sources, and established that the model for *P 803-II* was Löhlein's *Clavier-Schule*. However, Wilson, like all previous authors, did not pay attention to the fact that in the example of "der Pralltriller oder Abzug" in the anonymous manuscript, compared with the example from the *Clavier-Schule*, there is a discrepancy in the recording of rhythm and that the slur is omitted.

Having identified the source from which *P 803-II* was copied, Wilson comes to an unusual, not to say erroneous, conclusion: "No doubt Löhlein copied the example [from *P 803-II*] without realizing that the term *Abzug* was inappropriate..." [16, p.676]. The fallacy in this statement is not that the "Abzug was inappropriate", but that Löhlein copied the information from *P 803-II*. It is impossible to imagine that Löhlein in the mid-60s of the 18th century had access to handwritten material, which was then still in the form of scattered fragments in the Krebs family. Therefore, it is necessary to treat this statement by Wilson as an unfortunate oversight, which is explained by the fact that the dissertation turned to only one example in the manuscript. If Wilson would have studied the entire anonymous text of *P 803*, and compared it with Löhleins *Clavier-Schule* the conclusion might have been different.

While considering the authorship of *P 803-II*, Frederick Neumann provides important new information in his work. Having studied the works of Kast and Zietz, Neumann holds the same opinion about the time of creation of the text *P 803-II* as the named authors, that is, he believes that the text was created at the end of the 18th century. However, regarding the source from which the text of the second layer or Faszicle was copied, Neumann arrives to a different conclusion. If Zietz pointed that the source of the handwritten text could be the *Klavierschule* by D. G. Türk, Neumann for his part names the *Clavier-Schule* published by Georg Simon Löhlein, because the handwritten folio, as Neumann writes, contains "excerpts from Löhlein's *Clavier-Schule* and more specifically from its fourth edition of 1782" [18, p. 194]²³.

²² Wilson clarifies: "The example which Löhlein uses, as well as the designation, *Pralltriller oder Abzug*, is the same as that found in an anonymous table of ornaments, Mus. MS. Bach 9803 [sic], 22v-23, housed in the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, East Berlin. (See Robert Donington. ...)" — underlined by the author. There is a typo-error in the Wilson's text: "9803" is written instead of 803 [16, p. 676].

²³ Neumann is referring to the following edition: Löhlein, G.S. *Clavier-Schule, oder kurze und gründliche Anweisung zur Melodie und Harmonie, durchgehends mit practischen Beyspielen erläutert. Vierte und verbesserte Auflage.* Leipzig und Züllichau... 1782. The first edition of Löhlein's work with the same title dates from 1765. The fifth „revised and expanded“ edition of the *Clavier-Schule* with title changes, edited by J. G. Witthauer, was published in 1791: Löhlein, G. S. *Clavier-Schule, oder kurze Anweisung zum Clavierspielen und dem Generalbasse. Fünfte Auflage / umgearbeitet und vermehrt von Johann Georg Witthauer.* Leipzig; Züllichau, 1791. This edition has been so thoroughly revised and supplemented that it can only make sense if one compares it with *P 803-II* when it is necessary to trace how musical theoretical thinking and keyboard performance have evolved, but not to compare it word-to-word with *P 803-II*. In some cases, the authors of this article will also resort to comparing the material contained in earlier Löhlein treatises with materials from *P 803-II* and crosscheck it with the named the fifth edition.

In connection with the consideration pertaining to the problem of executing appoggiaturas in the middle of the 18th century²⁴ Neumann also refers to the content of the handwritten text *P 803-II*. The author of the monograph compared the texts relating to ornamentation in Löhlein's *Clavier-Schule* and in *P 803-II*, and discovered that the fragment in *P 803-II* was copied from Löhlein's treatise "with utmost literary accuracy" [18, p. 195]. Neumann also claims that *P 803-II* is copied from the fourth edition of Löhlein's treatise (1782). But as it will become clear below, namely Löhlein's third edition of 1779 [19] was the publication in which for the first time compared to the two editions of 1765 and 1773 significant changes were entered, and namely from which the copy was made. It should be noted that the third (1779) and fourth (1782) editions are absolutely identical (they were printed from the same "boards"). Therefore, it is not possible from this point of view to determine exactly with which publication the anonymous copyist had been working. However, if the exact date of binding the manuscript had been known, then it would have been clear that after binding the material, nothing could have been included in it. In the reasoning of St. Daw it was noted above that "the date of binding of *P 801*, and that of *P 803* probably took place after the death of Tobias Krebs..." [6, p. 46]. But in this regard, it should be recalled that Johann Ludwig Krebs, who possessed the manuscript, died in 1780, that is, two years before the publication of the fourth edition. Most likely, it can be assumed that the binding of *P 803* was done during Krebs' lifetime. Based on this assumption, it can be considered as a working hypothesis, most probably the copyist used the third (1779) edition of Löhlein's *Clavier-Schule*.

With full conviction in our case, one may state that for the first time Löhlein made changes in the third edition of 1779 (compared with the editions of 1765 and 1773). This is an indisputable fact. Neumann is thus mistaken when he writes that the text with the additions "make their first appearance in the fourth edition of Löhlein's treatise". His claim that "One model and one sentence of the manuscript... make their first appearance in the fourth edition of Löhlein's treatise" [18, p. 195] (our underlining. — *A. P., I. R.*), is also erroneous, since the wording "the model and one sentence" was printed for the first time in the aforementioned third edition of 1779. The following conclusion by Neumann is significantly inaccurate: "...only about one-half of Löhlein's table is reproduced in the manuscript". Our verification shows (see Ex. 1 and 2 lower) that the table with ornaments, excepting the ornament called "der lange Anschlag", has been transferred to the manuscript in full.

The names of ornaments in English translation are available in the work of Dora Wilson — these are: *Das simple Trillo (the simple trill)*; *Das Trillo von untenherauf (the trill from below)*; *Das Trillo von oben herein (the trill from above)*; *Das Pralltriller or Abzug (the half trill)*²⁵; *Der kurze Mordent (the short mordent)*; *Der lange Mordent (the long mordent)*; *Der Doppelschlag (the turn)*; *Der Abzug mit dem Nachschlage (the half trill with suffix)*; *Der kurze Schleifer (the short slide)*; *Der lange Schleifer (the long slide)*; *Der kurze Anschlag (the*

²⁴ The issues of interpreting the *Vorschlag* will be specifically discussed below. If we discuss other types of ornaments, it seems unusual that Neumann, who identified the musical source from which the copy was made, nowhere else compares other Löhlein's interpretations of ornaments with those available in the anonymous manuscript (the latter contains fourteen transcripts).

²⁵ In a footnote, Wilson writes: "Pralltriller oder Abzug [thus], an inverted mordent". The clarification "an inverted mordent" in relation to Löhlein's table and, consequently, to *P 803-II* may be reasonable, but it will be erroneous if we consider the interpretation of the ornament, named "der halbe oder Prall-Triller" introduced by C. P. E. Bach.



Example 1. The table with realizations of 14 ornaments from *P 803-II* (SB, S. 22–23). In this example, the table is presented by a single drawing (as one page). In the original it is located on two pages

short double appoggiatura)²⁶; *Der vermehrte Doppelschlag* (the extended turn); *Die Bebung* (the *Bebung*)²⁷.

²⁶ In the table of *P 803-II* the ornament referred to by Löhlein as “Der Lange Anschlag (the long double appoggiatura)” is omitted. See Ex. 2, where Löhlein provides its execution.

²⁷ In the first and second editions of the *Clavier-Schule* (1765, 1773), the ornament called *Bebung* is missing. It is introduced only in the third edition of 1779. In the text explaining the *Bebung*, the anonymous copyist wrote: “Die *Bebung* läßt sich besser zeigen, als beschreiben (The *Bebung* can be better shown than described)”. In Löhlein’s *Clavier-Schule* [19, S. 15] in the note *) the explanation is more detailed: “Diese wird mit einem gewissen Druck der Finger gemacht, das sich besser zeigen als beschreiben läßt (This [the *Bebung*] is done with a certain pressure of the fingers, which can be shown better than described)”. *Bebung* was first introduced in performance and explained in the treatise published by C. P. E. Bach, who wrote: “A long, affettuoso tone is performed with a vibrato. The finger that depresses and holds the key is gently shaken” [20, p. 156]. Indeed, *Bebung* can only be performed on the clavichord. Among keyboard-string-friction instruments, it is possible to execute on the Bogenflügel built by the master Hohlfeld, about whom Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg writes in his treatise [21, S. 30]. C. P. E. Bach expresses regret, “that the bowed clavier [Bogenclavier], Hohlfeld’s fine invention, has not yet come into general use” [20, p. 172].

Das Zeichen. Das simple Trillo. Das Trillo von unten herauf. Das Trillo von oben herein.

Die Ausführung.

Der Welltriller oder Abzug. Der kurze Mordent. Der lange Mordent. Der Doppelschlag. Der Abzug mit dem Nachschlage. Der kurze Schleifer.

Der lange Schleifer. Der kurze Anschlag. Der lange Anschlag. Der vermehrte Doppelschlag. Die Sebung.

*) Diese wird mit einem gewissen wiegenden Druck der Finger gemacht, das sich besser zeigen als beschreiben läßt.

Example 2. A table with realizations of 15 ornaments from Löhlein's third edition of the *Clavier-Schule* [19, S. 15]

Before proceeding to consider a few examples demonstrating the essence of the copies in *P 803-II* it is important to note that manuscript sources are always of historical value, therefore, in this situation it is necessary to elaborate on the consideration of most cases when the scribe, as the authors of the present work revealed, allowed various changes when copying. On the one hand, these could be cases when the copyist made editorial changes that did not affect the general context of the original. It could just be rewriting errors. On the other hand, as a result of the changes made by the copyist, some of them might correspond with the views of the scribe himself. There may be cases when the essence of the original text, being changed by the copyist, acquires a different meaning. The problem raised becomes particularly relevant in connection with the existing statement by Neumann that the anonymous copyist did his job “with utmost literal accuracy” (see above).

It should be mentioned that, indeed, in *P 803-II*, in most cases, the text from the Löhlein's *Clavier-Schule* is transmitted by the copyist word-for-word. However, in some other cases, the anonymous copyist departs from the original text and forms it (or uses certain terms in it) according to his own principles.

One example is enough to show how carefully the scribe copied the ornament *Der vermehrte Doppelschlag* (The extended turn): compare: Löhlein's [19, S.15] example

, and the example in *P 803-II*: (SBB, *P 803-II*, S. 23):

Here the musical example is copied exactly. Even the staccato sign is transferred. Maybe the only minimal difference is that in Löhlein's version the slur covers the notes to the end of the structure, and in *P 803-II* — only to the last 64th note.

There are a few examples where the copyist inserts some editorial changes only slightly violating the content of the original. For example, at the very beginning of the manuscript, the copyist allows himself to make editorial changes in Löhlein's text, in which the latter defines the first task in learning to play the Clavier, where it says "First of all [learn]: The Keyboard. (Keys, Keypads) [*Erstlich: Das Griffbret. (Claves, Tastatur, oder Tasten)*]". The anonymous copyist removes the parentheses from the text [*Das Griffbret, Claves, Tastatur, oder Tasten*]²⁸. At first glance, this may seem like a completely harmless editorial change. However, in all the first five editions of the *Clavier-Schule* (1765, 1773, 1779, 1782, and even 1791), Löhlein consistently leaves the words "Claves, Tastatur, oder Tasten" in parentheses, which indicates their necessity. If one carefully reads the text in *P 803-II*, it turns out that the editorial change, in fact, leads to a shift in meanings of terminology, because the term "*Das Griffbret*" in the interpretation of Löhlein conveys a common prototypical meaning. The terms "Claves", "Tastatur oder Tasten" serve as an explanation of the term "*Griffbret*". The anonymous copyist obviously found it superfluous to indicate that the word "*Griffbret*" is a general concept in this sentence, simply denoting the keyboard as a whole, and the words "Claves, Tastatur, oder Tasten" were designed to clarify it, and removed the parentheses. Türk, for example, in his *Klavierschule* (1789) first explains the meaning of the word *Tasten* with its synonymous equivalents, and then gives a general concept: "§ 1. The movable parts (Werkzeuge [thus the tools, the mechanical parts]) on which one plays... are called Tasten (keys) [i. e.,] (Tangents, Klaves)... All the keys together [alle Tasten zusammen] are called keyboard [Klaviatur]. [or:] (das Griffbrett, die Tastatur)" [9, S. 33].

Here is another editorial correction that the anonymous copyist makes in the same initial section in the third paragraph. Instead of the words "Die richtige Anwendung der Finger (The correct application of the fingers)", which appear in the third and fourth editions of Löhlein's *Clavier-Schule*, in *P 803-II* it is written "*Die Applicatur, oder die Fingersetzung* (The applicatur or the fingering)" [9, S. 33]. It is noteworthy that the copyist uses the word *Fingersetzung*.

Löhlein, on the other hand, as we believe, could not in any way choose from the existing terms related to fingering the one that would correspond to his idea. This becomes clear if we turn to his formulations in different editions of the *Clavier-Schule*. In the first and second editions, Löhlein writes: "...die Applicatur oder Fingerordnung", in the third and fourth editions — "...die Applicatur, oder richtige Anwendung der Finger". As for the fifth posthumous edition edited by J. G. Witthauer (1791), the term *Fingersetzung* is already used there where it reads: "Die Applicatur, oder die richtige Fingersetzung".

Indeed, by the time of the publication of Löhlein's *Clavier-Schule* Marpurg in his writings, starting in 1750, along with the term *Applicatur*, used the word *Fingersetzung*, and C. P. E. Bach named the first chapter of his treatise: "Von der Finger = Setzung". Löhlein knew the works of these authors well, as evidenced by their mention in his *Vorbericht* and in the sixth chapter on ornamentation, where Löhlein refers to C. P. E. Bach, emphasizing that he latter was the first who "in his Versuch introduced to the public" the principles of performing ornaments. However, Löhlein did not use the term *Fingersetzung*. It follows from what has been said that the anonymous copyist, replacing Löhlein's formulations "Fingerordnung" or "richtige Anwendung der Finger" with "*Fingerzsetzung*", held a point of view that was, most likely, based on the works of Marpurg or C. P. E. Bach in this matter.

²⁸ SBB, *P 803-II*, S. 10.

Witthauer's use of the term *Fingersetzung* is quite justified, because for some time he was under the guidance of C. P. E. Bach.

Unlike the previous ones, the editorial correction, carried out further by the anonymous copyist, leads to a distortion of the text in Löhlein's *Clavier-Schule*. The latter explains the location of the keys on the keyboard. Löhlein writes: "Diejenige Taste, so zwischen den beyden obenliegenden ist, heißt allemal d. (The key that is between both upper ones is always called d)". From this explanation, the anonymous copyist removed the word "beyden (both)", as a result of which it turns out that the "d" key can be located between any other upper keys.

However, Löhlein's further explanation ("The key next to the first of the three placed above²⁹ is called f" [*Die (leyte) neben der ersten von den drey' obenliegenden heißt f.*]) is copied in *P 803-II* exactly.

Perhaps, characterizing the text in *P 803-II* as executed "with utmost literary accuracy", Neumann meant exclusively the section on the execution of ornaments. But even in this case, in the musical examples, as will be shown below, the anonymous copyist admits inaccuracies when copying them.

For example, rewriting the table with *Vorschläge* (*appoggiaturas*), the copyist omits not only all the slur signs, but also all additional instructions from Löhlein, such as *a*, *b* and others (compare Ex. 3 *a*, *b*).



a



b

Example 3. Example *a* shows the copy of the realization of *Vorschläge* in the table from *P 803-II* (SBB, S. 21). Example *b* shows the table in Löhlein's *Clavier-Schule* (1779, S. 14)

Neumann also cites this example with the *Vorschläge*, but does not note that the anonymous scribe omitted all the slurs.

²⁹ Löhlein specifically distinguishes between keys that show diatonic and altered sounds, explaining that "they differentiate in the lower and upper ones" [19, S. 3].

By copying a table containing many other ornaments, the anonymous scribe of *P II-803* changed the rhythmic organization in several examples (Ex. 4 *a, b*). Thus, in the ornament called *der kurze Anschlag* (*the short Anschlag*), instead of 32th notes, as indicated in Löhlein's table, the copyist writes 16th. As a result, an extra sixteenth duration occurs. Maybe it was a mistake, but maybe the copyist, being a musician, did not think that the performance of the *Anschlag* required such an exceptionally fast tempo as shown in Löhlein's realization.



Example 4. Example *a* is taken from Löhlein's *Clavier-Schule* [19, S. 15].
Example *b* is from *P 803-II* (S. 23)

A more important change is when the anonymous copyist omits the ornament, which in Löhlein's table is called "der lange Anschlag (the long Anschlag)". This editorial change is significant because the copyist it seems had his own point of view and reason not to include this compound ornament in the table. In Löhlein's *Clavier-Schule*, it is executed as



follows: [19, S. 15]. One can assume that the copyist, after viewing the keyboard works in the subsequent practical part of the *Clavier-Schule*, noticed that the *lange Anschlag* does not occur in the pieces. Perhaps this is why he decided not to include it in his table.

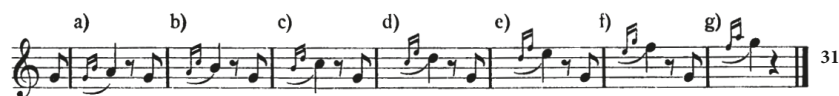
Löhlein's table with the realizations of ornaments and, subsequently, its copy in *P 803* are based on the newest performing tradition of the authors of the Berlin school (Quantz, C. P. E. Bach, Marpurg, etc.). This fully applies to the ornament called *Anschlag* too. During the second half of the 18th century the *Anschlag* has become quite popular and is discussed in almost every of the many instrumental (especially keyboard) tutors. Moreover, the authors often argued among themselves about the conformity of the term *Anschlag* and its performance characteristics. Some early musicians considered the name "der Doppelvorschlag (double appoggiatura)"³⁰ more appropriate, since both in notation and in performance this ornament in Löhlein's table was a combination of two appoggiaturas: one from below, the other from above. Johann Friedrich Agricola (1757) believes that it should be called "dotted" and "undotted" ("punctirete und unpunctirete") [23, S. 86].

The first to introduce this ornament was Johann Joachim Quantz in 1752. Although it is almost safe to assume that in performing practice musicians turned to this type of grace somewhat earlier. Quantz's recommendation on the performance of the *Anschlag*

³⁰ Heinrich Christoph Koch in his dictionary (1802) writes that "most often it [the *Anschlag*] is called *Doppelschlag*". The usage of the term *Doppelschlag* cannot be considered correct. The word *Doppelschlag* meant the ornament *turn* (*gruppetto*) in that era [22, col. 151].

incorporated the main characteristics that were more or less present in the works of subsequent later authors.

Quantz wrote, commenting on one of his examples (see Ex. 5): “These two little notes, [see] in (a) (b) (c) (d) (e) (f) (g) consisting of leaps of thirds, are called the *Anschlag*... but it [the *Anschlag*] must be very fast [*sehr geschwind*], however softly [*jedoch schwach*] linked (tied) to the [main] note. The note itself [the main note] must be slightly stronger [*etwas stärker*] than the two small ones” [24, S. 134].



Example 5. Quantz, 1752 (S. 134)

A year later, C.P.E. Bach offers a much more detailed explanation of the *Anschlag*. First of all, according to the musical context and interpretation, he distinguishes two types: “§ 3. The First type [Tab. VI, Fig. LXXX with the extensive jump] is less rapid than the second, but [nevertheless] both are [always-allezeit] played more softly than the principal tone [Tab. VI, Fig. LXXXI]. Melodies grow in attractiveness through the use of this ornament, which serves to connect notes and, to a degree, fill them out” [20, p. 132]³². It is clear that Bach’s instruction (to be “played more softly than the principal tone”), and marked by “*p. f.*” can be performed specifically only on the clavichord.



Judging by the examples LXXX and LXXXI *Anschläge* are performed on the beat. The example of LXXXI with the practical execution of these ornaments is particularly instructive. Adolf Beyschlag notes this specific feature: “The *Anschlag* has, from the point of view of emphasis, the only significant discrepancy in the system of C. Ph. E. Bach, which is that here two small notes are ‘always performed weaker than the main note’” [25, S. 160].

Regarding the nature of the metrical organization (i. e., rhythmic disposition) of performing the *Anschlag*, William Mitchell writes with all certainty that C.P.E. Bach unmistakably indicates that “the ornament is played on the beat rather ahead of it” [20, p. 132].

The dynamic characteristics in the performance of *Anschläge* and their metric realizations are precisely written out by D.G. Türk and unequivocally show the on-the-beat manner of execution (see Ex. 6).


³¹ In this section of the treatise, Quantz not only gives a general explanation on the performance of the *Anschlag*, but also points out its use by singers so that they could “grasp the high tone safely” while performing extensive jumps (“...bey weitläufigen Sprüngen, die Sänger, um den hohen Ton sicher zu fassen”).

³² In square brackets are given our inserts from the original text, which were not included in the Mitchell’s translation.



Example 6. D. G. Türk, “Der kurze oder unpunktirte Anschlag (The short or undotted Anschlag)” [9, S. 242]³³

The same detailed manner of explanation is given in C. P. E. Bach’s treatise when he considers “der Anschlag mit dem Punkte” [16, p. 105, § 7]. In Löhlein’s *Clavier-Schule* it is termed as “der lange Anschlag (the long Anschlag)”. Bach shows the execution of *der*

Anschlag mit dem Punkte in the following example: 

Attention should be centered on the given example (a) [16, Tab. VI, Fig. LXXXV], which shows the execution of the ornament according to the principle of *Substraction*. This principle of performance is even more clear seen in the example of Bach to § 9 (Tab. VI,

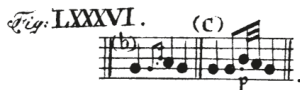


Fig. LXXXVI):

In example (c), Bach places the “p” sign below the short 32th notes. In the next relevant requirement, Bach explains: “In performing this Anschlag [the *Anschlag mit dem Punkte*], it should be noted that the first small note before the dot is struck always strongly (jederzeit starck), and the second one together with the main note is struck softly (schwach angeschlagen)]. The second small note is connected as quickly as possible to the principal note and all three are slurred”³⁴ [20, p. 106].

Returning to the table with the interpretation of the ornaments in Löhlein’s *Clavier-Schule*, it must be noted that the performance of “Der lange Anschlag” also corre-



sponds to the principle of “*on the beat*”, that is:



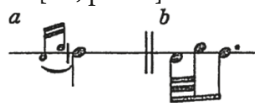
A consideration of the metro-rhythmical organization in performing the *Anschläge* was undertaken due to the fact that Neumann repeatedly attempts to convince that this type of ornaments could be interpreted according to the principle of *before the beat* (that is: *anticipation* or *prebeat* interpretation)³⁵. The first attempt to cast doubt concerning the

³³ The musical examples given by Türk with interval expansions resemble the examples in the Quantz’s treatise. However, as shown above, Quantz does not place dynamic notation in the examples.

³⁴ In Beyschlag’s comment it is written “Der Akzent fällt... auf das erste Verzierungsnötchen (the accent falls on the first [small] grace note” [24, S. 160].

³⁵ Consequently, Neumann proposes a new concept of performing the *Anschläge* instead of the existing point of view expressed back in 1915 by Arnold Dolmetsch who states: “These two notes may be

on-the-beat performance is undertaken by Neumann in advance: in the theoretical section that opens chapter 43, devoted to the discussion of the *Anschlag*, where the following reasoning is revealed: “With regard to the rhythmic disposition, there is the usual alternative of prebeat and onbeat [interpretation]...” [18, p. 488]. In Ex. 43.2a and b Neumann



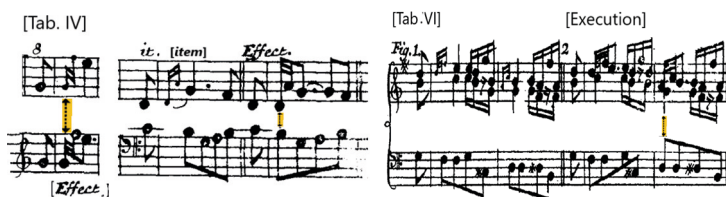
demonstrates what he means by these words:

It follows that the *Anschlag* may be performed before-the-beat. Next Neumann’s logic in the development of the topic is centered on examining the sources. Beginning with Quantz’s instructions for the execution of the *Anschlag*, Neumann stresses the point “that the grace [the *Anschlag*] must be tied *very fast but weak* to the principal note which is a little stronger” [18, p. 489].

Based on the content of Quantz’s instruction, Neumann reasons that the performance of the small fast notes softly “suggests the potential prebeat character of the grace in Quantz’s usage” [18, p. 489]. However it should be noted that Quantz, on the contrary, does not mention that the *Anschläge* could be performed in an anticipatory manner. His musical examples where the ornament is placed on the strong first beat of the bar confirm the on-the-beat execution (see Ex. 5).

The instructions in C. P. E. Bach’s *Versuch*, as stated above, clearly indicate the on-the-beat rendition of the *Anschlag*. Neumann fully agrees with this, but nevertheless reminds that Bach “confirms Quantz’s rule that the two little notes are ‘always played softer than the principal note’ [18, p. 489]” which means that the *Anschlag* in Neumann’s interpretation could be taken prebeat. Philipp Emanuel’s treatise was intended not only for the Clavichord, on which the small notes of the *Anschlag* could be played softly, and the main note louder³⁶, but also for the Flügel [i. e., for the harpsichord], which did not allow such dynamic differences to be achieved.

Marpurg, as Neumann shows, adheres to the principle of subtraction in the execution of the *Anschlag*. To confirm Marpurg’s manner of interpretation, here are added two very convincing examples:



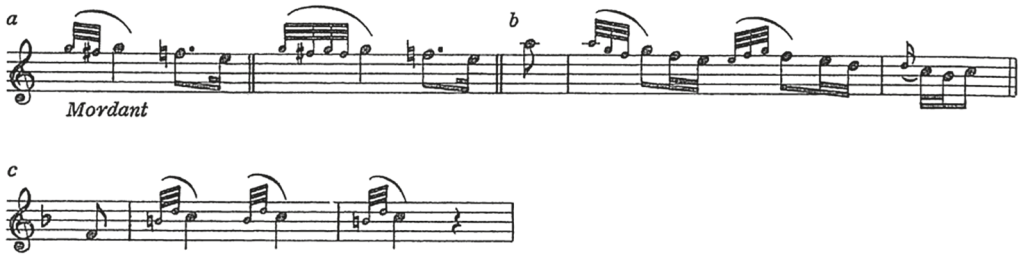
[21, Tab. IV, Fig. 8; Tab. VI, Fig. 1, 2³⁷] (our indications of the vertical alignment. — A. P. I. R). In Marpurg’s examples the vertical alignment clearly shows the on-the-beat performance.

played more or less quickly, but always softly, and in the time of the principal [note]” (our underlining) [26, S. 256].

³⁶ On the “piano forte” or “Forte piano”, as C. P. E. Bach calls this instrument [15, S. 7, 8] the dynamic flexibility to some extent could also be achievable.

³⁷ For the first time Arnold Dolmetsch considers Marpurg’s instructions on performing the *Anschlag* and gives these examples [26, p. 258].

Then Neumann turns to Leopold Mozart's instructions. Mozart's elucidations of the *Anschlag* need special consideration because comparing them with the instructions of Quantz (1752), C. P. E. Bach (1753), Marpurg (1755), Agricola (1757), and others serious contradictions arise. Neumann does not consider it necessary to compare L. Mozart's instructions in this chapter 43 with the other ones and simply states: "Leopold Mozart saw in the *Anschlag* a form of the mordent, as illustrated above in Ex. 40.9c, and implied in the text its unaccented prebeat character" [our underlining. — A. P., I. R.]. Example "40.9c" which Neumann mentions belongs to chapter 40 (see Ex. 7) where Mozart's instructions are discussed in the context of the "German Mordent 1715–1765" [18, p. 460].



Ex. 40.9. L. Mozart (1756)

Example 7. Neumann, 1983, p. 460³⁸, *Mordant* from L. Mozart's *Violinschule* (1756)

In chapter 40 Neumann points that "Leopold Mozart's illuminative ideas about the mordent have to be dealt with some detail" and that "Writing in the spirit of Tartini, Mozart defines the mordent as two or three little notes 'which very fast and softly grab hold, so to speak, of the principal note, but disappear immediately so that the principal note alone is heard strongly'" [18, p. 459]. Here Neumann emphasizes the factor of dynamics: "The crucial point in this statement is the softness of the mordent and the accentuation of the principal note, a circumstance conducive to prebeat rendition". Along with considering these matters, Neumann turns to Mozart's instructions which relate to the performance of the *Anschläge* too³⁹. As a result of lengthy reasoning, Neumann reaches the conclusion that the submitted comments confirm the next fact: "...for all three of Mozart's types softness of the grace and accent on the principal note were of the essence. ...[and] generally [they] favored the prebeat placement for these graces". It should once again be

³⁸ Example 40 is marked in Neumann's study as taken from Mozart's treatise (1756), however, in the original the order of ornaments is different, and along with this, only one example is given in Mozart's *Violinschule* with the so-called turn instead of the three shown by Neumann. Mozart, following Tartini, names the ornament "Mordant" (Tartini writes "Mordent"). The manner of notation in Mozart's *Violinschule*

Der Mordant wird auf beyerley Art gemacht. <...>

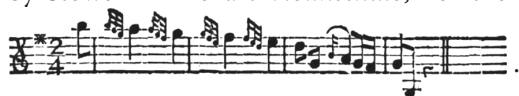


is shown in the next example: [27, p. 242].

³⁹ Mozart comments that some musicians however do not reckon the second type of the named ornaments as "die Mordanten", but differentiate these two little notes by the word *Anschlag* [27, p. 242].

noted that neither Tartini nor Mozart anywhere state that these ornaments should be performed according to the prebeat principle.

Robin Stowell expresses a similar point of view distinguishing the prebeat performance of the mordent recommended by L. Mozart from the on-the-beat execution found in the instructions of other musicians. Stowell elucidates that the mordent “is a very rapid alternation of the main note... with a lower auxiliary a tone or semitone below” which is “normally taken on the beat” but “a case may be made according to some writers’ implications for a pre-beat interpretation”. In the footnote among “some writers” the author names L. Mozart and explains: “See L. Mozart, *Versuch...* ch. 11, § 8, p.242 & § 13, p.244” [28, p.329]. Neither the texts (§ 8–13) on the pages mentioned by Stowell in Mozart *Violinschule*, nor the accompanying musical examples on p. 244:



contain indications of the prebeat method of performance. The manner of notating music when the small notes are written/typed after the bar-line self-evidently show that these notes should be performed directly in the beginning of the bar but not before it, thus, in the previous bar. This is axiomatic. It can be confirmed by the next examples from C. P. E. Bach’s treatise where all ornaments (alike many other) written in small notes are realized on-the-beat (see Ex. 8).

Example 8. C. P. E. Bach, examples from *Tab. VI* (1753)

In the section devoted to the mordent in Boyden’s work, the author specifies that “Mozart gives three types of mordents of which only the first (Ex. 225) would normally be classified as a mordent today” [29, p. 454]. Ex. 225 shows a short and a prolonged mordent

Ex. 225 L. Mozart



). But not a word is said about the rhythmic disposition here because perhaps no one could imagine that there could be a prebeat rendition.

Contrawise, if we turn to the the second part of Tartini’s treatise on ornamentation and examine the examples, we will see that the mordent, is performed exactly on-the-beat:



. Beginning with the trill which is realized in the on-the-beat manner


(Ex. 9) in this part of Tartini’s *Traité des Agrémens de la Musique* are given numerous other examples (see Ex. 9) all of which are realized in the named on-the-beat technique.


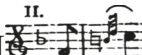


Example 9. G. Tartini. *Traité des Agrémens de la Musique* [30, p. 52–3]. In Nicolai’s *Regole per arrivare a saper ben suonar il Violino* [31] these examples are on p. 23–4


Thus, Neumann’s concept of the prebeat interpretation based on the dynamic factor in performing Mozart’s three different kinds of mordents (i. e., the mordent, the *Doppelschlag*, and the *Anschlag*) turns out to be misleading. The authors of this work believe that a different principle should be followed: the one developed in the 17th and 18th centuries where “the crucial point” in discussing the metro-rhythmic organization of the musical material in the examples is the vertical alignment and the position in the metric system of the bar which certainly indicate the manner of interpretation.

The other question that arises in the course of this discussion is whether Tartini and Mozart used the term *mordent*, common in that historical period, in compliance with the

prevailing requests, or they meant some different variant of ornament peculiar to their concepts which they developed in their practice? The situation was well described by Robin Stowell in the short comment: "...practically every composer was to some extent a law unto himself" [28, p. 305]. For example, the common mordent was usually marked by the sign , however Mozart adheres to the opinion that it should be notated in music by the

small notes . Or that the *Anschlag*  represents a type of mordent. Mozart was compelled to explain: "Some, indeed, refuse to reckon the second kind among the mordents, but differentiate two little notes from the mordent by the word *Anschlag*. But in truth they have all the characteristics of a mordent" [32, p. 207].

In accordance with the scholarly facts available in documents of that time, such a definition should be considered erroneous or at least — as being beyond the generally accepted practice of the 50s in the 18th century. No wonder Boyden distinguishes the small notes representing the mordent, the *Anschlag* and the turn from the "true mordent" or "typical mordent" [29, p. 287, 253]. This topic was covered in sufficient detail about seventy years ago by Sol Babitz in his translation of Tartini's treatise on ornamentation⁴⁰. Only in L. Mozart's posthumous edition of 1817 the mordent is indicated by the traditional and

familiar sign:  [34, S. 53]. In the *Nouveaux Solfeges* (c1787) Antoine Légat de Furcy as well as in many other French publications shows the execution of the mordent which he calls "*le Flatté*" in the on-the-beat manner:

 [35, p. 15]. The same on-the-

beat execution is realized in the turn which de Furcy names "*Le Port de voix double, ou groupe comme le nomme les Italiens*". The term *Le Port de voix double* exactly coincides with the German *Doppelschlag* because both of these terms imply "two" appoggiaturas. In de Furcy's example the turns are shown as:

⁴⁰ "While 18th-century opinion may vary with respect to ornamentation, there is one area in which practically 99 percent agreement exists, this is the keyboard short mordant... It is paradoxical that despite this unanimity among keyboard instructors the violin instructors are equally unanimous in rejecting this ornament entirely. Most of Tartini's 'mordants' resemble in outline the turn and the *Anschlag*. While this may have the appearance of a true short mordant, it is not one since the first notes are all softer than the main note, the ornament having the effect of a crescendo. This is exactly the opposite of the keyboard practice in which a biting attack (sometimes even an *acciaccatura*) is the chief characteristic, hence the name 'biter' — mordant — an ornament starting strong and having a diminuendo.

L. Mozart attempts to apologize for his use of the *Anschlag*, saying that it should be permitted to 'run with and among the mordants' in as much as it also has a biting effect. However, he must admit that it is 'somewhat gentler than the others; perchance one could call them the courteous biters.' Neither Mozart nor any other writer describes an uncourteous biter. To modern violinists who find the crisp attack indispensable, it may seem strange that 18th-century violinists should relinquish this brilliant ornament to the harpsichordists, contenting themselves with the gentle one. Their reason is found in the 18th-century bow which started 'every tone, even the strongest attack [with] a small softness at the beginning...' (L. Mozart, Chap. 5, Pars. 3-10; Chap. 9, Par. 12; Chap. 11, Pars. 9-10, and fn. in 1787 edition; [see] Geminiani, p. 26; J. Hiller, *Anweisung zurn Violinspielen*, Leipzig, 1792, p. 46). It is noteworthy that violinists ignored not only the keyboard mordant but also the conventional signs for turn, mordant, etc., using only the trill sign. <...> As late as 1792 J. Hiller found it necessary to complain that the *tr* could not indicate every ornament and that violinists should begin to adopt *Clavier-Manieren*" [33, p. 87].



Returning to Neumann’s arguments on the execution of the *Anschlag* in the works of Löhlein [17], Hiller [36] and Petri [37] the author applies the same reasoning. Concerning these authors Neumann provides the next information:

“Löhlein in his harpsichord treatise shows only the spread of a third and distinguishes the ‘short’ and the ‘long’ *Anschlag*... Hiller calls the grace *Doppel Vorschlag*... and shows only the even thirds. Petri, also using the term *Doppelvorschlag*, gives only an example without resolution (Ex. c); but by stressing that the little notes are to be done more softly than the principal notes, he too may have implied the prebeat style” [18, p. 490]. The prebeat implication of the *Anschläge*, based on the early instruction saying that “the little notes are to be done more softly than the principal notes” to which Neumann constantly refers, and which in his concept is the most conclusive argument is not prescribed anywhere in the named sources. They represent exclusively Neumann’s artistic “suggestions”. Like most scholars of the second half of the 19th — first half of the 20th centuries, we tend to operate only with objective data from historical sources. Where assumptions and speculative interpretations in favor of one or another hypothesis begin, the sphere of scholarly knowledge in general and in historical musicology in particular comes to an end.

However, Neumann’s statement regarding performance preferences in the interpretation of the *Anschläge* by Löhlein, Hiller and Petri need to be verified based on objective material from sources, and not on assumptions. In Ex. 8 we included the original realizations from Löhlein’s and Petri’s treatises to compare them with those given by Neumann.

1) examples from Neumann:

a. Löhlein (1765)



c. Petri (1782)



2) examples from Löhlein’s original edition of 1765 and Petri of 1782:

Löhlein, 1765 [17, p. 15]

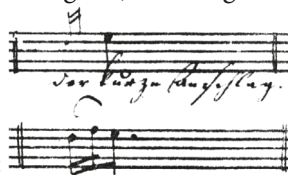


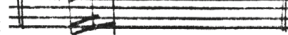
Petri, 1782 [37, p. 152]



Example 8 Neumann’s examples in Ex. 43.8 [18, p. 490] marked here by 1) are compared with the original ones from Löhlein and Petri, marked by 2). (Vertical alignment arrows are ours. — A. P., I. R.)

The vertical alignment in the original example from Löhlein distinctly indicates an on-the-beat performance while the example from Neumann's monograph may be perceived as showing prebeat interpretation. Here it should be specially emphasized that the anonymous kopyist of Löhlein's treatise also strived to convey precisely the vertical alignment (even more precise than in the original) showing that the realization should



begin exactly at the beginning of the bar: ⁴¹. There is still another very important detail when considering the realization of ornaments, which is not always noted: it is the rhythm of the resolution. The two sixteenth notes and the dot after the main note show that the *Anschlag* is resolved exactly in the duration of the quarter note. These irrefutable objective terms distinctly show that Löhlein recommended the performance of the *Anschlag* according to the principle of subtraction.


Petri adheres to the generally accepted notation method of the time, but in this particular case, the *Anschlag* is specifically notated at the beginning of the bar (after the bar line; see Ex. 8), which certainly indicates the on-the-beat performance, and not the prebeat interpretation as recommended by Neumann.

Regarding the information from J. A. Hiller's *Vocal instructions* [36], Neumann does not even try to delve into the content of the text and into the realizations in the musical examples, but simply writes: "Hiller calls the grace *Doppel Vorschlag* and shows only the even thirds". But in Hiller's work, this ornament is accompanied not only by the text, but also by a completely understandable example with the realization of the ornaments, from which it follows that the *Doppelvorschlag* must be performed *on the beat*:



The explanation between these two lines of Hiller's examples reads: "These graces must be connected with the main note just as quickly as the unchangeable *Vorschläge*, and never stop even for the smallest part [of time] on the part of the beat [Tactglied]⁴². Accordingly, the execution must be carried out in the following way":

The realization of the above shown notes definitely indicates an on-the-beat performance. Thusó Neumann's assertion concerning Löhlein's, Petri's and Hiller's manner of performing the *Anschläge* leads to an erroneous conclusion.

⁴¹ The line, which might be taken as a tail of an eighth's note, is the letter "k"  in handwriting of the word "kurze".

⁴² This instruction suggests an extremely fast execution of the *Doppelvorschlag* and the *Schleifer*.

Next, Neumann presents arguments relating to the subsequent instructions from D.G. Türk's *Klavierschule*. Firstly, the author suggests that Türk "seems to sense some inconsistency in the contrasting rules for the *Vorschläge* which, be they short or long, are to be loud and the *Anschlag* which is to be soft". Then Neumann presumes that Türk "tries to resolve the contradiction by seeing in the softness of the *Anschlag* a further proof that the short (*unveränderlich*) *Vorschlag*, too, may be played softly". It goes without saying, after such an investigation of Türk's instructions, Neumann suggests the next conclusion: "Of course, in actual practice this dynamic pattern would lead to anticipation in the vast majority of cases" [18, p. 491]. However the main point here stands that in Türk's explanations (1789, § 13, 14, 15, S. 241–3) there is not a slight hint which could be conceived as "some inconsistency". It is also evident that Neumann's arguments, as shown above, contradict the given realizations of the *Anschläge* in Türk's *Klavierschule*.

The most convincing and indisputable argument challenging the prebeat possibility of executing ornaments written in the form of small notes is directly stated in Türk's instructions which scholars have not addressed. These instructions were outlined by Türk during the discussion of the general concept of the execution of ornaments, written in small notes. Thus, this important source material is given lower in full.

All ornaments indicated by small notes (with only the exception of the terminations [Nachschläge] discussed in the previous chapter) receive their durations — as do the appoggiaturas [Vorschläge] — from their following notes. Therefore, these ornaments must never be played until the time when the main note itself would be played, as the realization at *b* shows below. Ornaments are, for the most part, also slurred to their principal [Hauptnote] notes.



At this point — Türk continues — I would like to warn against the frequently occurring but nevertheless incorrect realizations shown here in *b* and [p. 233] *c* [see example lower]. Everything that I said in the previous chapter, § 16, also applies here — although the circumstances will differ — to the ornaments notated in small notes, and therefore can serve in place of a more detailed explanation.



§ 9

Ornaments which appear before (*a*) or above (*b*) two or more voices relate only to the upper voice, namely:



If the ornament pertains to the lowest voice, then the small notes are written with the stems down (c) or the sign of the ornament is placed under the lowest voice (d); if need be it is placed between the two voices (e), etc.



Only when the small notes, or in their place the signs, are doubled, do the ornaments apply to both voices. For example:



Johann Georg Tromlitz, the author of an extensive tutor for the flute, is characterized by Neumann only in one sentence: “Tromlitz, speaking of the *Anschlag*, places it on the beat but gives no dynamic instructions”. However, the examples with the written realizations in Tromlitz’s *Unterricht* are very informative and exact: after the initial line the instruction reads: “...and this is how it should be played, as in q) [und wird gespielt, wie bey q)]” [39, S. 252–3] (see Ex. 10). The dots written in the realizations after the main notes in the second line (q) along with the vertical ranking, certainly indicate that the *Anschläge* are executed according to the principle of subtraction.



Example 10. Tromlitz: Realizations of the *Anschläge*

In Georg Friedrich Merbach’s *Clavierschule für Kinder* the realization of the *Anschlag* almost exactly copies Löhlein’s version (see Ex. 11).



Example 11. Löhlein’s and Merbach’s *Anschläge* compared

In the explanation of the realization Merbach instructs: “These small notes are always played softer than the main note. As much time/duration as the Anschlag needs [i. e., the small notes of the Anschlag], so much will be taken from the following [main] note [So viel der Anschlag am Werth beträgt, so viel wird der folgenden Noten abgezogen]” [40, S. 30].

Löhlein’s characteristics for the *Anschläge* as “kurze” and “lange” were later used by Georg Friedrich Wolf in his *Kurzer Unterricht* (1783) [41, S. 38]. The realizations of both

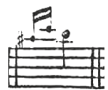


ornaments are on-the-beat: In the second edition of 1784 Wolf, wanting to distinguish his naming of the *Anschläge* as a short and long “Doppelvorschlag”, points out that Bach (C. P. E.) “calls it [simply] the Anschlag [nennt ihn den Anschlag]”⁴³ [42, S. 72]. In the third “verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage” Wolf adds that “The first note of the long Doppelschlag⁴⁴ [example (I)] must always be emphasized, and the following notes together with the main note played softly” [43, S. 75]. Thus, the instructions of Quantz and C. P. E. Bach, stated by them thirty years earlier, are repeated here by Wolf and Merbach.

In addition to these sources, during the last twenty years of the 18th century, in many other German treatises and educational works, the authors write about the *Anschlag* (*Doppelvorschlag*). In many of these editions the principle of performing the *Anschläge* is shown exactly by the vertical alignment, in others along with this method a written explanation is added. Among numerous keyboard instructive publications Christoph Benjamin Schmidtchen, a music connoisseur, for example, gives the next interpretation of the *Anschlag* which is “nothing else than a Doppelvorschlag”:



In the first example not only the note of the realization is virtually aligned with the main note in the upper line and is directly after the bar line but also the rhythm in whole consists of four sixteenth notes which fully fill the quarter main note which all together indicate an on-the-beat execution [44, S. 11]. The same manner of teaching to play the *Anschlag* is seen in the *Clavier Schule* (1787) of the prominent Viennese opera composer, capellmeister and music educator Ferdinand Kauer. The example with the realization of the *Anschlag* is given among other appoggiaturas:




Here is seen a new specific manner of notation when the realization is vertically aligned exactly coinciding with the first small note of the *Anschlag*. Such notation seems to show the on-the-beat performance even more precisely.

⁴³ The differentiation in naming the *Anschlag* by Bach is repeated in Wolf’s 1789 edition.

⁴⁴ As was noted above, the term “Doppelschlag” in this context is incorrect. It should be “Doppelvorschlag”.


The same notation in the realization of the *Anschlag* is used in J. Fr. Deysinger's text-

book for organists (1788):  [45, S. 12]. In the next *Short instructions on playing the keyboard* (1797) by Johann Friedrich Nagel, cantor and teacher in Halle, the author offers detailed information on the execution of the "Doppelschlag, oder Anschlag". The author clarifies that "there are two types of Anschläge, as... the undotted, or short [ones]...". The explanation reads: "Some of these ornaments are indicated by two or three small notes, others by certain signs. The first receive their duration from the adjacent next note, in the time of which they must also be enclosed" [46, S. 61] [see example:].



The same instruction, expressed, however, in other words, belongs to the organist and music director Justin Heinrich Knecht (1800): "The duration of two thirty second notes, which this Doppelschlag amounts to, is taken from the main note, representing a quarter

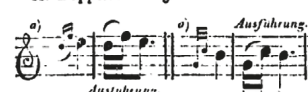


note"⁴⁵ [47, S. 51–2] [see example:] . All reasoning in this instruction definitely point to an on-the-beat realization.

A very short thesis-like explanation of the "Anschlag (Doppelschlag)" is given in the very reputable and voluminous Löhlein-Müller "*Klavierschule*" (1804): "Actually, like the simple *Vorschlag*, it [the *Anschlag*] receives its duration from the note in front of which it

is placed, for example":  [49, S. 36–7].

Nothing new is found in Friedrich Starke's *Wiener Pianoforte-Schule* (1819). It does not contain any explanation but only the very familiar example:

II. Doppelvorschläge.
 [50, S. 18].

⁴⁵ This material is fully entered in Müller's *Kleines Elementarbuch für Klavierspieler* [48, S. 60].

Even Johann Nepomuk Hummel in the famous *Anweisung zum Piano-Forte-Spiel* (1828) does not change the main principle of executing the *Doppelvorschlag*.



New in executing the *Doppelvorschlag* in Hummel's *Anweisung zum Piano-Forte-Spiel* is their very fast perform which is evident from the musical example [51, p. 393]:

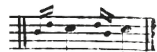
Doppel-Vor-oder-Anschläge.



In the preliminary part before the examples Hummel writes that a detailed explanation is excessive because “through the notation itself it [the execution] falls into the eyes [von

selbst in die Augen fällt]”, but anyhow adds that “they [the Doppelvorschlag, Schleifer] belong to the note before which they are placed [sie gehören der Note an, vor der sie stehen]”. This guidance together with the carefully notated examples unquestionably indicate an on-the-beat execution.

This survey (all available sources could not be included for consideration) demonstrates that a stylistic stability was maintained during the period approximately from the middle of the 18th to the first quarter of the 19th century. Even in Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart’s (Jr.) *Clavierschule* (1819) the Anschläge are realized according to the principle of Subtraction:



[52, S. 10].

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